November 20, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: MISSISSIPPI REGISTRATION

We tried to telephone J. P. Coleman in Ackerman, Mississippi, for an estimate on Negro and white registration in Mississippi. We felt that since he had just completed a state-wide campaign, he must have some idea, particularly, of the number of Negroes registered. We were unable to get him this date, but will continue trying until we do.

We tried to call Frank Smith in Knoxville. We felt that while he has not had any recent personal need for an accurate estimate of the registration in Mississippi, he doubtless retains his interest in Mississippi politics, and could, at the very least, suggest to us someone who would be willing to make an informed guess about Mississippi registration. He could not be reached in his office in Knoxville before November 25, but we will try him then.

We talked to Paul Anthony, and learned that two possible newspaper prospects, Ira Harkey in Pascagoula, and Hazel Brannon Smith, are apparently out of business. We understand that Harkey is no longer even in the state, so we are crossing him off the list of possibles.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM;js

ADDENDUM TO MEMORANDUM ON MISSISSIPPI REGISTRATION

November 21, 1963

Aaron Henry thinks our estimate of 27,847 for the Negro registration in Mississippi is probably as good a figure as any. We tried to call W. F. Minor, Times Picayune correspondent in Jackson, but he was out of town. We tried to Bill Simmons of the Citizens Council, but he was out of town, and his office said they did not know when to expect him back, or where he could be reached.

We tried to call J. P. Coleman, but his office said he was out and they were not sure when he would return. We left word requesting that he return our call.

November 21, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: MISSISSIPPI REGISTRATION

I talked with Hazel Brannon Smith in Lexington, Mississippi, today. She said she just didn't have any idea how to estimate the number of Negroes or of whites, or both, registered in Mississippi. She seemed to feel that Aaron Henry would know more about this than anything else, and suggested that I get in touch with him. She said she seemed to recall that when he was campaigning for governor, Henry was saying that about 20,000 Negroes vote in Mississippi. She said a registration drive had been going on in her county (Holmes) and that two or three weeks ago, she was talking to some of the persons conducting the project, and they said between 60 and 80 Negroes had applied for registration during the past month or so, but that none of them had apparently been registered. She said that as far as she knows, no Negroes are registered in Holmes County at this time. (The 1963 civil rights report shows that 41 Negroes registered in Holmes County).

I asked her if she thought the Citizens Council would have registration figures for Negroes. She said that she supposed they would, and that they certainly should have them. I asked her whom I could most appropriately get in touch with in the Citizens Council, and she suggested Bill Simmons in Jackson. I asked her about Joe Patterson in Greenwood, and she seemed to think that he probably wouldn't be particularly interested in this aspect of his work, and probably would not have such information on the top of his head. She was undecided about whether or not Simmons would give me such information as he might have, and suggested that I should have a pretty good idea of how many Negroes were registered before talking to Simmons, so that I could at least ask him what he thought about the figure I had.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

file Miss Reg. Contacts

The Delta Democrat-Times

Greenville, Mississippi

Dec. 4, 1963

HODDING CARTER, III
Associate Editor

DEC 6 1963

Dear Mr. Minnis:

I'm afraid we're all in the business of the blind leading the blind in this voter business, since the state makes such a studious effort to disguise the figures, but I would estimate the total voter strength of Negroes in the state at not more than 30,000 and not less than 20,000.

Whites who are registered probably number around 550,000 to 600,000, which is a guess a great deal closer to the truth, I would imagine, than the one for Negroes.

Sorry I can't be more precise, but there just aren't many concrete figures to go on.

Sincerely,

Hodding Carter III

Hodding Carter III

November 21, 1963

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
The Delta Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

Though it has been some time, you may perhaps recall that you favored me with the hospitality of your lovely home. I was in Greenville some months ago in connection with our registration projects in that area.

We are now attempting to estimate the number of Negroes registered, and the number of whites registered in Mississippi. Knowing that you are vitally interested in the politics of Mississippi, and that you are in a particularly crucial position to have such information, we would greatly appreciate it if you would estimate for us the number of Negro and white registered voters in Mississippi.

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest possible convenience, I am,

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

The Times-Picayune Publishing Corporation

LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TELEPHONE 524-2411

The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY

NEW ORLEANS
STATES-ITEM
EVENING

W. F. (BILL) MINOR
611 VINCENT BLDG.
JACKSON, MISS. 39205

DEC 26 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Southern Regional Council,
Room 206
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Minnis:

I'm sorry I have not repolied to your recent letter. Things here are always moving pretty fast, and I guess that's my excuse.

As you know, we have no official figures on Negro voter registration, since we have no state registrar of voters. However, my own estimate, based on figures compiled in 1954 for the state legal educational advisory committee, and another survey made for the Mississippi advisory committee to the U.S. Civil Rights commisssion, is around 26,000 Negro voters.

The total voter registration in Mississippi is around 525,000, possibly 550,000.

Yours truly,

W F Minor

W.F. Minor

. . . Not Enough to Be Just 'Good

Negroes as Artists Must Be the Best

By CHESTER HIGGINS

DETROIT — Jon Lockard has this word for aspiring young artists: "Complacency is death—when an artist becomes satisfied with what he is doing, he dies."

Lockard, 30, who, by his own personal count, has placed portraits in more than 6,000 Michigan homes in the past two years, is a young man well qualified to speak.

Funny thing about Lockard's business is that 98 per cent of his clients are white.

■

"NEGROES ARE just beginning to become culturally attuned to having their portraits painted," he said, philosophically.

Lockard works in the medium of pastels (refined chalk) using paper rather than canvas as a background. His portraits are then covered with a non-glare glass.

He knows there are more than 6,000 of his portraits in Michigan homes because "I sold the clients the frames, myself," he said.

A versatile artist, Lockard has never formally studied art. He plans to enter Cranbrook Art School, Bloomfield Hills, in the near future.

■

BUT IN THE meantime, he will journey to Seattle, Wash., in April, to participate in the World Fair, April 21 to Oct. 21.

He will take along his bride, the attractive former Carolyn Barnett, now a junior at Wayne State University. Mrs. Lockard will enroll at the University of Seattle to complete her studies.

A furious worker, Lockard can complete a pastel portrait in 40 minutes. His sensitivity shows in the subtle expressions and moods he sees in the faces of his subjects and how he faithfully records them on portrait.

Lockard is a versatile artist. He paints in oils, does murals and surrealistic paintings, but he prefers pastels.

Presently he is all excited by working with black velvet. "I'm certain nobody else is doing it," he said.

■

PASTELS, HE SAID, are better, really, than oils because in time oil paintings fade. Pastels never do. "Some old masters have paintings in pastels under glass and the colors are just as true today as when they were painted," he said.

Lockard, a graduate of Eastern High School, attended Wayne State University for a year, and Michigan State University for two years. His major was education.

"But I did't want to be a teacher. I want to paint," he said.

HARD AT WORK—While his subject sits primly to be painted, Jon Lockard carefully goes to work to reproduce her in pastels The scene was at a recent Home Builders Show, at Cobo Hall, in Detroit. Most of Lockard's patrons are white. The picture at the left was done on black velvet; the center portrait is of an African girl he did in Ann Arbor, Mich., and Mrs. Jackie Kennedy's picture, at right, was reproduced by Lockard from a photo.—Sonny Edwards Photo

"There are few good art teachers who are good artists, too."

During the summer months he travels all over the country attending fairs and expositions and wherever he goes people flock around him to get their portraits made or to watch his big fingers perform magic on paper right before their eyes. He has worked all the way from California to Quebec.

At $25 per portrait, Lockard more than earns his keep. Many people upon learning he will be unable to do their portrait that day, make appointments with him to do them in their homes.

■

LOCKARD JOURNEYS to Jackson, Mich., about two weekends a month to do portraits of patrons at Fields, a large department store, which is a branch of Chicago's famous Marshall Fields.

"A portrait," he mused, "is the one of the most personalized forms of art. Making one is a great challenge to an artist. Because regardless of his technique, he still has to make the picture look like the subject."

Lockard's pictures do look like their subjects. For example, just for kicks and because he liked the photo. Lockard discovered a picture of Mrs. Jackie Kennedy and painted it. The portrait looks so much like the First Lady, it seems she is ready to speak right out at you.

"Do you want to paint her picture in the flesh?" we asked.

"Yes," he said. "I would very much like to do a portrait of Mrs. Kennedy.

■

SOMETHING OF a philosopher, Lockard emphasizes that Negro youth must be "better than good if they expect to make it as artists.

"When they go to art school they may succumb to flattery that they are good and really begin to believe it. But when they get out of school they'll be surprised to learn there are many almost too many 'good' artists. So they have got to be better than just plain good."

About his future plans, Lockard wants to open a studio in a shopping center and he wants it to supply complete portrait and framing service. "I don't think there is one in the city," he said.

About Negro faces: "I have never seen a completely happy Negro face but one time. There is nearly always that little sadness in either the eyes, the lips or the lines of the face," he observed.

Woman Claiming 122 Years Of Age Dies in Arkansas

NASHVILE, Ark. (ANP) — Mrs. Lucy Caledonia Bradford, who claimed to be 121 or 122 years old, died in a rest home, last week.

Mrs. Bradford had said she was born in Alabama in 1840 or 1841, she wasn't sure which. She was the daughter of slaves and told attendants at the nursing home of incidents that happened before the Civil War.

William Bardford, a son and the only one of her six children still living, said he was born in 1894. He said his mother stayed at Huntsville, Ala., for five years after the war, then moved to Mississippi, then to Chicago. She came to Nashville, where her son lives, in 1954.

Jacksonville Golf Course Ruling Due

By WILLIAM KENNEDY

JACKSONVILLE — The twin questions of whether or not the city was within its rights in "selling" the municipal golf courses and swimming pools to evade their integartion comes up for decision in the Atlanta U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, March 27.

Appealing from earlier rulings by District Judge Bryan Simpson in Jacksonville, the plaintiffs are represented by Atty. Ernest D. Jackson Sr. of this city. They are Frank Hampton, Edward Joseph John B. F. Williams, and Rev. J. S. Johnson.

In the matter of swimming together, all city-owned recreational facilities, including the pools, were forbidden by U. S. court order as of Jan. 9, 1961, to segregate.

■

IN BRAZEN DEFIANCE of this order, the pools were opened last June 10 following articles in the local press quoting George Robinson, executive secretary of the recreation repartment, to the effect that "recreation department employes have orders to close the pools if any attempt is made at integration."

Sure enough, when Hampton and his associates appeared at the Springfield pool "for whites," the door on that and every other pool in the city was slammed shut "because of a threatened thunderstorm."

And, except for one white boy who climbed the fence and was drowned, no one has gone swimming in one of Jax's public pools since.

AT A DISTRICT court hearing last July 5, recreation director Robinson denied having made the statement about closing, and the Times-Union reporter weaseled to the extent of saying "it was not a direct quote."

Asked whether he had read the statement attributed to him, Robinson said "yes"; asked whether he had made any effort to "correct" it, he said "no."

The city commissioner in charge of recreation, when asked about the closing order, said he didn't want that "particular group, that certain bunch of them" to go swimming in the "white" pool.

"What was wrong with that particular group?" Attorney Jackson asked.

"It's a question I can't answer," the man replied.

IN THE MATTER of the "public" golf courses, Hampton was joined in his suit by D. W. Welcome and A. R. Richardson.

In this case, the appellants charge that the "sale," which was consummated at a ridiculous fraction of the value of the courses, was not a bona fide one, but actually a subterfuge seeking to disguise the links as "private enterprises."

Bearing out this contention is the fact that the deeds contain a reverter clause which provides that if the new "owners" fail to keep the links operating as such, ownership will revert to the city.

Suffrage ~~South~~ Mississippi

PERSON TO PERSON — Dr. King greets listeners after meetings in Mississippi.

STUDENT INTEREST — Concentrated interest of these students at Higgins High School is evident.

Freedom Corps Inspires Hope for New Day

Dr. King Spurs Miss. Vote Drive

By Trezzvant W. Anderson

JACKSON, Miss.—New life was breathed into the political hopes of thousands of Negroes in this state with the recent junket into the Delta by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., with a team from his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, working in conjunction with local organizations to spark voter registration among Negroes at the grass roots level.

The young leader told The Courier he felt encouraged by the trip and could foresee some breakthroughs in future days, "if we continue vigilant and aggressive."

■

ON A SWIFT three-day foray during which he personally talked to thousands of Negroes and shook hands with them at crossroads, in cotton fields, at cotton gins, in school rooms and on the streets, Dr. King set off a spark of new ambition in Negro breasts.

He left behind him an army of Freedom Corps members, including trained volunteer workers, who are now pushing the campaign in the Delta area.

Others such as the NAACP Youth Council, the Federated Council of Organizations, CORE and fraternal groups are working in other areas of the state with the same goal—register.

REV. JAMES M. Lawson of Nashville, Tenn., SCLC special project director, is in Mississippi directing the coordination of Freedom Corps workers in the Delta area, with Dr. Aaron Henry, member of the SCLC board, and Clarksdale resident, as state coordinator.

The Rev. Mr. Lawson set up the program for Dr. King's visit into the state.

With every Southern state on the SCLC list for campaign visits, Dr. King said Mississippi was chosen for the kick-off visit "because it has become the symbol of hard-core resistance to desegregation."

With Clarksdale as the Delta headquarters, Dr. King and his team, including Mrs. Dorothy T. Cotton, director of citizenship schools; Rev. Lawson, and Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, SCLC executive director, fanned out during the three days into the heavily-populated Negro areas of Jonestown, Coahoma, Sherard, and Mound Bayou, the all-Negro town founded by Isaac Montgomery.

The reception was good, with the exception of Sherard, where intimidations by whites cut the Negro attendance to just one man for a meeting where 75 were expected.

It was at Sherard, where white land-owners reportedly told their Negro tenants they would lose their homes if they attended the planned meeting. The one hardy gentleman who did come actually walked 13 miles to reach the site of the meeting. The other Negroes feared the reprisal.

Reactions at other points showed the vast interest of Negroes in young Dr. King. In Laurel, where 25 were expected, 150 showed up. It was similar in other places. Only one speech was made during the junket. That was where Dr. King spoke at a Trammell-for-Congress Rally to some 1,400 persons in Clarksdale, at Rev. Mr. Trammell's church.

■

THE REV. MR. Trammell is a candidiate for Congress from the Fourth District opposing incumbent Representative John Bell Williams.

The next day, Dr. King took his team to Jackson for a series of non-violent workshops at Tougaloo College, a church-supported school. Also the scene of a workshop was Coahoma Junior College, and a Baptist church where "Strides Toward Freedom," was the theme.

Informal chats with NAACP Youth Councils were also held at various points.

The first day was a busy one, with visits to a luncheon with 25 ministers in Clarksdale at the Haven Methodist Church, Rev. Mr. Trammell's church. Then came a visit to Higgins High School and 15 or 16 classrooms and chats with instructors.

■

NEXT VISITED was the Immaculate Conception High School, a Catholic school, where sisters and students greeted Dr. King and the entourage.

This was a significant visit, to stress the impartial nature of the campaign. The full day was climaxed by a four-hour meeting with the executive board of the Federated Council of Organizations sponsors of the Clarksdale boycott.

At this conference steps were taken to work out a long-range program for the Delta to combat fear and reprisals.

The second day found the first stop at a cotton gin owned by Negroes in a "co-op" venture. Then the team moved on to Jonestown to meet Negroes at a filling station and country store. The interest was high here.

Then came the move to Sherard and Coahoma and two elementary schools, and on to Mound Bayou, returning to Clarksdale for the rally. Jackson was the scene of the third day of activity, and then the return to Atlanta.

The team set up six volunteer workers' training schools in the Clarksdale area, and there are now 61 such schools in the South, Rev. Mr. Walker told The Courier.

Mrs. Cotton directs the big training school at Dorchester in McIntosh County, Ga. Here the volunteers learn the techniques and programs for voter-registration to put into use, when they return home.

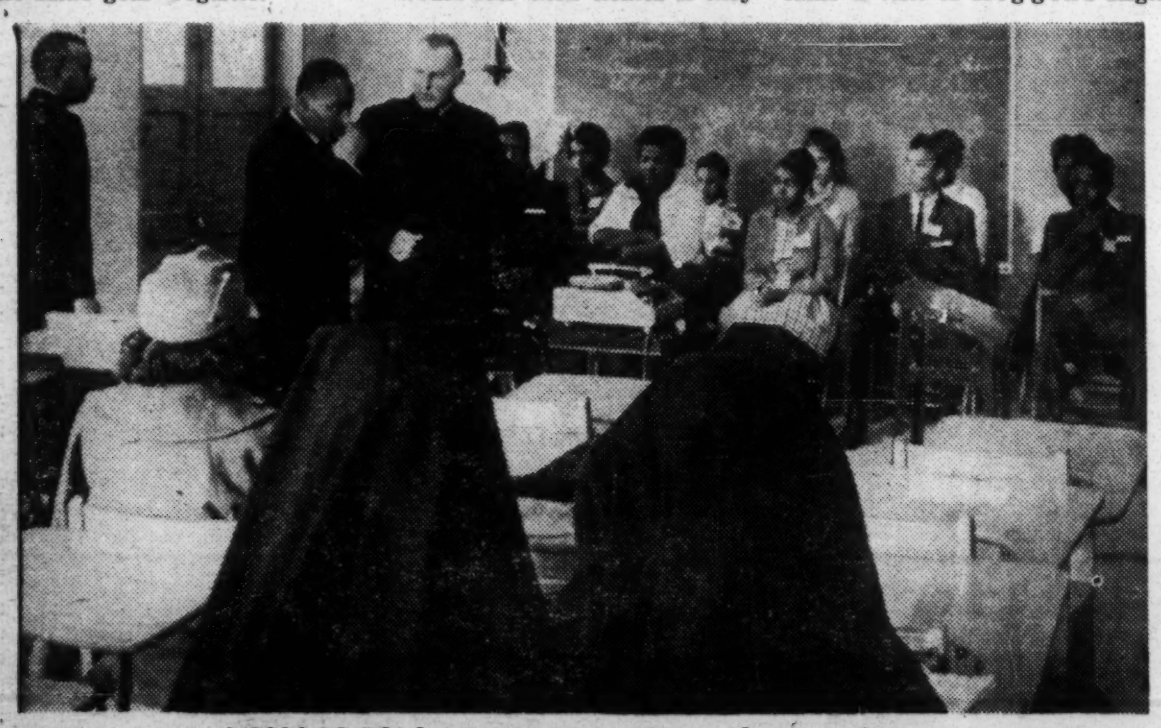
Dr. King stressed the purely personal non-political nature of his work, by pointing out that this massive effort is to benefit Negroes in the South, not himself, since he has no political ambitions.

■

JAMES BEVEL, SCLC field worker, is now full-time in the Delta area to keep up the interest and activity in registering Negro voters, Rev. Walker said.

There were no "incidents" during the Mississippi junket, and Dr. King was well received in most places. There was, however, an undercurrent of resentment by whites, but none was shown openly toward Dr. King or members of his team.

The trip was considered a success, and Virginia is the next state to be covered, then South Carolina and the other Southern states. Mississippi has some 35,000 registered Negro voters at this time, with over 700,000 eligible.



MESSAGE TO CATHOLICS, TOO — Cutting religious lines, Dr. King visits a Catholic school in Clarksdale, Miss.

Science Shrinks Piles New Way Without Surgery Stops Itch—Relieves Pain

New York, N. Y. (Special) — For the first time science has found a new healing substance with the astonishing ability to shrink hemorrhoids, stop itching, and relieve pain — without surgery.

In one hemorrhoid case after another, "very striking improvement" was reported and verified by doctors' observations.

Pain was relieved promptly. And, while gently relieving pain, actual reduction or retraction (shrinking) took place.

And most amazing of all — this improvement was maintained in cases where doctors' observations were continued over a period of many months!

In fact, results were so thorough that sufferers were able to make such astonishing statements as "Piles have ceased to be a problem!" And among these sufferers were a very wide variety of hemorrhoid conditions, some of 10 to 20 years' standing.

All this, without the use of narcotics, anesthetics or astringents of any kind. The secret is a new healing substance (Bio-Dyne*) — the discovery of a world-famous research institution. Already, Bio-Dyne is in wide use for healing injured tissue on all parts of the body.

This new healing substance is offered in *suppository* or *ointment form* called *Preparation H.** Ask for individually sealed convenient Preparation H suppositories or Preparation H ointment with special applicator. Preparation H is sold at all drug counters. Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded.

*Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

July 10, 1962

Secretary of State
State of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

Please send me the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of Mississippi by counties and independent cities. I should like these figures broken into white and Negro if you have such data. If there is any charge, you may either send the data collect or bill me.

If your office is not the appropriate place from which to request such information, will you inform me as to how I may go about getting it?

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

JUL 16 1962

MISSISSIPPI
STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT
JACKSON

July 12, 1962

Mr. John W. Walker
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 9 to the Director of the Mississippi State Highway Department which has been referred to this office for reply.

This is to advise that we do not prepare maps to show the boundaries of political subdivisions down to and including ward and precints. County maps are prepared in this division to show the beats in each county which are the smallest political subdivisions shown on any map prepared by the department.

If you are interested in such county maps we will be glad to furnish you with a price list for such maps.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Crecink, Jr.

W. J. CRECINK, JR., STATE MANAGER
TRAFFIC AND PLANNING DIVISION

WJCJr/jc

cc: Mr. T. C. Robbins

file V-R

JUL 13 1962

Secretary of State

CORPORATION DIVISION
J. V. CARR, DEPUTY

SECURITIES DIVISION
BEN HAWKINS, DEPUTY

Mississippi

Heber Ladner

FLEETWOOD 5-8381
EXTS. 256 & 257

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
POST OFFICE BOX 136

July 12, 1962

Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In the State of Mississippi the Clerk of the Circuit Court of each county is the registrar of voters for his particular county. The law does not require the registrar to register voters by race nor doesit require him to file a list of these voters with any state agency.

In order for you to obtain the number of registered voters in the State of Mississippi by county and municipality, it will be necessary for you to write to each of the Circuit Clerks of the 82 counties of this state and to the Clerk of the more than 260 municipalities of this state.

Very truly yours,

Heber Ladner

Heber Ladner
Secretary of State

JVC:las

file: Reg
Miss

Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
July 16, 1962

Mr. W. J. Crecink, Jr.
State Manager
Traffic and Planning Division
Mississippi State Highway Department
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Crecink:

Re: Letter of July 12, 1962

I am interested in the county maps you mentioned and would be appreciative to receive a price list for such maps.

Very truly yours,

John Walker

JW:gwc

ARTHUR WILLIAMS, GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI, JULY 13-20, 1962

The following persons took the registration exam

Name	Date	Section
Mr. E.D. Hayes	7-17-62	61
Doris Gibson	7-17-62	63
Ben Arros	7-16-62	252
Johnny Govan	7-17-62	232
Ruby Steuenson	7-17-62	61
Allie Lones	7-18-62	43
Mrs. Sanah Nichols	7-19-62	43
Mrs. Doris Mitchell	7-20-62	163
Mrs. Maggi Field	7-20-62	144

Expenses

$15	check	7-15-62: $10 for James & Sirlester(board) $5 expenses
25	check	7-17-62: $11.56 mimeo paper, $12.50 used for board warner/James
15	check	7-19-62 $10 board for Sirlester Warner and James, $5 expenses
$55		

Money on hand is approximately $5. I am not sure because of service charges on checks. If we do not receive money before Monday, the project will have to be discontinued.

We had a successful Mass Meeting 7-19-82

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

Name	Date	Section	Result
Johnny Williams	6-26-62	172	name run in newspaper
Mary Sullivan	6-27-62	21	failed
Justine Jefferson	6-27-62	108	name run in newspaper
Amye Coleman	6-28-62	61	name run in newspaper
Audrey Coleman	6-28-62	83	name run in newspaper
Dorothy Hughes	6-28-62	116	name run in newspaper
Naomi Goon	6-28-62	116	name run in newspaper
Penny Lewis	6-29-62	68	name run in newspaper
Carlas R. Jung	7-6-62	169	
Ida M. Atkins	7-6-62	63	
Luella Bynum	7-10-62	169	
Johnnie Clark	7-12-62	83	
Lois White	7-12-62	63	
Curtis Tooks	7-14-62	63	
Roosevelt Price	7-14-62	144	
Ben Arros	7-16-62	252	
Mr. E.D. Hyres	7-17-62	61	
Doris Gibson	7-17-62	63	
Johnny Govan	7-17-62	232	
Ruby Steuenson	7-17-62	61	
Allie Lones	7-18-62	43	
Sanah Nichols	7-19-62	43	
Dorie Mitecall	7-20-62	163	

COPY

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

Name	Date	Section	Results
Maggi Field	7-20-62	144	
Letha William	7-24-62	43	
Alice Reed	7-24-62	61	
Mary A. Brady	7-27-62	63	
Linnie Larry	7-27-62	116	
Joe Reed	7-20-62	61	

COPY

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Name	Date	Section	Results
Mrs. Macbeth	7-11-62		failed
Alice Edwards	7-11-62		passed
Rufus Franklin James	7-12-62		passed
Louvernia Phillips Puckett	7-12-62		passed
Lillie Bell Ford	7-12-62		passed
Lawrence Guyot	7-12-62		passed
Robbie Louie	7-12-62		passed
Percy Chafman	7-13-62		passed
Mrs. Gloria Clemens	7-16-62		passed
Christine Jackson	7-16-62		failed
Letha Rose	7-16-62		passed
Mrs. Eliza Hunter	7-16-62		passed
Clarence Watson	7-16-62		passed
Pearlena Lewis	7-17-62		passed
Jewell Elizabeth McMahan	7-17-62		passed
Roscoe Ratliff	7-18-62		passed
Mr. I.S. Brown	7-18-62		passed
Marie Coleman	7-18-62		passed
Earnestine Coleman	7-18-62		passed
Willa B. Christman	7-18-62		passed

COPY

20

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Name	Date	Section	Results
Mrs. Bennie Williams	6-25-62		failed
Mary Willis	6-25-62		failed
Mrs. Newson	6-25-62		failed
Mr. Barnes	6-26-62		failed
Mrs. Baldwin, Mariah J.	6-26-62		failed
Annie Crawford	6-27-62	30	passed
Mrs. Amy Block	6-27-62	28	passed
Mary Sheppard	6-28-62		passed
Miss Jeraldine Ward	6-28-62		passed
Mrs. Elizabeth Magee	6-29-62	26	passed
Rev. Magee	6-29-62	126	failed
Mrs. Frazer	6-29-62	35	failed
Bolden Reynolds	7-2-62		failed
Mrs. L.S. Armstrong	7-2-62	123	passed
Elva Jean Arrington	7-2-62		passed
Mrs. Willie Logan	7-5-62	123	failed
George Ann Washington	7-9-62		passed
Miss Doris Mae Bailey	7-9-62		passed
Emmalou Bracey	7-9-62		passed
Mrs. Fitzgile	7-9-62		failed
Mrs. Baldwin, Mariah J.	7-9-62		passed
E.B. Martin	7-9-62		passed
Mrs. Cliff Burns	7-10-62.		failed
Willie C. Lowe	7-10-62		passed
Tommie Robinson	7-9-62		passed

25

Jackson, Mississippi

Name	Date	Result
Mr. Auldrane Berry	week of 7/16-21	passed
Mrs. Auldrane Berry	week of 7/16-22	passed
Mr. Sylvester Harper	July	passed
Mrs. Sylvester Harper	July	passed
Rev. Marcus Butler	July	passed
Mrs. Marcus Butler	July	passed
Mrs. Claudia Jackson	July	passed
Mrs. Pearlye L. Warren	last week July	passed
Miss Eleanor Robinson	ab. July 1	passed
Dora Marshall	July	failed

10

Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Name	Date	Result
Mrs. Bivins	late July	unsatisfactory
Mrs. Boyd	late July	unsatisfactory
Rev. Fonder	late July	unsatisfactory
Mrs. James	late July	unsatisfactory
Mrs. Townsend	late July	unsatisfactory
Mr. Thompson	late July	unsatisfactory

COPY

HOLLY SPRINGS, MISSISSIPPI

Name	Lives in	Results
Mr. Thomas Russell	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Mr. Winston Russell	Holly Springs	name run in paper
William Robinson	Bhyalia	name run in paper
Wilson Sanderson	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Jessie Stewart, Sr.	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Elvernis Davis	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Elizabeth W. Wilson	Potts Camp	name run in paper
Donald Wright Abel	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Johnnie Elton Smith	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Joe Allen Stone	Potts Camp	name run in paper
Carolyn Wilkins Orr	Byhalia	name run in paper
Victor D. Street	Holly Springs	name run in paper
Carol Jean Paton	Potts Camp	name run in paper
Willie B. Mitchell	Holly Springs	name run in paper
James Robinson	Red Banks	name run in paper

COPY

HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI

Name	Date	Section	Results
Mrs. Vergie Robinson	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Annie Luvine	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Victoria Gray	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Rev. L.P. Ponder	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Mr. Mathew Nelson	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Jocephine Davis	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Catherine Jackson	about 6-15		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Mattie Townsen	6-18-62		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Annie C. Pool	week of 6-18		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Gloria Bevins	week of 6-18		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Hattie P. More	6-25-62		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Betty J. Stepps	6-25-62		name run in newspaper
Mrs. Ducksworth	6-25-62		name run in newspaper
Rev. J.W. Brown	6-25-62		name run in newspaper

July 23, 1962

Clerk of the Circuit Court
Forrest County
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

Please forward us an enumeration of the registered voters in your county broken down by race and by the smallest political subdivision for which you have figures.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

July 23, 1962

Clerk of the Circuit Court
Marshall County
Holly Springs, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

Please forward us an enumeration of the registered voters in your county broken down by race and by the smallest political subdivision for which you have figures.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

July 23, 1962

Clerk of the Circuit Court
Hinds County
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

Please forward us an enumeration of the registered voters in your county broken down by race and by the smallest political subdivision for which you have figures.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

V-R Miss file

JUDGE COX TO HEAR CASE

Sig, Miss T-P

Federal Suit Seeks to Reinstate Teacher

7-25-62

BILOXI, Miss. (AP)—U.S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox is scheduled to hear arguments here Wednesday on a Justice Department suit to reinstate a Greene County, Miss., Negro teacher allegedly fired for voter activities.

The federal suit charges that Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, 33, of Lucedale was fired after she tried to vote in George County and testified about her difficulties in a civil rights case. She lives in George County but commuted to work in Greene County.

The suit seeks her reinstatement with restoration of lost pay. County Supt. Evans T. Martin said "she was not fired, her contract simply was not renewed."

At an earlier hearing June 23, Judge Cox refused a Justice Department request for a temporary restraining order to prevent the Greene County Board of Education from hiring a successor to Mrs. Talbert until the case is decided.

Received from Justice
Department 7/25/62

MISSISSIPPI POPULATION AND REGISTRATION STATISTICS

	County	Neg. over 21	Whites over 21	Neg. Reg.[1]	Approximate Number of whites Registered [2]
1.	ADAMS	9,340	10,888	1,050	6,221
2.	ALCORN	1,756	13,347	61	7,802
3.	AMITE	3,560	4,449	1	3,295
4.	ATTALA	4,262	7,522	61	5,372
5.	BENTON	1,419	2,514	136	2,077
6.	BOLIVAR	15,939	10,031	612	5,215
7.	CALHOUN	1,767	7,188	0	5,198
8.	CARROLL	2,704	2,969	6	2,723
9.	CHICKASAW	3,054	6,388	0	4,436
10.	CHOCTAW	1,105	3,728		2,924
11.	CLAIBORNE	3,969	1,688	138	1,440
12.	CLARKE	2,988	6,072	0	4,540
13.	CLAY	4,444	5,547	10	3,392
14.	COAHOMA	14,604	8,708	1,960	4,634
15.	COPIAH	6,407	8,153	20	5,076
16.	COVINGTON	2,032	5,329	560	4,327
17.	DE SOTO	6,246	5,338	3	3,555
18.	FORREST	7,495	22,431	12	10,397
19.	FRANKLIN	1,842	3,403	146	2,693
20.	GEORGE	580	5,276		3,685
21.	GREENE	859	3,518		3,200
22.	GRENADA	4,323	5,792	61	3,652

1 Advisory Committee CRC figures.
2 Number of persons voting in 1959 primary.

	County	Neg. over 21	Whites over 21	Neg. Reg.[1]	Approximate Number of Whites Registered[2]
23.	HANCOCK	1,129	6,313		5,634
24.	HARRISON	9,670	55,094		19,558
25.	HINDS	36,138	67,836	5,000	28,715
26.	HOLMES	8,757	4,773	41	3,538
27.	HUMPHREYS	5,561	3,344	2	2,517
28.	ISSAQUENA	1,081	640	0	621
29.	ITAWAMBA	463	8,523	47	6,124
30.	JACKSON	5,113	24,447		11,375
31.	JASPER	3,675	5,327	6	4,119
32.	JEFFERSON	3,540	1,666	0	1,643
33.	JEFFERSON DAVIS	3,222	3,629	96	3,148
34.	JONES	7,427	25,943		13,841
35.	KEMPER	3,221	3,113		3,242
36.	LAFAYETTE	3,239	8,074	134	4,445
37.	LAMAR	1,071	6,489	0	4,684
38.	LAUDERDALE	11,924	27,806	2,000	13,253
39.	LAWRENCE	1,720	3,878	356	3,521
40.	LEAKE	3,397	6,754		5,053
41.	LEE	5,130	18,709	231	11,053
42.	LEFLORE	13,567	10,274	472	5,931
43.	LINCOLN	3,913	11,072		8,125
44.	LOWNDES	8,362	16,460	63	5,869

1 Advisory Committee CRC figures.
2 Number of persons voting in 1959 primary.

	County	Neg. over 21	Whites over 21	Neg. Reg.[1]	Approximate Number of whites Registered [2]
45.	MADISON	10,366	5,622	607	3,521
46.	MARION	3,630	8,997	400	6,818
47.	MARSHALL	7,168	4,342	17	3,499
48.	MONROE	5,610	13,426	9	7,398
49.	MONTGOMERY	2,627	4,700	11	3,975
50.	NESHOBA	2,565	9,143	[illegible]	6,576
51.	NEWTON	3,018	8,014		5,029
52.	NOXUBEE	5,172	2,997	0	2,225
53.	OKTIBBEHA	4,952	8,423	107	4,413
54.	PANOLA	7,250	7,639	10	5,008
55.	PEARL RIVER	2,473	9,765	0	6,213
56.	PERRY	1,140	3,515	127	3,097
57.	PIKE	6,936	12,163	207	6,731
58.	PONTOTOC	1,519	8,772		6,253
59.	PRENTISS	1,070	9,535		6,224
60.	QUITMAN	5,673	4,176	316	2,971
61.	RANKIN	6,944	13,246	43	6,865
62.	SCOTT	3,752	7,742		5,342
63.	SHARKEY	3,152	1,882	3	1,525
64.	SIMPSON	3,186	8,073		5,989
65.	SMITH	1,293	6,597	24	5,461
66.	STONE	868	2,965	39	2,356

1 Advisory Committee CRC figures.
2. Number of persons voting in 1959 primary.

County	Neg. Over 21	Whites over 21	Neg. Reg.[1]	Approximate Number of whites Registered [2]
67. SUNFLOWER	13,524	8,785	161	4,538
68. TALLAHATCHIE	6,483	5,099	0	4,334
69. TATE	4,326	4,506	0	3,134
70. TIPPAH	1,281	7,513	176	5,357
71. TISHOMINGO	359	8,068	6	4,632
72. TUNICA	5,822	2,011	22	1,407
73. UNION	1,626	9,512	6	6,067
74. WALTHALL	2,490	4,536		3,903
75. WARREN	10,726	13,530	1910	7,613
76. WASHINGTON	20,619	19,837	2563	7,702
77. WAYNE	2,556	5,881	0	4,548
78. WEBSTER	1,174	4,993	2	4,063
79. WILKINSON	4,120	2,340	110	1,749
80. WINSTON	3,611	6,808	57	4,621
81. YALOBUSHA	2,441	4,572	4	3,090
82. YAZOO	8,719	7,598	179	4,796
				440,906

1 Advisory Committee CRC figures.
2 Number of persons voting in 1959 primary.

POPULATION AND REGISTRATION STATISTICS FOR MISSISSIPPI BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

County	Negroes over 21	Whites over 21	Negroes[1] Registered	Approximate Number of whites Registered[2]
District No. 1				
Alcorn	1,756	13,347	61	7,802
Attala	4,262	7,522	61	5,372
Calhoun	1,767	7,188	0	5,198
Chickasaw	3,054	6,388	0	4,436
Choctaw	1,105	3,728		2,924
Clay	4,444	5,547	10	3,392
Itawamba	463	8,523	47	6,124
Lee	5,130	18,709	231	11,053
Lowndes	8,362	16,460	63	5,869
Monroe	5,610	13,426	9	7,398
Noxubee	5,172	2,997	0	2,225
Oktibbeha	4,952	8,423	107	4,413
Pontotoc	1,519	8,772		6,253
Prentiss	1,070	9,535		6,224
Tishomingo	359	8,068	6	4,632
Webster	1,174	4,993	2	4,063
Winston	3,611	6,808	57	4,621

[1] Advisory Committee CRC figures.

[2] Number of persons voting in 1959 primary.

County	Negroes over 21	Whites over 21	Negroes Registered	Approximate Number of Whites Registered
District No. 2				
Benton	1,419	2,514	136	2,077
Carroll	2,704	2,969	6	2,723
DeSoto	6,246	5,338	3	3,555
Grenada	4,323	5,792	61	3,652
Lafayette	3,239	8,074	134	4,445
Marshall	7,168	4,342	17	3,499
Montgomery	2,627	4,700	11	3,975
Panola	7,250	7,639	10	5,008
Tallahatchie	6,483	5,099	0	4,334
Tate	4,326	4,506	0	3,134
Tippah	1,281	7,513	176	5,357
Union	1,626	9,512	6	6,067
Yalobusha	2,441	4,572	4	3,090
District No. 3				
Bolivar	15,939	10,031	612	5,215
Coahoma	14,604	8,708	1,960	4,634
Holmes	8,757	4,773	41	3,538
Humphreys	5,561	3,344	2	2,517
Issaquena	1,081	640	0	621
LeFlore	13,567	10,274	472	5,931
Quitman	5,673	4,176	316	2,971
Sharkey	3,152	1,882	3	1,525
Sunflower	13,524	8,785	161	4,538
Tunica	5,822	2,011	22	1,407
Washington	20,619	19,837	2,563	7,702

County	Negroes over 21	Whites Over 21	Negroes Registered	Approximate Number of Whites Registered
District No. 4				
Adams	9,340	10,888	1,050	6,221
Amite	3,560	4,449	1	3,295
Claiborne	3,969	1,688	138	1,440
Copiah	6,407	8,153	20	5,076
Franklin	1,842	3,403	146	2,693
Hinds	36,138	67,836	5,000	28,715
Jefferson	3,540	1,666	0	1,643
Lincoln	3,913	11,072		8,125
Pike	6,936	12,163	207	6,731
Walthall	2,490	4,536		3,903
Warren	10,726	13,530	1,910	7,613
Wilkinson	4,120	2,340	110	1,749
Yazoo	8,719	7,598	179	4,796
District No. 5				
Clarke	2,988	6,072	0	4,540
Kemper	3,221	3,113		3,242
Jasper	3,675	5,327	6	4,119
Lauderdale	11,924	27,806	2,000	13,253
Leake	3,397	6,754		5,053
Madison	10,366	5,622	607	3,521
Neshoba	2,565	9,143		6,576
Newton	3,018	8,014		5,029
Rankin	6,944	13,246	43	6,865
Scott	3,752	7,742		5,342
Simpson	3,186	8,073		5,989
Smith	1,293	6,597	24	5,461

County	Negroes over 21	Whites over 21	Negroes Registered	Approximate Number of Whites Registered
District No. 6				
Covington	2,032	5,329	560	4,327
Forrest	7,495	22,431	12	10,397
George	580	5,276		3,685
Hancock	1,129	6,813		5,634
Harrison	9,670	55,094		19,558
Jackson	5,113	24,447		11,375
Jefferson Davis	3,222	3,629	96	3,148
Jones	7,427	25,943		13,841
Lamar	1,071	6,489	0	4,684
Lawrence	1,720	3,878	356	3,521
Marion	3,630	8,997	400	6,818
Pearl River	2,473	9,765	0	6,213
Perry	1,140	3,515	127	3,097
Stone	868	2,965	39	2,356
Wayne	2,556	5,881	0	4,548

Miss. V-R

Justice Dept

AUG - 3 1962

135
////

1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
July 31, 1962

Mr. John Doar
Justice Department
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Doar:

Enclosed please find a partial list of Negroes who have attempted to register to vote in Mississippi during the summer.

Sincerely,

Bob Moses

COPY

W-Post 11/9/62
Suffrage Miss.

U. S. Charges Mississippi Ballot Bias

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 8 (AP)—The Justice Department has asked the Federal Appeals Court here to jail Mississippi voter registrar Theron Lynd for 45 days for contempt of a court order barring discrimination in voter registrations.

The Department also asked the Court to order Lynd to register 43 Negroes who "were illegally denied registration" in Forrest ounty, Miss., or face continuing imprisonment.

Earlier this year, the Justice Department charged that Lynd discriminated against Negroes in violation of the Civil Rights Act. The U. S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans issued an injunction ordering him to cease.

Lynd has denied the charge.

A three-judge panel of the Federal Appeals Court last September asked attorneys for both sides to submit briefs. The Justice Department request was in its brief, which was filed Wednesday.

NYT 11/9/62

Mississippi Aide Charged With Thwarting Negro Vote

Suffrage - South

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 8 (UPI — The Federal Government today asked the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit to find Theron C. Lynd guilty of civil and criminal contempt for allegedly refusing to register Negroes.

The Government asked that Mr. Lynd, registrar of voters in Forest County, Miss., be jailed, fined and ordered to register 43 Negroes as voters in the county.

The Government said that Mr. Lynd had a duty under the 15th Amendment "not to engage in any discriminatory acts or practices on the basis of race in the registration for voting," including "applying different and more stringent registration requirements, procedures, and standards to Negro applicants during his term of office."

The Government said that Mr. Lynd had rejected Negro applicants "for formal, technical, and inconsequential errors or omissions on their application forms, while accepting the applications of white persons whose applications contained the same or more serious errors or omissions."

Miss
Reg.

Hattiesburg Miss.

High Court Denies Review Of Negro Registration Order

NO 7 1962

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 (UPI) —The Supreme Court refused today to review a temporary order barring racial discrimination in voter registration in Forrest County, Miss.

The order was issued last June 11 by the United States Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Appeals for the Fifth Circuit Court imposed the anti-discrimination rule until it could study the Government's appeal from the failure of Federal District Judge William H. Cox of Jackson, Miss., to issue a similar order.

The Justice Department told the Appeals Court it had been frustrated in its effort to obtain action from Judge Cox ending alleged discriminatory practices in registering Negroes.

Defendants in the suit were the State of Mississippi and Forrest County's Registrar, Theron C. Lynd.

Miss Reg.

Mississippi ~~Fact~~ Press

Saturday, December 29, 1962

Miss Reg. Voter

$2 Poll Tax . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

60 are excused from the poll tax.

If you haven't registered yet, you can still pay your poll tax. Although you have to do both before you can vote it doesn't matter which you do first.

$2 Or $3

In most counties, the poll tax is $2; in others it is $3. **If you didn't pay your tax last year, you can pay $4—the taxes for this year and last year—and you will be eligible to vote in November. After that you must pay $2 each year. (If your tax is $3 a year, you must pay $6, if you owe back taxes.)**

However, if you did not pay your tax last year, you cannot vote in the Democratic primary in August; you must wait until you have paid two taxes on time in a row.

Pay At Sheriff's Office

Poll taxes are paid at the Sheriff's office in the County Court House. (Jackson residents, for example, should go to the County Court House on Pascagoula Street.) The sheriff will give you a receipt which you must present at the polls when you vote.

If you are over 60, you should go to the county clerk's office with proof of age—such as your social security papers, driver's license or army discharge papers. He will give you an exemption certificate which will be good for every year in the future.

If you have just finished serving in the army, take your discharge papers to the county clerk. He will give you an exemption certificate excusing you from paying taxes for the years you were in the army. Then, however, you must pay your taxes for this year.

Anyone Can Pay Tax

You do not have to pay your son can collect the tax money from a group of his friends and save them the trip to the County Court House.

The last day you can pay your 1963 poll tax is February 1. Although a Constitutional Amendment presently being considered by the legislatures of all the states will probably abolish the poll tax in a few years, you must still pay your poll tax now in order to vote next year.

$2 Poll Tax Due Now; Must Be Paid In Jan.

January is the month to pay your poll tax if you want to vote next year.

If you are over 21, or will be 21 by next November, and if you have lived in Mississippi for two years and in your city or county for one year, then you should pay your poll tax and register. Only men in the armed services and people over

(Continued on Page 3)

McCOMB ENTERPRISE
JOURNAL (MISS.)
p. 1
Date:
JAN 15 1963

Suff. Miss.

Here's How to Qualify to Vote in Mississippi

By JOHN EMMERICH
Enterprise-Journal Reporter

According to Mississippi's Constitution, every inhabitant of the state may vote — except idiots, insane persons and Indians not taxed — if they can meet certain qualifications.

A voter must be at least 21 years old. He must be a resident of Mississippi two years and of his election district one year. He must be duly registered. He must have never been convicted of bribery, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretense, perjury, forgery, embezzlement or bigamy.

He must have paid by Feb. 1 his $2 poll tax for two consecutive years, and he must be able to produce evidence (tax receipts) that he has done so.

He must be of good moral character.

He must be able to read and interpret the State Constitution.

And he must take an oath, in registering, that he has met the requirements as set forth in the Constitution.

SOME ARE EXEMPT

There are, however, certain exemptions from the above requirements.

For example, persons 60 years old or over do not have to pay the poll tax. Neither do persons who are deaf and dumb, or blind, or who are maimed by the loss of a hand or foot.

The $2 poll tax, which Boards of Supervisors may raise to $3, goes to the support of the public schools.

Another exception to the requirements listed above is that ministers of the gospel in charge of organized churches have to be residents of Mississippi two years but resident of their election districts only six months.

Voters also must have been registered at least four months before voting in general or special elections and 30 days before a primary election.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article, which explains how to register to vote, is in response to several requests from new residents who don't understand Mississippi's voting laws. January is the month during which poll taxes must be paid.

REGISTRATION

The procedure for registering is rather complicated. Those who were registered prior to Jan. 1, 1954, do not have to go through the process again if they can show evidence of their registration. Those who move from another Mississippi county in which they were registered must show only a certificate of registration from that county.

But for new residents to Mississippi or new voters, this is how it goes:

The county circuit clerk — Wendell Holmes in Pike County — is the voting registrar.

After a new resident of Mississippi has lived in the state 20 months (two years less four months), he may make application for registration.

Registration includes a written application and a literacy test which may take up to an hour to complete. The first 17 questions on the four-page form are designed to insure that the voter applicant meets all of the constitution's requirements about residence, criminal convictions, age and similar things.

The 18th question requires that the applicant write on the application form a section of the Mississippi Constitution which the circuit clerk designates.

Then the applicant must give a reasonable interpretation of the section which was copied.

The application also requires that the prospective voter write a brief essay — just a few sentences — explaining the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

OATH REQUIRED

When this is completed, the voter then must sign an oath which says: "I, ————, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am 21 years old (or I will be before

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued from page one)

the next election in this county), and that I will have resided in this state two years and ——— election district of ——— County one year next preceding the ensuing election, and am in good faith a resident of same, and that I am not disqualified from voting by reason of having been convicted of any crime named in the constitution of this state as a disqualification to be an elector, and that I will truly answer all questions propounded to me concerning my antecedents so far as they relate to my right to vote, and also as to my residence before my citizenship in this and of the state of Mississippi, and will bear true faith and allegiance to the same. So help me God."

The oath for a minister requires only six month residence in his voting district.

NAME IS PUBLISHED

After the applicant has completed his application form, the voting registrar then must publish his name in a newspaper for two consecutive weeks in order to give any citizen the right to protest his good moral character.

This process takes approximately 25 to 30 days, after which time the applicant may inquire of the voting registrar concerning the application. If the applicant passed the test, and if there were no protests of his good moral character, he then is ready to register to vote in the circuit clerk's office.

Then, assuming that his poll taxes have been paid for the two preceding years, he will be eligible to vote after four months in the case of special or general elections and 30 days in the case of primary elections.

POLL TAXES IMPORTANT

That means, a new resident to Mississippi should immediately begin paying his poll tax even though he is not registered.

If he has lived in the state two years but hasn't paid any poll taxes, he still will have to wait another year after registration in order to have two consecutive poll tax receipts — one for 1962 (payable this month), and one for 1963 (payable next January).

But there is a partial exception to this requirement. A new voter, assuming that he meets all other qualifications, during this month may pay poll taxes for 1962 (which is due this month) and 1961 (due in Januay 1962). He then will be qualified to vote in special and general elections, but not in primary elections.

In Mississippi, the Democratic primary normally is the important election in which county and state officials, including the governor, are elected. However, this year it appears that the general election will be important in as much as one Republican candidate for governor already has announced his candidacy.

21-YEAR-OLDS EXEMPT

Persons who are 21 are exempt from paying poll tax during the first year. Those over 21 who are voting for the first time are not exempt.

A person who is 20 may make application for registration four months before his 21st birthday in order that he will be qualified to vote by the time he is 21.

Poll taxes all are calculated as of Jan. 1, which means a person who is 60 is not exempt from paying the tax until he is 60 as of Jan. 1. If he becomes 60 on the day after Jan. 1, he still must pay the poll tax for that year.

Application for registration and registration is handled in the office of the circuit clerk in the Pike County Court House in Magnolia. The poll tax must be paid in the office of the sheriff and tax collector, also in the court house.

Three Arrested In Clarksdale

Greenwood Commonw. 6-21-63

CLARKSDALE, Miss. (AP) — Clarksdale police arrested three Negro women demonstrators today as they picketed in front of the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company.

The sign-carrying trio apparentlyw as protesting against hiring practices in the telephone exchange.

The arrests marked the sixth day of demonstrations in this Delta town.

Police arrested a 96-year-old Negro Thursday when he picketed at the city library.

The elderly Negro, John Wright, however, told police the demonstration leaders had asked him if he wanted to go to a parade.

Wright said he had no idea the leaders meant a demonstration. He explained he had been working for white persons all his life and did not want to demonstrate against them.

Wright was not held.

Miss. Leg.

— WS -
JMC

Negro Voters by District and County

(The following statistics are from the Congressional Quarterly, Week ending July 5, 1963, p. 1091 -3.)

First District (Northeast)

County	Negro Pop. Over 21	Negro Regis. Voters	Percent
Alcorn	1,750	61	3.5 %
Attila	4,262	61	1.4 %
Calhoun	1,767	0	0.0 %
Chickasaw	3,054	0	0.0 %
Choctaw	1,105	10	.9 %
Clay	4,444	10	.2 %
Itawamba	463	47	10.2 %
Lee	5,130	231	4.5 %
Lowndes	8,362	70	.8 %
Monroe	5,610	9	.2 %
Noxubee	5,172	0	0.0 %
Oktibbeha	4,592	107	2.2 %
Pontotoc	1,519	6	.4 %
Prentiss	1,070	18	1.7 %
Tishomingo	359	6	1.7 %
Webster	1,174	2	.2 %
Winston	3,611	57	1.6 %

Second District (Northwest):

Benton	1,419	150	10.5 %
Bolivar	15,939	612	3.8 %
Carroll	2,704	3	.1 %
Coahoma	14,404	1,800	12.3 %
DeSoto	6,246	4	.06%
Grenada	4,323	61	1.4 %
Holmes	8,757	41	.5 %
Humphreys	5,561	2	.04%
Issaquena	1,081	0	0.0 %
Lafayette	3,239	134	4.1 %
Leflore	13,567	268	1.9 %
Marshall	7,163	90	1.2 %
Montgomery	2,627	11	.4 %
Panola	7,250	2	.03%
Quitman	5,673	435	7.6 %
Sharkey	3,125	3	.1 %
Sunflower	13,524	164	1.2 %
Tallahatchie	6,483	5	.07%
Tate	4,326	0	0.0 %
Tippah	1,281	176	13.7 %
Tunica	5,822	22	.4 %
Union	1,626	6	.4 %
Washington	20,619	2,563	12.4 %
Yalobusha	2,441	4	.2 %

Resistance
Miss Reg Statistics
Pamphlet

County	Negro pop. over 21	Negro Regis. Voters	Percent
Third District (Southwest):			
Adams	9,340	1,050	11.2 %
Amite	3,560	1	.03%
Claiborne	3,969	50	1.2 %
Copiah	6,407	20	.31%
Franklin	1,842	146	7.9 %
Hinds	36,133	5,000	13.8 %
Jefferson	3,540	0	0.0 %
Lincoln	3,913	516	13.2 %
Pike	6,936	207	3.0 %
Walthall	2,490	3	.1 %
Warren	10,726	1,100	10.3 %
Wilkinson	4,120	110	2.7 %
Yazoo	8,719	178	2.1 %
Fourth District (Central):			
Clarke	2,988	34	1.1 %
Jasper	3,675	6	.20%
Kemper	3,221	10	.3 %
Lauderdale	11,924	1,200	10.1 %
Leake	3,397	150	4.4 %
Madison	10,366	500	4.8 %
Neshoba	2,565	8	.3 %
Newton	3,018	32	1.1 %
Rankin	6,944	43	.6 %
Scott	3,752	28	.7 %
Simpson	3,186	61	1.9 %
Smith	1,293	24	1.9 %
Fifth District (Southeast):			
Forrest	7,495	24	.2 %
George	580	13	2.2 %
Jones	7,427	872	11.7 %
Lamar	1,071	0	0.0 %
Marion	3,630	400	11.0 %
Pearl River	2,473	0	0.0 %
Perry	1,140	127	11.1 %
Stone	868	41	4.5 %
Greene	859	40	4.6 %
Wayne	2,556	0	0.0 %

Heber Ladner
Secretary of State
Jackson, Miss.

Rec'd 7-26-63

July 25, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This office does not have the information requested in your letter of July 23, 1963 as to the number of registered voters in the State. This information can be obtained only from the office of the County Registrar in each county.

I am forwarding to you under separate cover a Directory of Mississippi Elective Officials, 1960-1964, which contains the names and addresses of the circuit clerks who are the county registrars in this State should you desire to write them for the above information.

Very truly yours,

Heber Ladner

Heber Ladner
Secretary of State

HL:vp

Reg. Data
Mississippi
4 ~~Orders Rec'd~~

Bus. World 6-29-63

Justice Department Raps Miss. Town For Illegal Arrests

Brings Suit To Secure An Immediate Halt To Further Prosecution Of Six Negro Voting Registration Workers

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(SNS)—

The Department of Justice has brought suit to secure an immediate halt to further prosecution of six Negro voting registration workers arrested June 9 on baseless charges outside the bus terminal in Winona, Miss.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said a civil complaint filed in Oxford, Miss. asserted that the purpose of the arrests — for disorerly conduct and resisting arrest— was to discourage the six and other Negro passengers from attempting to use the bus terminal facilities freely.

The prosecution of the six constitutes an unlawful and unconstitutional interference with interstate commerce and with Interstate Commerce Commission regulations forbidding racial discrimination, Mr. Kennedy said.

Named as defendants were the City of Winona, located in Montgomery County, in north central Mississippi; Martin C. Billingsley, its mayor; Thomas Herrod, its police chief; and Earl W. Patridge, the county sheriff.

The complaint asked the United States District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi for temporary and permanent injunctions forbidding the defendants to interfere in any way with Negroes' use of bus terminal facilities in Winona.

The suit also asked that they be required to drop any further prosecution of the six Negroes arrested.

The six were convicted June 11 and subsequently released on $100 appeal bond. Their appeals to Mississippi Circuit Court would require new trials.

Mr. Kennedy said filing of the suit followed unsuccessful efforts by the Department to secure voluntary action by Winona officials.

The six Negroes, all from Mississippi, included one man James West, and five women, Mrs. Fannie Hamer, Annell Ponder, June Johnson, Rosemary Freeman, and Euvester Simpson.

The six were in Winona June 9 on a brief rest stop during a bus trip from Charleston, S. C. to Greenwood, Mississippi. Five of them entered the terminal restaurant, but were ordered out by Herrod.

They left and were standing peaceably outside the terminal. Herrod arrested them, nonetheless Immediately afterwards, Patridge arrested Mrs. Hamer, who had not gone into the restaurant but who also was standing outside.

There was no lawful reason or justification for any of the arrests, the complaint said.

They were convicted June 11 in the Winona Police Court with Mayor Billingsley sitting as Police Justice.

According to the complaint, Mayor Billingsley gave assurances to the Department in early 1962 that the City of Winona would not interfere with ICC regulations forbidding racial discrimination in interstate commerce. The regulations went into effect November 1, 1961.

Miss. Reg.

FBI Authorized To See Vote File

Arkansas Gazette
7-5-63

New Orleans, July 4 (AP).—The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals yesterday reversed a District Court and ordered it to allow FBI agents to inspect all voting records in seven Mississippi counties.

The District Court for Southern Mississippi had allowed the FBI to look at only the records of the county "circuit clerk" — but not those of the "vote registrar."

In each county, the circuit clerk and registrar is the same person. But the Justice Department had asked only to inspect the clerk's records.

The District Court's order allowed the FBI to inspect only the records possessed by each defendant in his capacity as circuit clerk—but not as voter registrar.

Miss. Leg.

Greenwood Commonwealth

Meredith Hits The Nail

7-6-63

VJL
SB
PA
MLU
LWD
VEP

This may seem like heresy to some folks, but we're going to have to give James Meredith his due.

The BMOC was up in Chicago last night and made a speech at a youth freedom fund dinner during the national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"My greatest dissatisfaction today is the existence of the very low quality of leadership present among our young Negroes and the childish nature of their activities," Meredith said.

"The two great shortcomings in our youth, he continued, , "are discipline and knowledge."

Now from Meredith's past actions we wouldn't suspect that he would say anything calculated to bring aid and comfort to Mississippi so he must have been speaking about a danger he perceives as great.

He apparently alluded to the sit-ins and demonstrations cropping up all over the country, protests for protesting's sake.

As far as we're concerned he drove right to the point as far as the quality of Negro youth leadership is currently concerned. The leaders we have any knowledge of exhibit a rare combination of ignorance and single-mindedness which is mixing a dangerous concoction for members of both races.

Emblematic of the truth of what Meredith said is the way in which his remarks were received by his audience, some of whom were the Negro youth he was speaking of.

When he had his say, Meredith left the rostrum to a few grudging hand claps. Then the master of ceremonies, John Davis, 22, a senior at Rutgers University and a member of the NAACP youth division board of directors, strode to the microphone.

He criticized Meredith's talk, saying he was grieved by the things the Ole Miss student said.

His remarks were greeted by wild cheering. (T. W.)

Miss. Leg.

VEP

WB —

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SERS Library

JACKSON DAILY
NEWS (MISS.) 7/14

Date DEC 7 1963

Bolivar Clerk Ordered To Open Voter Records

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — A Mississippi voter registrar was under orders of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals today to open her records to federal inspection.

The appeals court decision Friday was the latest in the long series of court battles which started in 1960 when the Bolivar County registrar of voters refused to show her- books to federal inspectors.

She was identified as Mrs. Walter Lewis.

Earlier a U.S. District Court had ordered that the books must be opened for inspection; but only for the "listed voters" for the 1960 elections.

The Department of Justice contended that the district judge had erred in limiting the inspectors to only the listed viters: They contended that "the limitation completely denied the attorney general an opportunity to inspect the records as to those who may have been denied illegally the right to qualify."

Dy Miss

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RETURNS

AUGUST 6, 1963

FOR STATE AND STATE DISTRICT OFFICERS AS FILED
OF RECORD IN OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

GOVERNOR

COUNTIES	J. P. Coleman	Paul B. Johnson	Robert F. Mason	Charles L. Sullivan
Adams	1,618	2,011	98	2,743
Alcorn	2,699	4,036	91	2,289
Amite	531	1,973	25	726
Attala	2,622	1,883	24	698
Benton	454	995	16	522
Bolivar	1,898	1,413	31	2,207
Calhoun	1,529	2,608	41	1,177
Carroll	1,038	991	4	573
Chickasaw	2,141	1,605	27	1,003
Choctaw	2,388	609	5	154
Claiborne	406	567	9	452
Clarke	895	2,073	17	1,383
Clay	1,162	1,520	19	839
Coahoma	1,204	455	6	3,419
Copiah	1,518	2,600	17	1,116
Covington	1,319	1,875	16	1,347
DeSoto	1,227	1,395	18	1,368
Forrest	2,449	5,602	36	2,838
Franklin	474	1,631	35	544
George	707	1,950	23	1,126
Greene	577	963	11	2,032
Grenada	1,264	1,573	13	1,164
Hancock	1,542	2,265	36	1,725
Harrison	6,914	7,586	126	7,943
Hinds	13,598	11,978	907	9,886
Holmes	1,307	1,378	11	945
Humphreys	704	910	29	643
Issaquena	198	282	2	157
Itawamba	2,587	2,805	36	1,154
Jackson	4,819	5,635	63	3,015
Jasper	1,445	1,615	25	1,146
Jefferson	375	597	8	522
Jefferson Davis	1,082	1,258	36	913
Jones	7,170	4.635	55	3,592
Kemper	883	1,311	13	686
Lafayette	1,845	1,153	23	1,628
Lamar	1,092	2,023	43	1,814
Lauderdale	4,300	5,846	73	4,338
Lawrence	728	2,098	21	967
Leake	1,191	2,894	19	809
Lee	5,281	2,823	62	2,847
Leflore	2,590	1,255	23	2,140
Lincoln	1,727	3,865	34	2,184
Lowndes	2,625	2,225	31	1,735
Madison	1,592	1,426	17	955
Marion	1,868	3,055	22	2,006
Marshall	1,130	1,214	10	1,236
Monroe	2,815	3,363	48	1,768
Montgomery	1,810	1,319	24	880
Neshoba	2,455	2,910	37	1,397
Newton	1,441	2,177	22	1,518
Noxubee	606	1,174	10	558
Oktibbeha	1,995	1,652	14	998
Panola	1,413	1,512	18	1,915
Pearl River	1,434	2,982	31	2,367
Perry	662	1,328	18	1,198
Pike	1,558	3,534	23	1.943
Pontotoc	2,544	1,838	53	1,641
Prentiss	2,279	2,743	24	1,460
Quitman	882	1,010	12	1,308
Rankin	1,961	4,218	77	2,413
Scott	1,539	2,814	22	1,299
Sharkey	416	617	6	451

GOVERNOR (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	J. P. Coleman	Paul B. Johnson	Robert F. Mason	Charles L. Sullivan
Simpson	1,399	3,477	113	1,153
Smith	1,338	2,623	36	1,491
Stone	552	843	12	1,100
Sunflower	1,439	1,453	21	1,524
Tallahatchie	1,309	1,496	12	1,369
Tate	867	1,482	16	1,195
Tippah	2,177	2,799	29	887
Tishomingo	1,778	1,767	28	1,337
Tunica	535	167	6	600
Union	2,798	2,512	38	1,346
Walthall	903	1,907	12	1,093
Warren	3,337	2,605	46	2,432
Washington	4,985	1,619	48	2,514
Wayne	1,231	2,181	17	1,637
Webster	1,851	1,647	21	733
Wilkinson	328	668	14	827
Winston	2,383	2,154	19	753
Yalobusha	890	1,288	9	1,151
Yazoo	1,673	2,203	15	1,359
TOTALS	156,296	182,540	3,257	132,321

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

COUNTIES	Evelyn Gandy	Carroll Gartin	Dave Perkins	Troy B. Watkins	Dorsey McCay
Adams	1,252	1,555	116	3,218	169
Alcorn	1,826	3,121	703	1,336	2,062
Amite	814	1,140	109	1,131	48
Attala	1,005	2,472	124	1,435	173
Benton	398	778	51	459	166
Bolivar	1,379	2,204	301	1,405	195
Calhoun	2,090	1,486	244	680	723
Carroll	676	990	269	555	113
Chickasaw	1,408	1,942	259	716	421
Choctaw	914	1,464	168	523	52
Claiborne	383	403	22	547	71
Clarke	1,183	2,037	189	857	61
Clay	938	1,479	208	792	90
Coahoma	1,214	2,356	243	1,172	131
Copiah	1,641	1,665	134	1,653	137
Covington	1,562	1,405	193	1,251	88
DeSoto	646	1,432	112	740	1,022
Forrest	5,467	3,368	228	1,616	243
Franklin	548	696	76	1,252	48
George	1,051	1,423	316	802	83
Greene	1,264	1,283	262	584	99
Grenada	1,006	1,507	306	845	322
Hancock	980	2,965	522	692	142
Harrison	4,913	11,887	2,115	2,995	523
Hinds	9,157	12,606	672	12,546	1,248
Holmes	1,049	1,374	130	926	166
Humphreys	526	707	89	811	145
Issaquena	152	192	81	186	11
Itawamba	1,786	2,363	164	1,326	773
Jackson	4,391	5,969	856	1,859	285
Jasper	1,263	1,521	118	1,199	122
Jefferson	493	310	23	648	27
Jefferson Davis	946	1,031	229	986	69

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR (Cont'd)

COUNTIES	Evelyn Gandy	Carroll Gartin	Dave Perkins	Troy B. Watkins	Dorsey McCay
Jones	4,258	8,069	320	2,387	339
Kemper	557	1,499	110	691	22
Lafayette	801	2,107	153	692	883
Lamar	1,740	1,605	556	852	192
Lauderdale	3,064	7,904	473	3,456	130
Lawrence	1,088	1,164	86	1,059	115
Leake	958	1,201	99	2,512	120
Lee	3,163	4,121	231	1,856	1,614
Leflore	980	2,808	378	1,640	172
Lincoln	1,303	2,339	222	3,698	191
Lowndes	1,406	3,245	365	1,272	297
Madison	1,072	1,385	76	1,303	152
Marion	1,656	2,948	504	1,452	205
Marshall	488	1,739	109	853	468
Monroe	1,889	3,319	438	1,697	655
Montgomery	1,140	1,669	266	662	258
Neshoba	1,369	3,340	266	1,650	79
Newton	1,217	2,188	143	1,512	82
Noxubee	647	1,014	115	511	42
Oktibbeha	1,130	2,033	285	974	215
Panola	1,418	1,797	210	793	619
Pearl River	1,783	3,173	427	1,100	178
Perry	1,403	983	208	493	97
Pike	1,777	2,839	142	2,103	163
Pontotoc	2,228	2,230	320	776	424
Prentiss	1,981	1,845	138	779	1,443
Quitman	628	1,311	167	735	314
Rankin	2,909	2,411	218	2,838	291
Scott	1,782	1,860	233	1,553	218
Sharkey	447	435	117	441	45
Simpson	1,736	1,752	271	2,164	176
Smith	2,221	1,632	204	1,200	184
Stone	678	977	415	332	79
Sunflower	1,116	1,526	243	1,422	105
Tallahatchie	1,174	1,503	585	649	267
Tate	458	1,694	104	826	477
Tippah	1,372	2,276	162	919	930
Tishomingo	871	1,914	200	1,018	736
Tunica	281	723	18	193	72
Union	1,291	3,170	265	1,035	841
Walthall	922	1,453	153	1,154	116
Warren	2,111	3,455	383	2,235	154
Washington	2,153	4,677	429	1,508	306
Wayne	1,888	1,935	163	951	92
Webster	1,234	1,680	295	827	153
Wilkinson	382	612	51	690	77
Winston	1,454	2,261	369	1,060	164
Yalobusha	640	775	116	267	1,537
Yazoo	1,381	1,711	159	1,832	165
TOTALS	123,966	187,438	21,592	110,365	26,869

SECRETARY OF STATE

COUNTIES	Heber Ladner	W. L McClure
Adams	3,302	1,665
Alcorn	5,449	3,203
Amite	2,168	1,015
Attala	3,461	1,659

SECRETARY OF STATE (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	Heber Ladner	W. L. McClure
Benton	1,229	502
Bolivar	3,939	1,393
Calhoun	3,177	1,684
Carroll	1,689	858
Chickasaw	2,851	1,564
Choctaw	1,975	1,048
Claiborne	1,056	312
Clarke	2,824	1,369
Clay	2,607	764
Coahoma	3,546	1,323
Copiah	4,024	1,158
Covington	3,133	1,222
DeSoto	2,363	1,504
Forrest	8,721	1,845
Franklin	1,755	738
George	2,462	1,181
Greene	2,099	1,089
Grenada	2,561	1,019
Hancock	4,212	1,050
Harrison	16,877	4,983
Hinds	30,649	5,152
Holmes	2,681	925
Humphreys	1,745	511
Issaquena	376	215
Itawamba	3,685	2,481
Jackson	9,123	3,789
Jasper	2,727	1,398
Jefferson	993	439
Jefferson Davis	2,261	837
Jones	10,872	4,159
Kemper	1,840	965
Lafayette	3,194	1,318
Lamar	3,908	924
Lauderdale	9,505	4,449
Lawrence	2,288	999
Leake	3,159	1,603
Lee	7,415	3,134
Leflore	4,602	1,217
Lincoln	5,112	2,419
Lowndes	4,596	1,735
Madison	3,136	777
Marion	4,760	1,832
Marshall	2,325	1,117
Monroe	5,328	2,400
Montgomery	2,623	1,184
Neshoba	4,230	2,495
Newton	3,651	1,402
Noxubee	1,721	567
Oktibbeha	3,428	1,084
Panola	3,189	1,546
Pearl River	5,831	851
Perry	2,254	710
Pike	5,306	1,658
Pontotoc	3,767	1,894
Prentiss	3,475	2,242
Quitman	1,899	1,143
Rankin	6,805	1,707
Scott	3,788	1,663
Sharkey	1,042	399
Simpson	4,423	1,464
Smith	3,599	1,551
Stone	2,005	329
Sunflower	3,517	821
Tallahatchie	2,890	1,204

SECRETARY OF STATE (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	Heber Ladner	W. L. McClure
Tate	2,008	1,357
Tippah	3,788	1,569
Tishomingo	2,446	1,830
Tunica	875	349
Union	4,278	2,058
Walthall	2,730	1,077
Warren	6,647	1,400
Washington	6,836	2,055
Wayne	3,206	1,570
Webster	2,710	1,138
Wilkinson	1,264	472
Winston	3,551	1,537
Yalobusha	2,191	936
Yazoo	3,873	1,242
TOTALS	329,606	123,447

ATTORNEY GENERAL

COUNTIES	John C. McLaurin	Joe T. Patterson
Adams	2,633	3,326
Alcorn	3,183	5,374
Amite	1,539	1,683
Attala	2,058	3,099
Benton	591	1,156
Bolivar	2,014	3,331
Calhoun	895	4,362
Carroll	1,117	1,461
Chickasaw	1,617	3,014
Choctaw	1,061	2,003
Claiborne	700	695
Clarke	1,968	2,279
Clay	1,133	2,301
Coahoma	1,439	3,608
Copiah	2,377	2,818
Covington	2,312	2,106
DeSoto	1,701	2,235
Forrest	4,586	6,156
Franklin	1,158	1,382
George	1,738	1,913
Greene	1,432	1,874
Grenada	1,582	2,324
Hancock	1,843	3,341
Harrison	7,221	14,407
Hinds	17,577	18,385
Holmes	1,687	1.936
Humphreys	876	1,389
Issaquena	285	326
Itawamba	2,477	3,753
Jackson	4,377	8,318
Jasper	2,270	1,898
Jefferson	822	655
Jefferson Davis	1,338	1,847
Jones	6,030	9,104
Kemper	1,471	1,356
Lafayette	1,422	3,098
Lamar	2,139	2,675
Lauderdale	7,373	6,997

ATTORNEY GENERAL (Cont'd)

COUNTIES	John C. McLaurin	Joe T. Patterson
Lawrence	1,500	1,945
Leake	2,658	2,169
Lee	3,154	7,548
Leflore	2,448	3,446
Lincoln	3,740	3,879
Lowndes	2,402	3,946
Madison	1,910	2,043
Marion	3,095	3,749
Marshall	1,419	2,017
Monroe	2,935	4,867
Montgomery	1,595	2,328
Neshoba	3,502	3,168
Newton	2,775	2,303
Noxubee	873	1,449
Oktibbeha	1,989	2,574
Panola	1,335	3,407
Pearl River	2,258	4,264
Perry	1,240	1,803
Pike	3,303	3.674
Pontotoc	1,822	4,014
Prentiss	2,128	3,892
Quitman	648	2,447
Rankin	7,281	1,352
Scott	3,182	2,362
Sharkey	620	848
Simpaon	3,446	2,590
Smith	2,861	2,459
Stone	606	1,686
Sunflower	1,464	2,932
Tallahatchie	1,499	2,603
Tate	875	2,532
Tippah	1,340	3,999
Tishomingo	1,414	2,994
Tunica	377	886
Union	1,750	4,600
Walthall	1,807	2,152
Warren	3,845	4,352
Washington	3,016	5,973
Wayne	2,680	2,107
Webster	992	3,085
Wilkinson	660	1,096
Winston	2,141	3,085
Yalobusha	924	2,293
Yazoo	2,425	2,789
TOTALS	191,976	267,692

STATE TREASURER

COUNTIES	B. G. (Bob) Jones	Charles P. Mosby, Jr.	William F. Winter
Adams	1,439	858	3,003
Alcorn	2,428	1,695	4,398
Amite	854	502	1,836
Attala	1,859	596	2,752
Benton	395	399	943
Bolivar	1,390	937	3,011
Calhoun	816	693	3,512
Carroll	624	390	1,544

STATE TREASURER (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	B. G. (Bob) Jones	Charles P. Mosby, Jr.	William F. Winter
Chickasaw	652	613	3,279
Choctaw	1,140	525	1,408
Claiborne	252	150	976
Clarke	891	1,132	2,176
Clay	695	442	2,201
Coahoma	1,254	1,040	2,632
Copiah	1,210	682	3,288
Covington	931	909	2,510
DeSoto	974	915	1,985
Forrest	2,368	1,268	6,914
Franklin	860	340	1,277
George	959	697	1,965
Greene	883	516	1,810
Grenada	384	246	3,326
Hancock	1,084	1,400	2,642
Harrison	4,067	4,106	13,294
Hinds	7,247	3,346	25,290
Holmes	929	483	2,204
Humphreys	430	347	1,464
Issaquena	168	124	304
Itawamba	1,129	841	4,233
Jackson	2,467	2,719	7,570
Jasper	933	1,014	2,212
Jefferson	251	131	1,055
Jefferson Davis	798	562	1,715
Jones	3,454	2,900	8,654
Kemper	518	991	1,335
Lafayette	1,118	565	2,838
Lamar	1,386	784	2,536
Lauderdale	1,414	7,191	5,745
Lawrence	1,001	496	1,794
Leake	1,155	912	2,687
Lee	2,129	1,337	7,134
Leflore	2,165	623	3,062
Lincoln	2,461	1,107	3,965
Lowndes	1,324	897	3,929
Madison	684	1,227	2,046
Marion	1,731	1,347	3,585
Marshall	740	599	2,093
Monroe	1,856	1,434	4,393
Montgomery	785	479	2,629
Neshoba	1,728	2,405	2,568
Newton	1,105	1,206	2,736
Noxubee	517	425	1,369
Oktibbeha	861	746	2,869
Panola	953	651	3,113
Pearl River	2,029	1,555	2,667
Perry	800	430	1,694
Pike	1,405	1,003	4,514
Pontotoc	1,345	988	3,233
Prentiss	1,186	980	3,643
Quitman	883	655	1,508
Rankin	1,988	1,228	5,304
Scott	1,354	1,110	2,984
Sharkey	439	201	806
Simpson	1,441	884	3,598
Smith	1,434	915	2,829
Stone	436	442	1,317
Sunflower	1,492	707	2,126
Tallahatchie	792	757	2,550
Tate	734	269	2,445
Tippah	1,253	930	3,009
Tishomingo	983	613	2,698

STATE TREASURER (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	B. G. (Bob) Jones	Charles P. Mosby, Jr.	William F. Winter
Tunica	262	274	699
Union	1,658	874	3,808
Walthall	987	592	2,193
Warren	1,678	1,098	5,224
Washington	3,150	1,299	4,468
Wayne	1,537	1,116	2,190
Webster	796	576	2,578
Wilkinson	533	366	821
Winston	1,262	1,770	2,128
Yalobusha	517	237	2,440
Yazoo	942	640	3,593
TOTALS	105,162	81,449	266,876

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

COUNTIES	E. B. (Boyd) Golding	A. L. (Alonzo) Lowery	J. M. (Jack) Tubb
Adams	1,660	874	3,413
Alcorn	3,293	2,098	3,485
Amite	1,177	995	1,049
Attala	1,651	1,083	2,460
Benton	496	401	937
Bolivar	1,993	623	2,807
Calhoun	2,029	1,388	1,804
Carroll	1,020	444	1,118
Chickasaw	886	2,794	1,117
Choctaw	901	784	1,373
Claiborne	379	199	798
Clarke	1,467	706	2,090
Clay	898	1,015	1,577
Coahoma	1,064	625	3,399
Copiah	1,534	845	2,829
Covington	1,812	980	1,651
DeSoto	722	992	2,210
Forrest	4,771	1,593	4,504
Franklin	852	579	1,144
George	1,621	619	1,447
Greene	1,238	579	1,542
Grenada	1,583	676	1,659
Hancock	1,881	653	2,696
Harrison	8,760	3,532	9,615
Hinds	10,800	5,515	19,831
Holmes	1,536	590	1,492
Humphreys	765	376	1,127
Issaquena	193	99	307
Itawamba	1,561	2,011	2,625
Jackson	4,205	2,083	6,789
Jasper	1,796	659	1,756
Jefferson	487	299	688
Jefferson Davis	1,347	438	1,395
Jones	5,265	2,348	7,525
Kemper	852	720	1,318
Lafayette	882	646	3,054
Lamar	1,984	857	1,981
Lauderdale	4,738	2,941	6,687
Lawrence	1,217	509	1,742
Leake	1,800	1,237	1,824
Lee	2,394	3,669	4,814

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	E. B. (Boyd) Golding	A. L. (Alonzo) Lowery	J. M. (Jack) Tubb
Leflore	1,822	646	3,459
Lincoln	2,522	1,447	3,601
Lowndes	1,562	2,017	2,706
Madison	1,645	715	1,594
Marion	3,061	861	3,031
Marshall	779	673	2,056
Monroe	909	3,336	3,731
Montgomery	2,236	565	1,175
Neshoba	2,566	1,895	2,288
Newton	2,369	1,005	1,752
Noxubee	731	456	1,138
Oktibbeha	1,380	1,070	2,145
Panola	1,004	1,192	2.608
Pearl River	1,807	1,108	3,562
Perry	974	327	1,782
Pike	2,061	1,197	3,501
Pontotoc	1,581	2,193	2,147
Prentiss	2,507	1,445	2,331
Quitman	839	509	1,826
Rankin	3,326	1,406	3,872
Scott	2,173	1,147	2,338
Sharkey	494	194	778
Simpson	2,448	1,121	2,496
Smith	2,572	954	1,845
Stone	922	255	1,177
Sunflower	1,504	672	2,195
Tallahatchie	1,072	697	2,377
Tate	852	594	2,041
Tippah	1,551	921	3,027
Tishomingo	1,297	1,217	2,104
Tunica	311	206	736
Union	1,709	1,358	3,466
Walthall	1,582	537	1,776
Warren	3,040	1,061	4,079
Washington	2,908	967	5,072
Wayne	1,616	1,359	1,954
Webster	2,209	733	1,252
Wilkinson	529	343	908
Winston	1,567	1,386	2,290
Yalobusha	817	465	1,941
Yazoo	2,419	494	2,317
TOTALS	154,783	90,818	218,153

AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

COUNTIES	W. H. (Hamp) King	Dewey Norton
Adams	3,932	1,369
Alcorn	5,290	3,036
Amite	2,285	854
Attala	3,543	1,501
Benton	894	713
Bolivar	4,346	919
Calhoun	3,479	1,253
Carroll	1,969	555
Chickasaw	3,499	838
Choctaw	1,858	992
Claiborne	996	299

AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	W. H. (Hamp) King	Dewey Norton
Clarke	2,549	1,487
Clay	2,487	782
Coahoma	3,722	1,082
Copiah	3,579	1,511
Covington	2,862	1,364
DeSoto	2,466	1,359
Forrest	8,075	2,164
Franklin	1,819	578
George	2,294	1,164
Greene	2,155	980
Grenada	2,770	962
Hancock	2,713	2,206
Harrison	13,675	7,403
Hinds	26,629	8,501
Holmes	2,847	732
Humphreys	1,573	644
Issaquena	410	161
Itawamba	3,525	2,550
Jackson	7,480	4,958
Jasper	2,967	1,150
Jefferson	1,162	241
Jefferson Davis	2,198	721
Jones	10,143	4,650
Kemper	1,763	1,038
Lafayette	3,354	910
Lamar	2,906	1,511
Lauderdale	7,859	6,051
Lawrence	2,194	1,017
Leake	3,008	1,617
Lee	6,925	3,372
Leflore	4,448	1,243
Lincoln	5,138	2,175
Lowndes	4,252	1,619
Madison	2,901	969
Marion	4,642	1,919
Marshall	2,350	990
Monroe	4,715	2,812
Montgomery	2,741	943
Neshoba	3,779	2,724
Newton	3,421	1,558
Noxubee	1,642	608
Oktibbeha	3,222	1,120
Panola	3,217	1,448
Pearl River	3,851	2,111
Perry	2,101	759
Pike	4,892	1,944
Pontotoc	3,504	2,017
Prentiss	4,075	1,539
Quitman	1,982	952
Rankin	6,167	2,249
Scott	3,882	1,454
Sharkey	1,031	390
Simpson	4,194	1,582
Smith	3,256	1,803
Stone	1,598	530
Sunflower	3,174	1,060
Tallahatchie	2,888	1,156
Tate	2,201	1,045
Tippah	2,743	2,276
Tishomingo	2,535	1,576
Tunica	842	336
Union	4,046	2,140

AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	W. H. (Hamp) King	Dewey Norton
Walthall	2,608	1,124
Warren	5,532	2,327
Washington	6,220	2,257
Wayne	3,135	1,612
Webster	2,503	1,117
Wilkinson	1,059	561
Winston	3,149	1,851
Yalobusha	2,241	780
Yazoo	4,267	800
TOTALS	306,344	134,671

LAND COMMISSIONER

COUNTIES	Robert E. (Bob)Graham	Andrew W. Sullivan
Adams	3,764	1,687
Alcorn	4,735	3,436
Amite	2,029	1,105
Attala	3,315	1,740
Benton	968	659
Bolivar	3,612	1,603
Calhoun	2,865	1,897
Carroll	1,575	952
Chickasaw	2,383	1,961
Choctaw	1,926	901
Claiborne	878	444
Clarke	2,980	1,105
Clay	2,455	863
Coahoma	3,274	1,430
Copiah	3,657	1,387
Covington	2,536	1,896
DeSoto	2,275	1,538
Forrest	7,715	2,746
Franklin	1,746	709
George	2,244	1,246
Greene	1,842	1,300
Grenada	2,326	1,349
Hancock	3,273	1,833
Harrison	15,081	6,187
Hinds	26,200	9,184
Holmes	2,169	1,413
Humphreys	1,408	816
Issaquena	376	205
Itawamba	3,722	2,394
Jackson	8,916	3,662
Jasper	3,037	1,117
Jefferson	926	479
Jefferson Davis	2,023	1,049
Jones	11,336	3,567
Kemper	1,695	1,104
Lafayette	2,642	1,708
Lamar	3,309	1,320
Lauderdale	9,609	4,134
Lawrence	2,077	1,212
Leake	3,021	1,636
Lee	6,337	3,881
Leflore	4,117	1,578
Lincoln	4,783	2,585

LAND COMMISSIONER (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	Robert E. (Bob) Graham	Andrew W. Sullivan
Lowndes	4,226	1,865
Madison	2,680	1,202
Marion	4,361	2,288
Marshall	1,952	1,383
Monroe	4,846	2,820
Montgomery	2,461	1,326
Neshoba	4,378	2,341
Newton	3,372	1,612
Noxubee	842	1,435
Oktibbeha	3,190	1,181
Panola	3,071	1,642
Pearl River	4,048	2,063
Perry	1,866	1,058
Pike	4,763	1,966
Pontotoc	3,325	2,300
Prentiss	3,336	2,115
Quitman	1,997	979
Rankin	6,138	2,354
Scott	3,893	1,536
Sharkey	937	487
Simpson	4,078	1,785
Smith	3,394	1,742
Stone	1,489	672
Sunflower	2,787	1,449
Tallahatchie	2,555	1,538
Tate	2,180	1,099
Tippah	3,064	2,031
Tishomingo	2,341	1,706
Tunica	748	455
Union	4,158	2,113
Walthall	2,039	1,657
Warren	5,563	2,253
Washington	6,319	2,325
Wayne	3,620	1,248
Webster	2,415	1,291
Wilkinson	1,074	614
Winston	2,934	2,096
Yalobusha	1,935	1,081
Yazoo	3,517	1,610
TOTALS	299,049	145,736

COMMISSIONER OF INSURANCE

COUNTIES	Walter Dell Davis	David H. Stewart
Adams	3,874	1,602
Alcorn	5,353	3,195
Amite	2,011	1,146
Attala	3,703	1,418
Benton	1,245	455
Bolivar	4,122	1,159
Calhoun	1,271	3,832
Carroll	2,079	571
Chickasaw	1,417	3,154
Choctaw	1,806	1,126
Claiborne	998	327

COMMISSIONER OF INSURANCE (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	Walter Dell Davis	David H. Stewart
Clarke	3,016	1,076
Clay	2,458	914
Coahoma	4,124	827
Copiah	3,777	1,365
Covington	2,533	1,762
DeSoto	2,876	933
Forrest	8,325	2,122
Franklin	1,800	647
George	2,247	1,275
Greene	2,220	925
Grenada	2,879	929
Hancock	3,420	1,679
Harrison	15,573	5,774
Hinds	26,869	8,621
Holmes	2,644	958
Humphreys	1,603	627
Issaquena	384	193
Itawamba	4,207	1,897
Jackson	8,759	3,944
Jasper	2,937	1,134
Jefferson	1,048	365
Jefferson Davis	2,175	904
Jones	11,407	3,490
Kemper	2,120	689
Lafayette	3,307	1,123
Lamar	3,148	1,506
Lauderdale	10,471	3,458
Lawrence	2,419	884
Leake	3,235	1,535
Lee	7,159	3,120
Leflore	4,633	1,177
Lincoln	4,850	2,454
Lowndes	4,217	1,781
Madison	2,933	960
Marion	4,735	1,778
Marshall	2,567	808
Monroe	5,244	2,445
Montgomery	3,054	865
Neshoba	4,481	2,025
Newton	3,640	1,365
Noxubee	1,625	685
Oktibbeha	2,930	1,541
Panola	3,560	1,193
Pearl River	3,810	2,466
Perry	2,198	714
Pike	4,800	2,134
Pontotoc	3,189	2,519
Prentiss	3,796	1,679
Quitman	2,209	820
Rankin	6,418	2,021
Scott	3,805	1,597
Sharkey	1,063	372
Simpson	4,435	1,465
Smith	3,442	1,678
Stone	1,794	432
Sunflower	3,218	982
Tallahatchie	2,756	1,333
Tate	2,516	811
Tippah	3,565	1,578
Tishomingo	3,400	923
Tunica	942	251
Union	4,254	2,001
Walthall	2,594	992
Warren	6,178	1,769
Washington	6,499	2,310
Wayne	3,312	1,453
Webster	2,483	1,471

COMMISSIONER OF INSURANCE (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	Walter Dell Davis	David H. Stewart
Wilkinson	1,188	522
Winston	3,238	1,856
Yalobusha	2,245	850
Yazoo	4,048	1,109
TOTALS	318,883	129,846

COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

COUNTIES	Watt Carter	S. E. "Si" Corley
Adams	1,711	3,745
Alcorn	4,380	4,123
Amite	1,073	2,130
Attala	1,942	3,194
Benton	860	892
Bolivar	1,515	3,828
Calhoun	4,563	645
Carroll	900	1,664
Chickasaw	3,341	1,298
Choctaw	1,315	1,620
Claiborne	293	1,069
Clarke	1,644	2,549
Clay	1,414	2,020
Coahoma	1,199	3,716
Copiah	1,412	3,776
Covington	1,875	2,465
DeSoto	1,992	1,883
Forrest	3,355	7,191
Franklin	747	1,681
George	1,359	2,183
Greene	1,204	1,983
Grenada	1,585	2,300
Hancock	1,805	3,120
Harrison	7,906	13,401
Hinds	7,850	27,500
Holmes	1,062	2,554
Humphreys	645	1,613
Issaquena	180	411
Itawamba	3,953	2,296
Jackson	5,060	7,641
Jasper	1,767	2,376
Jefferson	365	1,089
Jefferson Davis	1,193	1,936
Jones	5,620	8,976
Kemper	1,385	1,439
Lafayette	2,192	2,258
Lamar	1,816	2,880
Lauderdale	6,189	7,839
Lawrence	1,224	2,122
Leake	2,039	2,760
Lee	4,948	5,516
Leflore	1,473	4,369
Lincoln	2,800	4,655
Lowndes	2,379	3,710
Madison	1,011	2,921
Marion	2,427	4,260

COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE (Cont'd.)

COUNTIES	Watt Carter	S. E. "Si" Corley
Marshall	1,252	2,165
Monroe	3,715	4,026
Montgomery	1,802	2,072
Neshoba	3,770	2,874
Newton	2,356	2,711
Noxubee	762	1,573
Oktibbeha	1,604	2,943
Panola	1,471	3,295
Pearl River	2,234	4,001
Perry	1,026	1,938
Pike	1,945	4,958
Pontotoc	3,956	1,805
Prentiss	3,156	2,640
Quitman	1,585	1,476
Rankin	2,360	6,106
Scott	2,503	2,988
Sharkey	452	1,006
Simpson	2,154	3,807
Smith	2,234	2,990
Stone	779	1,470
Sunflower	1,192	3,139
Tallahatchie	1,655	2,446
Tate	1,036	2,357
Tippah	3,574	1,777
Tishomingo	2,443	1,873
Tunica	435	803
Union	3,589	2,712
Walthall	1,475	2,321
Warren	1,971	5,976
Washington	3,043	5,732
Wayne	2,109	2,711
Webster	2,187	1,814
Wilkinson	603	1,131
Winston	2,525	2,651
Yalobusha	1,248	1,929
Yazoo	1,160	4,046
TOTALS	178,329	273,859

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER
(Second District)

COUNTIES	John L. Dale	W. E. (Bucky) Moore
Adams	1,698	3,710
Amite	764	2,442
Claiborne	591	750
Clarke	1,815	2,335
Copiah	1,996	3,147
Covington	2,446	1,908
Forrest	5,672	4,941
Franklin	783	1,646
George	3,509	249
Greene	2,647	696
Hancock	1,885	3,181
Harrison	11,020	10,412
Jackson	7,897	4,930
Jasper	2,043	2,030
Jefferson	514	900
Jefferson Davis	1,918	1,236
Jones	7,707	7,265

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER (Cont'd.)
(Second District)

COUNTIES	John L. Dale	W. E. (Bucky)Moore
Lamar	2,656	2,139
Lawrence	1,874	1,535
Lincoln	2,841	4,586
Marion	3,119	3,726
Pearl River	3,188	3,166
Perry	1,891	1,128
Pike	1,198	5,775
Simpson	3,147	2,841
Smith	2,705	2,456
Stone	1,599	750
Walthall	1,507	2,377
Wayne	2,588	2,274
Wilkinson	755	985
TOTALS	83,973	85,516

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER
(Third District)

COUNTIES	Hugh Bailey	Flavous Lambert	D. W. Snyder	Evan E. (Ted) Tumlinson
Alcorn	1,621	4,002	1,412	1,628
Benton	402	234	657	482
Calhoun	1,303	347	1,942	1,459
Carroll	1,219	189	763	428
Chickasaw	815	377	1,561	1,831
Choctaw	761	253	1,330	630
Clay	267	133	494	2,593
Coahoma	1,132	748	1,215	1,760
DeSoto	1,285	654	1,341	642
Grenada	1,051	383	1,563	842
Itawamba	911	2,129	1,605	1,501
Lafayette	1,637	577	1,435	778
Lee	1,759	2,493	3,330	2,998
Leflore	2,116	680	1,554	1,355
Lowndes	1,180	970	1,260	2,832
Marshall	763	398	625	1,655
Monroe	1,543	1,677	2,001	2,538
Montgomery	1,536	175	1,826	404
Oktibbeha	594	403	1,484	2,047
Panola	1,240	769	1,372	1,378
Pontotoc	1,693	800	1,520	1,668
Prentiss	930	2,328	1,450	1,382
Quitman	803	302	1,336	615
Tallahatchie	805	336	1,394	1,610
Tate	738	332	1,515	784
Tippah	1,422	1,045	1,339	1,404
Tishomingo	913	2,569	534	711
Tunica	382	173	383	268
Union	1,456	802	2,739	1,379
Webster	656	129	2,556	813
Yalobusha	985	272	1,235	652
TOTALS	33,945	26,679	44,771	41,067

HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER
First District

COUNTIES	W. F. (Felder) Dearman	Sam W. Waggoner
Attala	2,877	2,295
Bolivar	3,382	1,983
Hinds	21,169	14,913
Holmes	2,362	1,267
Humphreys	1,181	1,082
Issaquena	376	236
Kemper	1,605	1,253
Lauderdale	6,235	8,172
Leake	2,541	2,341
Madison	2,379	1,566
Neshoba	3,360	3,350
Newton	1,794	3,361
Noxubee	1,091	1,226
Rankin	4,443	4,119
Scott	2,828	2,785
Sharkey	762	712
Sunflower	2,623	1,746
Warren	5,473	2,716
Washington	5,286	3,253
Winston	2,822	2,352
Yazoo	2,569	2,660
TOTALS	77,158	63,388

HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER
Second District

COUNTIES	W. H. (Shag) Pyron	Hiram B. Smith	John D. Smith
Adams	1,655	615	3,535
Amite	875	263	2,072
Claiborne	435	125	820
Clarke	1,369	851	1,986
Copiah	2,450	390	2,364
Covington	568	1,414	2,464
Forrest	1,922	2,435	6,352
Franklin	1,026	292	1,249
George	1,312	906	1,537
Greene	895	718	1,775
Hancock	1,384	901	3,131
Harrison	6,093	4,407	11,306
Jackson	4,405	2,357	6,296
Jasper	1,430	744	1,982
Jefferson	389	121	965
Jefferson Davis	605	1,205	1,431
Jones	3,935	2,517	8,708
Lamar	1,265	1,233	2,475
Lawrence	989	663	1,855
Lincoln	2,689	1,130	3,771
Marion	2,426	1,147	3,415
Pearl River	3,113	708	2,807
Perry	760	587	1,764
Pike	2,170	624	4,170
Simpson	400	2,547	3,163
Smith	1,073	1,905	2,387
Stone	733	364	1,281
Walthall	1,268	530	2,092
Wayne	1,435	979	2,488
Wilkinson	466	155	1,167
TOTALS	49,535	32,833	90,808

HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER
Third District

COUNTIES	Roy C. Adams	Isaac Raymond Bailey
Alcorn	6,501	2,417
Benton	1,388	505
Calhoun	1,863	3,422
Carroll	1,858	706
Chickasaw	2,616	2,065
Choctaw	1,805	1,219
Clay	2,717	774
Coahoma	3,622	1,299
DeSoto	2,958	939
Grenada	2,570	1,356
Itawamba	4,889	1,541
Lafayette	3,395	1,181
Lee	8,778	2,048
Leflore	4,441	1,166
Lowndes	4,182	2,076
Marshall	2,634	876
Monroe	5,692	2,170
Montgomery	2,394	1,514
Oktibbeha	3,560	983
Panola	3,878	1,089
Pontotoc	2,868	3,031
Prentiss	4,956	1,330
Quitman	2,098	1,007
Tallahatchie	2,925	1,221
Tate	2,651	866
Tippah	4,350	1,186
Tishomingo	3,834	1,031
Tunica	791	461
Union	4,510	2,055
Webster	2,593	1,481
Yalobusha	2,334	945
TOTALS	105,651	43,960

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Second District

COUNTIES	Boyce Holleman	Richard L. Yarbrough
Hancock	3,738	1,589
Harrison	15,414	6,897
Stone	1,709	739
TOTALS	17,123	7,636

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Fourth District

COUNTIES	James T. (Pat) Bridges	George A. Everett
Holmes	2,093	1,494
Humphreys	1,515	745
Leflore	1,128	4,682
Sunflower	1,681	2,622
Washington	5,301	3,347
TOTALS	11,718	12,890

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Eighth District

COUNTIES	Osborn G. Idom	William H. Johnson, Jr.	Laurel G. Weir
Leake	1,241	1,439	2,160
Neshoba	1,075	1,988	3,630
Newton	1,374	2,611	1,101
Rankin	3,535	2,573	2,338
Scott	3,170	1,621	708
TOTALS	10,395	10,232	9,937

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Ninth District

COUNTIES	T. J. (Tom) Lawrence	Ronald K. McLaughlin
Claiborne	1,014	196
Issaquena	343	262
Sharkey	946	514
Warren	5,832	2,398
TOTALS	8,135	3,370

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Tenth District

COUNTIES	Gerald Adams	George D. Warner, Jr.
Clarke	1,574	2,705
Lauderdale	7,809	6,518
Wayne	1,933	2,987
TOTALS	11,316	12,210

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Twelfth District

COUNTIES	Lawrence D. Arrington	James (Jimmie) Finch	Karl W. Kepper
Forrest	2,153	7,084	1,566
Perry	778	1,855	509
TOTALS	2,931	8,939	2,075

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Thirteenth District

COUNTIES	William D. Adams	O. O. Weathersby
Covington	2,628	1,805
Jasper	1,876	2,250
Simpson	3,029	3,021
Smith	2,012	3,343
TOTALS	9,545	10,419

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Seventeenth District

COUNTIES	Charles C. (Cliff) Finch	Roy E. Johnson
DeSoto	2,152	1,756
Panola	3,463	1,366
Tallahatchie	2,795	1,347
Tate	1,344	2,170
Yalobusha	2,014	1,271
TOTALS	11,769	7,910

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

SECOND DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RETURNS

AUGUST 27, 1963

FOR STATE AND STATE DISTRICT OFFICERS AS FILED
OF RECORD IN OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

COUNTIES	GOVERNOR J. P. Coleman	GOVERNOR Paul B. Johnson	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Evelyn Gandy	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Carroll Gartin	STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION E. B. (Boyd) Golding	STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION J.M. (Jack) Tubb
Adams	2,487	3,747	3,274	2,905	2,236	3,751
Alcorn	2,894	5,341	2,938	5,179	4,086	4,021
Amite	732	2,244	1,647	1,331	1,801	1,167
Attala	2,802	2,273	2,138	2,959	2,429	2,654
Benton	558	1,339	650	1,188	671	1,139
Bolivar	2,476	2,509	2,396	2,593	2,137	2,855
Calhoun	1,863	3,049	3,149	1,805	2,801	2,107
Carroll	1,180	1,347	1,245	1,289	1,291	1,227
Chickasaw	2,283	2,230	2,389	2,123	2,295	2,199
Choctaw	2,374	711	1,249	1,826	1,527	1,522
Claiborne	519	873	819	571	602	778
Clarke	1,099	3,116	1,862	2,356	2,158	2,115
Clay	1,435	1,943	1,639	1,748	1,662	1,707
Coahoma	2,871	1,796	1,995	2,465	1,564	2,896
Copiah	1,846	3,243	2,910	2,170	2,239	2,874
Covington	1,611	2,718	2,517	1,803	2,469	1,824
DeSoto	1,701	2,187	1,472	2,387	1,182	2,662
Forrest	3,489	7,270	6,791	3,983	6,298	4,451
Franklin	607	1,934	1,536	997	1,342	1,174
George	1,031	2,720	1,946	1,788	2,062	1,619
Greene	1,086	2,387	1,809	1,626	1,774	1,577
Grenada	1,674	2,180	1,839	2,017	2,066	1,765
Hancock	2,176	3,327	1,648	3,751	2,110	3,281
Harrison	10,262	11,574	8,100	13,568	10,185	11,282
Hinds	17,639	17,838	17,797	17,778	13,607	21,884
Holmes	1,463	1,888	1,771	1,595	1,799	1,564
Humphreys	925	1,331	1,258	1,000	1,126	1,158
Issaquena	227	366	295	293	238	329
Itawamba	2,876	3,479	3,039	3,396	3,485	2,900
Jackson	5,846	7,073	6,503	6,404	5,668	7,014
Jasper	1,706	2,415	2,158	1,980	2,284	1,857
Jefferson	430	871	829	469	640	658
Jefferson Davis	1,172	1,838	1,595	1,418	1,566	1,435
Jones	7,906	7,136	6,201	8,853	7,427	7,493
Kemper	1,005	1,730	1,003	1,726	1,377	1,352
Lafayette	2,459	1,991	1,330	3,124	1,278	3,169
Lamar	1,603	3,146	2,364	2,255	2,585	2,129
Lauderdale	5,454	8,760	5,109	9,143	6,853	7,334
Lawrence	952	2,517	1,965	1,477	1,722	1,691
Leake	1,364	3,344	2,854	1,854	2,745	1,962
Lee	6,185	4,579	5,364	5,441	4,684	6,090
Leflore	3,445	2,492	2,291	3,642	2,196	3,734
Lincoln	2,386	5,504	3,831	3,979	3,942	3,872
Lowndes	3,068	3,317	2,484	3,917	3,199	3,154
Madison	1,853	2,051	2,072	1,832	1,999	1,897
Marion	2,235	4,790	3,033	3,927	3,458	3,457
Marshall	1,471	2,024	1,091	2,370	1,036	2,411
Monroe	3,429	4,368	3,582	4,218	3,201	4,624
Montgomery	2,001	1,839	1,844	1,999	2,371	1,[illegible]
Neshoba	2,786	3,569	2,505	3,862	3,622	2,753
Newton	1,813	3,286	2,458	2,650	2,974	2,136
Noxubee	719	1,489	1,008	1,206	1,064	1,148
Oktibbeha	2,259	2,106	1,854	2,512	2,091	2,265
Panola	2,149	2,461	2,382	2,368	1,657	3,073
Pearl River	2,008	4,467	2,819	3,613	2,454	3,843
Perry	833	2,199	1,740	1,280	1,377	1,600
Pike	2,239	4,596	3,435	3,511	3,110	3,815
Pontotoc	2,968	2,987	3,159	2,747	3,100	2,817
Prentiss	2,521	3,780	3,389	2,855	3,635	2,530
Quitman	1,355	1,808	1,317	1,812	1,101	2,034
Rankin	2,697	5,771	5,386	3,099	4,315	4,172
Scott	1,836	3,626	3,145	2,332	2,881	2,583

COUNTIES	GOVERNOR		LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR		STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION	
	J. P. Coleman	Paul B. Johnson	Evelyn Gandy	Carroll Gartin	E. B. (Boyd) Golding	J. M. (Jack) Tubb
Sharkey	572	872	818	629	615	831
Simpson	1,667	4,206	3,663	2,217	3,355	2,520
Smith	1,619	3,650	3,350	1,882	3,257	1,967
Stone	850	1,351	1,104	1,102	1,084	1,101
Sunflower	1,812	2,287	1,997	2,045	1,927	2,172
Tallahatchie	1,685	2,524	2,001	2,189	1,574	2,596
Tate	1,196	2,242	992	2,416	1,205	2,205
Tippah	2,420	3,300	2,340	3,255	2,295	3,300
Tishomingo	1,818	2,895	1,820	2,737	2,250	2,388
Tunica	614	376	380	609	318	666
Union	3,098	3,376	2,281	4,182	2,686	3,740
Walthall	1,238	2,629	1,941	1,919	1,851	1,997
Warren	4,080	4,084	4,008	4,147	4,013	4.079
Washington	6,060	2,905	3,539	5,342	2,912	5,941
Wayne	1,463	3,263	2,542	2,175	2,568	2,111
Webster	2,036	2,088	2,034	2,086	2,654	1,467
Wilkinson	582	1,119	805	895	698	984
Winston	2,717	2,506	2,459	2,771	2,567	2,649
Yalobusha	1,175	1,978	1,508	1,634	1,153	1,991
Yazoo	2,117	2,952	2,765	2,322	2,404	2,686
TOTALS	194,958	261,493	216,565	238,919	214,240	239,425

COUNTIES	PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER (Third or Northern District)		DISTRICT ATTORNEY (Eighth District)	
	D. W. Snyder	Evan E. (Ted) Tumlinson	Osborn Guyton Idom	William H. Johnson, Jr.
Alcorn	4,273	3,694		
Benton	1,115	673		
Calhoun	2,559	2,316		
Carroll	1,557	929		
Chickasaw	2,062	2,395		
Choctaw	1,981	996		
Clay	872	2,510		
Coahoma	2,394	2,013		
DeSoto	2,291	1,529		
Grenada	2,606	1,151		
Itawamba	3,648	2,737		
Lafayette	2,547	1,818		
Leake			2,237	2,397
Lee	5,936	4,777		
Leflore	3,235	2,630		
Lowndes	3,038	3,244		
Marshall	1,696	1,725		
Monroe	4,095	3,645		
Montgomery	2,909	904		
Neshoba			2,247	4,129
Newton			1,841	3,226
Oktibbeha	2,111	2,232		
Panola	2,503	2,205		
Pontotoc	2,945	2,888		
Prentiss	3,660	2,427		
Quitman	2,076	1,032		
Rankin			4,880	3,427
Scott			3,340	2,039
Tallahatchie	2,252	1,918		
TOTALS			14,545	15,218

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER
(Third or Northern District)

COUNTIES	D. W. Snyder	Evan E. (Ted) Tumlinson
Tate	2,231	1,117
Tippah	3,011	2,350
Tishomingo	2,663	1,886
Tunica	566	404
Union	3,866	2,503
Webster	2,781	1,322
Yalobusha	2,066	1,040
TOTALS	81,545	63,010

WB

OFFICIAL VOTE TABULATION
STATE OF MISSISSIPPI GENERAL ELECTION
NOVEMBER 5, 1963

COUNTIES	GOVERNOR		LT. GOVERNOR		SECRETARY OF STATE	ATTORNEY GENERAL
	Paul B. Johnson Dem.	Rubel L. Phillips Rep.	Carroll Gartin Dem.	Stanford E.Morse,Jr. Rep.	Heber Ladner Dem.	Joe T. Patterson Dem.
Adams	3,237	2,659	3,549	2,144	2,434	2,603
Alcorn	3,677	2,975	4,275	1,949	1,929	1,938
Amite	2,053	379	2,037	271	2,033	2,032
Attala	2,589	1,435	3,124	820	2,660	2,694
Benton	966	352	975	171	762	747
Bolivar	2,578	2,061	3,030	1,518	2,346	2,360
Calhoun	2,607	891	2,786	618	1,888	1,999
Carroll	1,372	588	1,531	369	1,341	1,361
Chickasaw	2,152	1,168	2,510	494	1,324	1,344
Choctaw	942	1,206	1,587	523	1,337	1,386
Claiborne	888	293	926	229	554	554
Clarke	2,476	828	2,710	477	2,073	2,077
Clay	1,808	1,084	2,095	706	1,906	1,985
Coahoma	1,680	2,251	2,292	1,538	2,666	2,770
Copiah	3,329	1,002	3,501	697	3,976	3,994
Covington	2,274	806	2,397	486	2,038	2,047
DeSoto	1,425	1,139	1,685	704	1,845	1,845
Forrest	6,132	3,534	6,392	2,393	8,413	8,424
Franklin	1,907	252	1,945	147	1,409	1,404
George	1,733	730	1,779	571	1,964	1,959
Greene	1,371	462	1,422	309	659	645
Grenada	2,031	1,157	2,301	796	3,106	3,115
Hancock	1,729	889	1,775	687	1,358	1,317
Harrison	7,804	8,816	9,152	7,069	6,517	6,483
Hinds	17,883	14,450	21,264	10,820	25,151	25,039
Holmes	1,991	968	2,227	697	1,578	1,553
Humphreys	1,292	616	1,416	448	1,539	1,536
Issaquena	275	160	310	115	271	280
Itawamba	3,524	1,416	3,909	757	3,222	3,215
Jackson	5,371	4,911	6,831	2,991	8,132	8,107
Jasper	2,010	1,068	2,322	599	2,411	2,394
Jefferson	922	190	949	144	837	844
Jefferson Davis	1,731	600	1,894	374	1,497	1,493
Jones	6,294	6,436	9,082	3,384	10,110	10,176
Kemper	1,697	399	1,846	189	1,444	1,487
Lafayette	1,812	1,569	2,332	1,095	2,556	2,597
Lamar	2,099	1,339	2,552	892	2,260	2,183
Lauderdale	7,188	4,538	8,993	2,720	9,664	9,656
Lawrence	1,808	377	1,826	252	1,443	1,456
Leake	3,123	824	3,282	504	3,324	3,312
Lee	4,969	3,781	6,802	1,767	5,010	4,852
Leflore	2,542	2,481	3,269	1,687	3,620	3,664
Lincoln	5,258	1,798	5,438	1,298	2,744	2,587
Lowndes	2,747	3,124	3,620	2,167	3,669	3,745
Madison	2,314	931	2,526	648	2,459	2,456
Marion	3,874	1,182	4,120	773	1,828	1,758
Marshall	1,421	1,099	1,837	535	1,344	1,328
Monroe	3,596	2,628	4,595	1,543	3,063	3,150
Montgomery	1,842	1,192	2,237	690	1,312	1,359
Neshoba	3,559	1,297	3,898	706	3,715	3,700
Newton	3,011	1,267	3,156	743	3,469	3,446
Noxubee	1,212	620	1,304	498	1,250	1,226
Oktibbeha	2,367	1,764	2,987	1,005	2,694	2,708
Panola	1,982	1,843	2,434	1,183	2,222	2,245
Pearl River	2,271	1,455	2,541	868	2,027	1,981
Perry	1,484	568	1,614	366	1,012	992

COUNTIES	GOVERNOR		LT. GOVERNOR		SECRETARY OF STATE	ATTORNEY GENERAL
	Paul B. Johnson Dem.	Ruble L. Phillips Rep.	Carroll Gartin Dem	Stanford E.Morse,Jr. Rep.	Heber Ladner Dem.	Joe T. Patterson Dem.
Pike	4,137	1,703	4,438	1,151	4,392	4,374
Pontotoc	2,454	1,568	3,036	730	2,171	2,150
Prentiss	2,885	1,227	3,158	662	1,384	1,442
Quitman	1,618	835	1,804	501	877	894
Rankin	5,321	1,708	5,635	1,154	5,000	4,982
Scott	3,388	1,144	3,565	769	3,367	3,359
Sharkey	783	391	830	307	718	712
Simpson	4,005	1,237	4,035	826	4,373	4,425
Smith	3,176	826	3,174	560	2,119	2,260
Stone	859	795	1,061	515	954	935
Sunflower	2,422	1,678	2,766	1,256	2,107	3,044
Tallahatchie	2,211	1,215	2,420	813	2,688	2,703
Tate	1,569	877	1,720	638	901	905
Tippah	2,458	1,356	2,864	624	2,088	1,944
Tishomingo	2,204	1,191	2,404	774	1,245	1,227
Tunica	526	490	605	362	753	765
Union	2,583	1,674	3,212	799	2,414	2,429
Walthall	1,897	858	2,041	544	1,542	1,510
Warren	3,153	3,284	3,651	2,637	3,715	3,747
Washington	2,683	4,190	3,804	2,989	3,885	3,825
Wayne	2,717	1,353	2,838	973	3,101	3,077
Webster	2,122	1,154	2,488	618	1,767	1,865
Wilkinson	986	286	994	222	480	473
Winston	2,600	1,570	3,197	887	1,933	1,954
Yalobusha	1,691	872	1,785	552	1,643	1,661
Yazoo	2,779	1,275	3,042	941	1,990	1,993
TOTALS	225,456	138,515	258,857	90,948	231,022	232,263

COUNTIES	STATE TREAS. Wm. F. Winter Dem.	AUD. OF PUB.ACCTS. W.H.(Hamp) King Dem.	SUPT.OF PUB. EDUCATION J.M.(Jack) Tubb Dem.	COMM.OF AGR. & COMMERCE S.E."Si" Corley Dem.	COMM.OF INS. Walter Dell Davis Dem.	STATE LAND COMM. Robert E. (Bob)Graham Dem.
Adams	2,473	2,389	2,569	2,309	2,465	2,272
Alcorn	1,858	1,851	1,905	1,850	1,812	1,799
Amite	2,030	2,013	2,031	1,987	1,991	1,975
Attala	2,720	2,557	2,670	2,627	2,469	2,524
Benton	751	714	768	725	685	679
Bolivar	2,280	2,259	2,287	2,279	2,233	2,158
Calhoun	1,745	1,834	1,881	1,789	1,768	1,750
Carroll	1,411	1,315	1,354	1,334	1,266	1,278
Chickasaw	1,290	1,272	1,290	1,197	1,235	1,200
Choctaw	1,342	1,269	1,353	1,307	1,280	1,233
Claiborne	549	507	519	511	498	485
Clarke	2,050	2,016	2,082	2,051	1,988	1,986
Clay	1,949	1,932	1,953	1,866	1,855	1,835
Coahoma	2,633	2,629	2,644	2,631	2,571	2,518
Copiah	3,979	3,964	4,003	3,993	3,954	3,951
Covington	2,029	1,992	2,038	2,015	1,893	1,975
DeSoto	1,841	1,805	1,859	1,822	1,750	1,768
Forrest	8,268	8,223	8,288	8,223	8,091	7,994
Franklin	1,373	1,348	1,358	1,339	1,327	1,306
George	1,946	1,881	1,955	1,929	1,884	1,871
Greene	639	610	531	622	586	587
Grenada	3,116	3,110	3,117	3,115	3,109	3,106
Hancock	1,290	1,251	1,301	1,259	1,151	1,211
Harrison	6,369	6,215	6,381	6,203	6,197	6,208
Hinds	24,887	24,288	24,827	24,496	24,255	24,070
Holmes	1,706	1,650	1,667	1,546	1,475	1,498
Humphreys	1,513	1,492	1,514	1,506	1,496	1,482
Issaquena	269	256	267	258	247	241
Itawamba	3,216	3,077	3,203	3,032	3,047	3,021
Jackson	8,149	7,939	8,299	8,069	8,096	7,905
Jasper	2,323	2,392	2,387	2,399	2,374	2,316
Jefferson	827	801	811	816	807	798
Jefferson Davis	1,429	1,352	1,378	1,409	1,350	1,295
Jones	10,093	9,999	10,148	10,118	9,837	9,736
Kemper	1,488	1,480	1,499	1,482	1,404	1,435
Lafayette	2,542	2,486	2,552	2,485	2,413	2,409
Lamar	2,248	1,876	2,154	1,741	2,014	2,031
Lauderdale	9,647	9,464	9,700	9,517	9,465	9,107
Lawrence	1,400	1,358	1,445	1,405	1,362	1,318
Leake	3,330	3,294	3,337	3,323	3,180	3,137
Lee	4,740	4,647	4,819	4,549	4,564	4,338
Leflore	3,615	3,501	3,629	3,555	3,480	3,448
Lincoln	2,423	2,402	2,521	2,397	2,250	2,237
Lowndes	3,653	3,546	2,703	3,560	3,543	3,393
Madison	2,440	2,392	2,415	2,411	2,399	2,385
Marion	1,621	1,706	1,758	1,542	1,588	1,622
Marshall	1,302	1,269	1,299	1,261	1,217	1,213
Monroe	3,093	3,006	3,114	2,978	2,984	2,879
Montgomery	1,347	1,287	1,311	1,298	1,251	1,236
Neshoba	3,682	3,652	3,724	3,632	3,582	3,583
Newton	3,472	3,413	3,430	3,403	3,402	3,[illegible]
Noxubee	1,211	1,174	1,186	1,175	1,154	1,131
Oktibbeha	2,587	2,441	2,655	2,530	2,499	2,499
Panola	2,233	2,181	2,216	2,186	2,118	2,177
Pearl River	1,907	1,870	1,945	1,892	1,790	1,788
Perry	968	928	984	939	888	895
Pike	4,347	4,240	4,318	4,281	4,241	4,074
Pontotoc	2,116	1,764	1,872	1,745	1,748	1,730

COUNTIES	STATE TREAS.	AUD. OF PUB.ACCTS	SUPT.OF PUB. EDUCATION	COM.OF AGR. & COM.	COM.OF INS.	STATE LAND COMM.
	Wm. F. Winter	W.H.(Hamp) King	J. M. (Jack) Tubb	S.E."Si" Corley	Walter Dell Davis	Robert E. (Bob)Graham
	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.
Prentiss	1,406	1,191	1,417	1,248	1,156	1,100
Quitman	860	820	868	821	778	779
Rankin	4,841	4,884	4,965	4,886	4,816	4,819
Scott	3,354	3,263	3,356	3,290	3,163	3,190
Sharkey	702	682	695	684	656	650
Simpson	4,367	4,185	4,364	4,284	4,266	4,224
Smith	2,224	2,148	2,240	2,172	2,107	2,101
Stone	887	875	913	843	855	829
Sunflower	2,951	2,903	3,026	3,032	2,986	2,939
Tallahatchie	2,706	2,665	2,693	2,676	2,659	2,643
Tate	903	882	898	878	844	848
Tippah	1,902	1,818	1,954	1,827	1,690	1,759
Tishomingo	1,214	1,132	1,215	1,119	1,086	1,056
Tunica	749	736	752	736	699	703
Union	2,366	2,317	2,390	2,272	2,292	2,280
Walthall	1,492	1,460	1,488	1,409	1,390	1,377
Warren	3,652	3,555	3,655	3,585	3,438	3,431
Washington	3,793	3,705	3,790	3,710	3,659	3,642
Wayne	3,061	2,978	3,133	2,984	2,800	2,887
Webster	1,793	1,668	1,796	1,719	1,570	1,592
Wilkinson	466	446	457	436	441	430
Winston	1,926	1,868	1,956	1,858	1,864	1,836
Yalobusha	1,653	1,606	1,638	1,619	1,541	1,550
Yazoo	1,984	1,961	1,950	1,953	1,943	1,922
TOTALS	229,007	223,327	228,833	223,960	220,277	218,079

COUNTIES	SUPREME COURT CLERK	HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER		
		1st (Cen.)Dist.	2nd (So.)Dist.	3rd(No.)Dist.
	Tom Q.Ellis	W. F.(Felder) Dearman	John D. Smith	Roy C. Adams
	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.
Adams	2,311		2,422	
Alcorn	1,820			1,838
Amite	1,986		2,026	
Attala	2,609	2,659		
Benton	666			738
Bolivar	2,174	2,180		
Calhoun	1,743			1,812
Carroll	1,282			1,293
Chickasaw	1,187			1,237
Choctaw	1,244			1,280
Claiborne	508		505	
Clarke	1,971		1,991	
Clay	1,838			1,874
Coahoma	2,593			2,562
Copiah	3,964		3,968	
Covington	1,964		2,000	
DeSoto	1,779			1,791
Forrest	8,001		8,255	
Franklin	1,332		1,341	
George	1,863		1,881	
Greene	566		625	
Grenada	3,102			3,105
Hancock	1,184		1,239	
Harrison	6,034		6,295	

COUNTIES	SUPREME COURT CLERK	HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER		
		1st (Cen.)Dist.	2nd (So.)Dist.	3rd(No.)Dist.
	Tom Q. Ellis	W. F.(Felder) Dearman	John D. Smith	Roy C. Adams
	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.
Hinds	24,232	23,928		
Holmes	1,559	1,553		
Humphreys	1,496	1,489		
Issaquena	244	250		
Itawamba	2,973			3,223
Jackson	7,902		9,086	
Jasper	2,340		2,350	
Jefferson	814		820	
Jefferson Davis	1,284		1,341	
Jones	9,882		9,953	
Kemper	1,426	1,454		
Lafayette	2,406			2,431
Lamar	1,991		2,057	
Lauderdale	9,257	9,319		
Lawrence	1,342		1,373	
Leake	3,166	3,171		
Lee	4,431			4,599
Leflore	3,454			3,476
Lincoln	2,219		2,343	
Lowndes	3,421			3,435
Madison	2,388	2,416		
Marion	1,497		1,714	
Marshall	1,217			1,237
Monroe	2,902			2,951
Montgomery	1,241			1,262
Neshoba	3,586	3,619		
Newton	3,394	3,411		
Noxubee	1,137	1,135		
Oktibbeha	2,483			2,582
Panola	2,160			2,193
Pearl River	1,766		1,793	
Perry	873		913	
Pike	4,256		4,290	
Pontotoc	1,724			1,782
Prentiss	1,249			1,361
Quitman	790			805
Rankin	4,827	4,840		
Scott	3,202	3,238		
Sharkey	655	654		
Simpson	4,242		4,355	
Smith	2,094		2,035	
Stone	816		851	
Sunflower	2,980	2,954		
Tallahatchie	2,642			2,651
Tate	838			873
Tippah	1,747			1,885
Tishomingo	1,059			1,169
Tunica	708			724
Union	2,258			2,340
Walthall	1,383		1,400	
Warren	3,463	3,533		
Washington	3,647	3,642		
Wayne	2,836		2,966	
Webster	1,597			1,696
Wilkinson	428		438	
Winston	1,834	1,869		
Yalobusha	1,574			1,592
Yazoo	1,946	1,936		
TOTALS	218,999	79,250	82,626	61,797

COUNTIES	PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER		
	1st(Cen.)Dist. Norman A. Johnson, Jr. Dem.	2nd(So.)Dist. W. E. (Bucky) Moore Dem.	3rd(No.)Dist. D. W. Snyder Dem.
Adams		2,294	
Alcorn			1,773
Amite		2,014	
Attala	2,554		
Benton			694
Bolivar	2,151		
Calhoun			1,763
Carroll			1,278
Chickasaw			1,218
Choctaw			1,273
Claiborne		479	
Clarke		1,982	
Clay			1,834
Coahoma			2,320
Copiah		3,947	
Covington		1,979	
DeSoto			1,760
Forrest		8,045	
Franklin		1,306	
George		1,856	
Greene		581	
Grenada			3,103
Hancock		1,217	
Harrison		6,116	
Hinds	23,492		
Holmes	1,498		
Humphreys	1,478		
Issaquena	235		
Itawamba			3,082
Jackson		8,993	
Jasper		2,324	
Jefferson		788	
Jefferson Davis		1,396	
Jones		9,756	
Kemper	1,445		
Lafayette			2,414
Lamar		2,013	
Lauderdale	9,169		
Lawrence		1,331	
Leake	3,128		
Lee			4,455
Leflore			3,428
Lincoln		2,209	
Lowndes			3,393
Madison	2,369		
Marion		1,716	
Marshall			1,219
Monroe			2,921
Montgomery			1,286
Neshoba	3,641		
Newton	3,393		
Noxubee	1,117		
Oktibbeha			2,560
Panola			2,167
Pearl River		1,778	
Perry		888	
Pike		4,290	
Pontotoc			1,740

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER

COUNTIES	1st(Cen.)Dist. Norman A. Johnson, Jr. Dem.	2nd(So.)Dist. W. E. (Bucky) Moore Dem.	3rd(No.)Dist. D. W. Snyder Dem.
Prentiss			1,193
Quitman			783
Rankin	4,771		
Scott	3,113		
Sharkey	642		
Simpson		4,175	
Smith		1,984	
Stone		843	
Sunflower	2,886		
Tallahatchie			2,638
Tate			847
Tippah			1,779
Tishomingo			1,081
Tunica			715
Union			2,302
Walthall		1,397	
Warren	3,386		
Washington	3,569		
Wayne		2,863	
Webster			1,736
Wilkinson		427	
Winston	1,821		
Yalobusha			1,550
Yazoo	1,906		
TOTALS	77,764	80,987	60,505

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

COUNTIES	1st Dist. J.D.(Jack) Doty Dem.	2nd Dist. Boyce Holleman Dem.	3rd Dist. Jesse L. Yancy,Jr. Dem.	4th Dist. George A. Everett Dem.	5th Dist. Chatwin M. Jackson, Jr. Dem.
Alcorn	1,805				
Attala					2,670
Benton			675		
Calhoun			1,782		
Carroll					1,269
Chickasaw			1,207		
Choctaw					1,203
Grenada					3,101
Hancock		1,252			
Harrison		6,332			
Holmes				1,495	
Humphreys				1,476	
Itawamba	2,969				
Lafayette			2,424		
Lee	4,373				
Leflore				3,457	
Marshall			1,199		
Monroe	2,850				
Montgomery					1,223
Pontotoc	1,798				
Prentiss	1,290				

(Continued) DISTRICT ATTORNEY

COUNTIES	1st Dist. J.D.(Jack) Doty Dem.	2nd Dist. Boyce Holleman Dem.	3rd Dist. Jesse L. Yancy,Jr. Dem.	4th Dist. George A. Everett Dem.	5th Dist. Chatwin M. Jackson, Jr. Dem.
Stone		851			
Sunflower				2,919	
Tippah			1,766		
Tishomingo	1,004				
Union			2,251		
Washington				3,577	
Webster					1,512
Winston					1,824
TOTALS	16,149	8,435	11,304	12,924	12,802

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

COUNTIES	6th Dist. Lennox L. Forman Dem.	7th Dist. William L. (Bill)Waller Dem.	8th Dist. William H. Johnson,Jr. Dem.	9th Dist. T.J.(Tom) Lawrence Dem.	10th Dist. George Warner Dem.
Adams	2,314				
Amite	1,992				
Claiborne				511	
Clarke					2,006
Franklin	1,340				
Hinds		23,698			
Issaquena				239	
Jefferson	789				
Lauderdale					9,295
Leake			3,119		
Madison		2,370			
Neshoba			3,582		
Newton			3,356		
Rankin			4,759		
Scott			3,176		
Sharkey				646	
Warren				3,508	
Wayne					2,951
Wilkinson	428				
Yazoo		1,650			
TOTALS	6,863	27,718	17,992	4,904	14,252

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

COUNTIES	11th Dist. Hoke Stone Dem.	12th Dist. James (Jimmie)Finch Dem.	13th Dist. O. O. Weathersby Dem.	14th Dist. Joe N. Pigot Dem.
Bolivar	2,146			
Coahoma	2,590			
Copiah				3,875
Covington			1,979	
Forrest		8,190		
Jasper			2,336	

(Continued) COUNTIES	11th Dist. Hoke Stone Dem.	12th Dist. James (Jimmie)Finch Dem.	13th Dist. O. O Weathersby Dem.	14th Dist. Joe N. Pigott Dem.
Lincoln				2,142
Perry		925		
Pike				4,240
Quitman	811			
Simpson			4 ,276	
Smith			2,181	
Tunica	719			
Walthall				1,373
TOTALS	6,266	9,115	10,772	11,630

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

COUNTIES	15th Dist. Maurice Dantin Dem.	16th Dist. Harvey S. Buck Dem.	17th Dist. Charles C. (Cliff)Finch Dem.	18th Dist. Pershing B. Sullivan Dem.	19th Dist. Donald W. Cumbest Dem.
Clay		1,858			
DeSoto			1,759		
George					1,871
Greene					580
Jackson					9,101
Jefferson Davis	1,230				
Jones				9,937	
Kemper		1,448			
Lamar	1,912				
Lawrence	1,260				
Lowndes		3,397			
Marion	1,809				
Noxubee		1,120			
Oktibbeha		2,532			
Panola			2,187		
Pearl River	1,711				
Tallahatchie			2,649		
Tate			832		
Yalobusha			1,552		
TOTALS	7,922	10,355	8,979	9,937	11,552

registration law

Microfilm Code No.

Suffrage - Miss

SERS Library

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES (Greenville, Miss.)

p. 5

Date: JAN 22 1964

Voting Law Complicated

By TOM OXNARD

Securing the right to vote in Mississippi is as complicated as squeezing a 500 pound hog into an orange crate. And once you have got the hog into the crate the problem is how are you going to get him to the stockyards.

Regardless of the plan to ban the poll tax for national elections, every resident of Mississippi will have to pay the tax for state and local elections, and every resident of Mississippi must go through certain other procedures before he is granted the right to vote in any election.

* * *

FIRST, you must pay a poll tax every year after you are twenty-one and up through the age of sixty.

Next, you must be a resident of the state for two years and a resident of your election precinct for one year (unless you are a minister, in which case only six months in the precinct is required in addition to the two years' state residence).

You are required to register at least four months before an election at the circuit clerk's office in your county courthouse, and you must pass a literacy test given by the clerk and answer a question on the constitution of Mississippi.

* * *

AFTER the circuit clerk is satisfied that you are eligible to be a voter, he must turn your name over to a newspaper for publication within ten days after you have passed the tests.

Then, if any citizen feels that you are unqualified to vote, within two weeks after the publication of your name he can file an affidavit to the effect that you are unqualified. You must then face a hearing and if the charge is substantiated, you cannot vote.

Payment of the required two years of poll taxes can be done in one lump sum, but not for primary elections. In order to vote in primaries, the tax must have been paid consecutively for the two years.

You can pay two years at once and vote in general and special elections.

The poll tax must be paid on or before Feb. 1.

Miss. Registration Data

Vote registrars swamped as 38th state knifes poll taxes

Microfilm Code No.
Staff - Times
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poll tax

BALTIMORE
AFRO-AMERICAN
P. 1
Date: FEB 1 1964

WASHINGTON

Mississippi registrars last week were swamped with colored applicants seeking the ballot as the poll tax was outlawed as a condition for voting in elections for Federal office.

The long fight against the poll tax ended last Thursday as South Dakota became the 38th state to ratify the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The only technicality standing in the way of official recognition of the anti - poll tax amendment is formal certification by the General Services Administration.

No further legal action is required.

• • •

THE FULL impact of repealing the poll tax law, however, is yet to come as Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia are holding on to the bitter end.

Even before ratification, Virginia passed a law requiring payment of $1.50 poll tax to be eligible to vote in a state election.

In addition, Virginia threw in voter eligibility requirements calling for the filing of a "certificate of residence" six months before Federal election.

The "kicker" in the $1.50 fee is that a cumulative feature requires delinquents to pay back poll taxes and penalties covering a maximum of three years in order to register.

• • •

THE OUTLAWING of the poll tax has also caused Alabama to begin thinking of ways to thwart the law.

Attv. Gen. Richmond Flowers so far has come up with the possibility of holding to elections — one for state and another for Federal.

Separate election would be "terrifically confusing," he said, admitting that the best solution to Alabama's election problems would be a special session of the legislature.

A special session would be required to repeal the poll tax in the state, which yields about $300,000 a year.

Another reason Flowers favors a special session would be to give legislators a chance to deal with Congressional redistricting.

• • •

OUTLAWING of the poll tax was hailed by President Johnson as a "forward step of a modern society" and the "verification of people's rights."

W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia State NAACP Conference, extended congratulations to "the legislature of South Dakota and the lawmakers of the other 37 states whose affirmative actions assured ratification of the 24th Amendment."

But he noted "it is perhaps too much to wish that our Virginia General Assembly, now in session, would follow the progressive pattern and also ratify the long overdue amendment."

The NAACP, he added, nevertheless "will continue to press vigorously for the abolition of the pool tax in all elections.

• • •

SECTION 1 of the 24th Amendment reads:

"The rights of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President of Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason to pay any poll tax or other tax."

Section 2 states:

"The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

• • •

A MASS voter-registration drive was launched at Hattiesburg, Miss., last week as a long line of applicants stood in the rain waiting to be "tested" in the court house.

Some 48 northern ministers from eight cities are in the forefront of the campaign in the southeastern Mississippi town where only 53 of the 7,000 eligible colored residents are on the voting rolls.

Some 48 Northern ministered by Theron Lynd, in order to purge himself of a Fifth U.S. Ciruit Court of Appeals conviction of civil and criminal contempt for violating an anti-discrimination injunction.

Lynd, the first Southern voter registrar convicted of violating the Federal Civil Rights Act, had been enjoined from barring the vote to colored applicants.

• • •

ON THE first day of the drive some 37 colored applicants had taken the literacy test. They will be notified within 30 days whether they passed or failed.

As the ministers paraded back and forth, picketing the courthouse, helmeted police from the riot squad kept them under close surveillance.

Among the ministers picketing the courthouse was the Rev. Robert L. Pierson of White Plains, N.Y., son-in-law of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

• • •

ONE OF THE most interesting developments, however, resulted from the arrest of Robert Moses of New York, SNCC field secretary.

Arrested for failure to obey a policeman, the 28 - year-old freedom fighter's trial resulted in desegregated seating at Hattiesburg courthouse despite the pleas of Judge Mildred Morris.

"This rule has been our way of life for 100 years," the judge pleaded with 50 freedom fighters. "We ask you to observe it."

When it became apparent the freedom fighters would accept nothing but desegregation, the judge decided "as a courtesy we will waive this rule."

• • •

IN ANOTHER surprise, after Moses was convicted and sentenced to 60 days in jail, Judge Morris suspended sentence upon the request of Prosecutor Francis Zachary.

James Forman, SNCC executive secretary, was threatened with arrest when he demanded that applicants be allowed to wait in the courthouse out of the rain.

In refusing the demand, Sheriff W. C. Grey said it might interfere with office routine if too many were allowed in the courthouse at the same time.

• • •

MEANWHILE, a Leflore County jury convicted 12 of 45 appealing sentences growing out of their arrests at Itta Bena last June while attempting to register to vote.

The 12 were convicted of breach of peace on charges by the sheriff's office that they threw bottles and brick as they approached the home of H. F. Weber, deputy sheriff and town marshal.

Witnesses said, however, they were fleeing to the deputy's home to seek protection after the church had been tear gassed.

Mrs. Rey.

NEP

Justice Dept. suit: Rankin Co.

Microfilm Code No.

Duff - Miss

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3

BATON ROUGE STATE TIMES (La.)

Date: FEB 12 1964

miss

Suit Is Heard On Harassment Of Negro Voters

HOUSTON, Tex. (AP) — The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Tuesday heard arguments in a government suit charging harassment of Negroes seeking to register as voters in Rankin County, Miss.

The Justice Department charges that former Sheriff Jonathan R. Edwards Jr. and one of his deputies, J. B. Collum, beat up three Negroes because they were trying to register Feb. 1, 1963, at the county courthouse in Brandon, Miss.

U.S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox had denied an injunction against intimidation of Negroes. He ruled the alleged assault was not intended to interfere with voter registration.

"One would have to assume that by sheer coincidence Sheriff Edwards was beating (one Negro) for failing to move when requested while at the same time his deputy, Collum, also happened to be independently beating two other Negroes for some reason while all three Negroes just happened to be involved in registration activities," the Justice Department brief said.

A total of 6,865 of the county's 13,246 voting-age white residents are registered, while only 43 of 6,944 Negroes are registered, the brief said.

Miss. Suff

Greensboro Commercial 2/12/64

Rankin Suit

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A total of 6,865 of the county's 13,246 voting-age white residents are registered, while only 43 of 6,944 Negroes are registered, the brief said.

Miss Regs

Sentencing Of Marchers Is Delayed

2/24/64

Sentencing of 10 Negroes found guilty of disturbing the peace last April was delay e d this morning in County Court when only eight of the defenents showed up.

Judge Charles Pollard told the Negroes, attorney, Cars ie Hall, Negro of Jackson that he did see how the court could sentence the defendents in absentia.

Hall told the court that he was not aware that all the defendents would have to be in court this morning for the passing of sentence.

Pollard then announced that the sentencing would be delayed until Monday and that all the defendents would have to be in court.

"Those that are not here will have to forfeit their bond", judge Pollard ruled.

The Negroes were all arrested on April 4 last year when they refused to disperse after being ordered to break into smaller groups by police chief Curtis Lary.

They were all originally tried in city police court and found guilty. They field to appeal the case and their appeal cases were tried before a jury last week.

Hall has indicated that bond will be posted for the ten Negroes after sentencing and that the case will be appealed on up to the Circuit Court.

Sacramento Commonwealth

Mass Resistance

Associated Commercial
2/27/64

Judge Says Holmes Sheriff Promised Not To Block Voting

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — A federal judge has refused to issue an injunction to halt discrimination in Holmes County against prospective Negro voters, ruling discrimination has ended.

U.S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox ruled Wednesday that Holmes County Sheriff A. P. Smith had discriminated against Negroes, but apologized and pledged to abide by requirements.

The ruling came in a government suit against Smith and other Holmes County officials charging they engaged in practices "designed and intended to intimidate and coerce Negroes and to prevent them from registering and voting in the county."

Judge Cox ruled Smith alone had discriminated and he had changed the practice.

Under the circumstances, the judge said, he felt the "extraordinary writ of injunction is not now necessary. . .'

A court order had been asked by the federal government to force officials in the county to comply with civil rights laws.

Others named in the suit were county attorney Pat Barrett and Dist. Atty. Parham Williams.

At the time of the filing of the suit, Smith was chief deputy sheriff and his wife was sheriff.

Smith had been sheriff from 1956-60, was chief deputy under his wife the next four years, and became sheriff again this year.

Hartman Turnbow, a Holmes County Negro whose house burned May 8 last year, charged he had been a victim because of his part in a drive to register Negroes to vote.

The court noted Turnbow claimed to have had a gun battle with a white man shortly before gasoline was thrown into his house.

Cox said "no bullets from the pistol (allegedly used by the white man) were found lodged in back of the house.

"Six discharged .22 (caliber) cartridges were found on the ground near the back steps. . ."

Cox said six hours after the alleged shooting "Turnbow was still carrying his gun on his arm and having his picture made (by another civil rights worker) very dramatically defending his home.'

The ruling opinion said the court "does not believe that Turnbow . . . had anything to do with this fire . . . neither does the court believe from the evidence that Turnbow had any gun battle with any white man."

The federal judge said he felt there was no evidence to connect the fire with Negro registration efforts.

Smith said he did not know Negroes could pay poll taxes since he did not think any of them were registered.

"Smith frankly admitted his mistake," Cox said, "and very sincerely and convincingly stated to the court that he did not intend to make that mistake again. . ."

Miss Reg.

 Greenwood Commonwealth.

Negroes Line Up In Canton Drive

Dennis said M. Floyd McKissick, the CORE national chairman, will be on hand. Also to be present are representatives of the National Council of Churches.

A civil rights spokesman said ministers scheduled to observe included:

The Revs. Arthur Thomas, Durham, N.C., NCC Commissi on Religion and Race; Joseph H. Dwinnell, Cincinnati, Ohio; Huber F. Klemme, New York City, United Church of Christ Council of Christian Social Action; Ora Huston, Elgin, Ill.; Ian McCrae, Indianapolis, Ind.; Ed Wright, Cincinnati, Ohio; Norman Simmons, Hays, Kan.; Joseph W. Atkins Jr., Wichita, Kan.; Andrew Gutierrez, Wichita, Kan.; Robert J. Stone, New York City, United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race; Frederick Maier, New York City, United Presbyterian Church of U.S.A., Board of Christian Education; John Sherman, Chicago; George W. Buckner, Chapel Hill, N.C.; and an attorney, Howard V. Vail, Westfield, N.J.

A spokesman for the Council of Federated Organizations said the ministers were "under the auspices of the National Council of Churches to act as observers in Canton rather than to participate."

Norman Thomas, a man who ran four times unsuccessfully for president of the United States on a socialist ticket, announced Thursday night he would not attend as planned.

Thompson said about 24 city and county officers would seek to preserve order.

Under a recently-enacted state law, municipalities confronted with racial disturbances can call to nearby cities for law enforcement aid.

Police, Deputies Keep Order As Over 200 Follow CORE

CANTON, Miss. (AP)—Groups of helmeted, armed police pa- trolled around the Madison County courthouse today watch- ing the vanguard of an estimated 200-300 Negroes who launched a new style attack on vote registration practices.

Police said the Negroes would be permitted to register one at a time.

Police were armed with rifles, shotguns, electric cattle prods and had large trucks ready for removal of any persons arrested.

Negroes began forming a line into the courthouse shortly after 10 a.m. There was no incidents.

The Negroes stood in orderly line under two giant magnolia trees.

Police and Madison County sheriff's deputies directed the flow into the three story courthouse in the center of the town square.

The line began growing with authorities standing by. Small groups watched silently from across the street.

Some of the ministers that civil rights leaders said would be here, milled around the registering Negroes.

The Congress of Racial Equality spearheaded the vote registration drive.

A civil rights spokesman said there would be no pickets, just a long, long line.

David Dennis, CORE field representative, said "we have sent a letter to registrar Foote Campbell to have deputy registrars on hand for the extra people expected to try and register.

"We have not gotten a reply."

Meanwhile, law enforcement authorities in this town of 9,707 met and mapped [redacted] the planned voter push.

The Madison County population is 32,904, of which 9,262 are white and 23,637 are Negro. Canton, the county seat of government, has a population of 6,220 Negroes.

Unofficial estimates put about 250 of the 6,220 as registered voters.

The Negroes were scheduled to meet at a local church at 9 a.m., CST, and then begin lining up at the courthouse at 10 a.m.

"We are trying this mass effort," Dennis said, "because the people have to do something to combat the tremendous pressure that they have to go against.

"If the registrar chooses not to register these people, we would expect that the federal government would find that reason to file a suit."

Police Chief Dan Thompson said his men and the Madison County sheriff's office, headed by Sheriff Jack Cauthen, hope to control the situation without violence.

"If there's any trouble," Thompson said, "it'll be caused by agitators and outsiders."

Civil rights leaders have publicized the fact a number of outsiders will be on hand at the vote drive, but only as observers.

Miss Reg.

Microfilm Code No

Suff-Miss

SERS Library

3

JACKSON DAILY
NEWS (MISS.)
p. 4
Date MAR 6 1964

Justice Dept Suit: Panola Co.

Voter Registration Under Scrutiny

HOUSTON, Tex. (AP) — The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has been asked to appoint a federal referee to watch voter registration in Panola County, Miss.

The Justice Department, in a suit filed here, also asked an injunction prohibiting circuit clerk Leonard C. Duke from discriminating against prospective Negro voters.

Dist. Judge Claude Clayton of Mississippi's northern district had refused to grant the federal requests and his decision was appealed to the circuit court.

Miss. Suff

Microfilm Code No.

Staff Miss

SERS Library

BATON ROUGE STATE TIMES (La.)

P. 8E

Date MAR 12 1964

Voter Showdown Will Be Sought In Mississippi

ROCHESTER, N.Y. (AP) — The integrationist Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee hopes to "force a showdown between the federal and state governments" over Negro voter - registration in Mississippi. its leader says.

John Lewis, chairman of the committee, said Wednesday the group was seeking between 500 and 1,000 volunteers to work in Mississippi this summer urging Negroes to try to register.

The committee hopes a mass outpouring of Negroes will bring about a governtal showdown, he said.

The 23-year-old Negro said that "in Mississippi, more than any other state, the Negroes are more organized on a state-wide basis. We can have more than 75,000 of them go to jail of we have to."

Miss. Reg.

Greenwood Commonw. 3/13/64

Numbers May Change But Outcome Shouldn't

A radio broadcast being played at various civic clubs around town has created quite a stir and with good reason.

The broadcast indicates that the Mississippi Delta will be the focal point for an all out racial drive and names the National Council of Churches of Christ as the guiding force behind it.

Talk that the Delta will again be the target of racial agitation this summer is nothing new, but this tape which uses the words "Revolution in the Delta" over and over, seems to be creating more confusion than is necessary.

The plans of the National Council of Churches of Christ for the Mississippi Delta still weren't clear to us after listening to a tape of the broadcast in question yesterday, but undoubtedly the organization will be active in this area if the plans of various "civil rights" groups materialize this summer.

One of those plans, according to John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is to invade Mississippi with thousands of civil rights demonstrators. Lewis told reporters in San Francisco a few months back that SNCC hopes to jam Mississippi jails with up to 75,000 Negroes at one time. He hopes that the situation will become so acute that "the federal government can't ignore it."

So far the National Council of Churches has confined its activity in the Greenwood area to posting bond for Negroes arrested here. According to the broadcast being played, funds to put up bond for arrested demonstrators is still one of the key points in the organization's plan for the Delta. The organization will also undoubtedly encourage youthful demonstrators to travel to Mississippi.

But at the present time, it seems, nobody should let that phrase "Revolution in the Delta" lead him to believe that the racial agitators are coming up with anything new. Negro organizations may be able to exert more pressure in the way of numbers of people demonstrating, but as is obvious from the plans of the groups to bring in students during the summer, they will be the same kind of people who showed up last

lice and sheriff's deputies will again be equal to the task. Plans are being made for eventualities, even to the construction of a riot car from the bus which was used last year to haul some of the demonstrators to jail and others back to headquarters.

Speaking of not arresting some folks, Negro comedian Dick Gregory was made to look like several kinds of a fool here last summer. While he was at it, he gave a lot of us some good belly laughs.

Unless he reads this and gets mad, we'll bet a bale of cotton he doesn't come back to Greenwood this time. If there's anybody who can't stand being the object of ridicule, it's a comedian who thinks he's funny.

Summing up, we'd say that there's a better than even chance that Greenwood and the Delta will be in for some racial fuss this summer.

But there's an effective answer for it. Greenwood formulated that answer last summer, and with all lawabiding citizens working together under duly constituted authority, there is no reason in the world why the outcome won't be the same.

(T. W.)

Miss Reg.

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During last summer's demonstrations here, Greenwood developed a strategy which not only paid off in the local situation but which has been copied with good effect in several cities across the state. The latest example of the Greenwood plan was carried out in Hattiesburg and from talking to people who saw it work, it seems that the demonstrators laid about the same kind of egg there as they did here last summer.

It seems logical to assume that Greenwood again will be one of the focal points of racial agiation when the nation's schools let out and youths out from under college and parent discipline again begin to ride on their trouble making sprees.

There may or may not be as many in Greenwood as during the first demonstrations, but regardless of the numbers there is a tried and effective method of dealing with the situation.

Actually about the only thing we can see that Greenwood could add in the way of counteracting the summer silliness is to follow a suggestion made the other day by Governor Paul Johnson who said he'd like to see the lawabiding citizens of Mississippi "laugh these people right out of the state."

If anything gets the goat of a racial demonstrator better than ignoring him, it must be derision and the governor had a good suggestion there.

As to law enforcement, it seems a safe bet that the Greenwood Police Department, backed by auxiliary po-

was at it, he g

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(T. W.)

Miss Reg.

Canton

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

PITTSBURGH COURIER

Date: MAR 14 1964

Frustration Marks Miss. Voter Drive

CANTON — The almost unbelievable obstacles which a Negro must overcome in order to vote in Mississippi were illustrated here last week on "Freedom Day" when nearly three hundred patiently stood in line at the Madison County Courthouse in a generally futile attempt to register.

Encouraged to do so by the Council of Federated Organizations, which is conducting a major vote registration drive through the combined efforts of CORE, SNCC and NAACP, Negro hopefuls were confronted with armed sheriff's deputies who constantly, pranced back and forth along thier single-file line.

Only one applicant at a time was allowed in the office of Registrar L. F. Campbell. Therefore, only 50 made it in and merely seven got to take the test. On the door of the office was a sticker bearing a Confederate flag, and a reminder to "Support Your Citizens Council."

The few who were permitted to take the test were confronted with complicated questions dealing with constitutional interpretations, all of which had to be answered to the satisfaction of the registrar.

The fact that they were allowed to progress even that far was attributed to the new governor's, Paul B. Johnson, policy of avoiding racial violence. Yet, this does not mean that they will be allowed access to the ballot box.

There were other factors, too. It is known that Negroes who register to vote may be fired from their jobs or faced with destruction of their property.

That is, more than likely the reason why only 121 Madison County Negroes were registered in 1962, although they compose 72 per cent of the population of 32,904.

This situation is considered proof of the failure of the civil rights bills of 1957 and 1960. Furthermore, there seems to be no indication that matters will improve, even if the Senate approves the voting section of the House-passed civil rights measure.

David Dennis, 23, assistant program director for COFO, and head of the vote drive, revealed that though efforts have been intensive in this area of 1,000 Negroes who have attempted to register, only about 30 have been successful.

At one time, there were 475 Negroes on the vote rolls, but the registrar who put them there, quickly was defeated.

Wiley A. Branton, project director for the Southern Regional Council Voter Education Project, said that he and other officials of the drive had become so discouraged over the situation in Mississippi, that they had decided to withdraw financial support from the campaign.

He stated that even the most optimistic results showed that only 3,228 new voters had been added to the rolls in the state as a whole, at a cost of $52,958.

One of the main reasons is that for those who are brave enough to take the chance of even going to the courthouse, the literacy tests given Ne- that administered to whites.

Drive officials contend that discriminatory standards are used in judging the answers. A highly educated Negro may be eliminated for the slightest error, while a barely literate white will be allowed to pass.

The new Civil Rights Bill would give the Justice Department additional powers to investigate situations of this sort, but enforcement would be limited to the Federal Courts, entailing a long process, which might require years and years before even the slightest progress could be realized.

Miss. Reg.

Microfilm Code No.
Suff - Miss
SERS Library

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
p. 15-A
Date MAR 15 1964

Presbyterian Ministers Helping In Hattiesburg Racial Struggle

A steady stream of Presbyterian ministers has gone from St. Louis and central Illinois to Hattiesburg, Miss., in the last eight weeks to picket and to help Negroes register to vote.

Three ministers have gone from St. Louis and 11 from the Decatur area, where a Central Illinois Freedom Fund has been established.

Departing one or two at a time, most of the ministers spent a week in Hattiesburg working with clergymen from other parts of the country and with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Some Opposed in Churches

All but one of the 14 clergymen are white, most of them pastors of predominantly white congregations. The participation of the ministers has been controversial in some congregations, and at least one went over the opposition of elders of his church.

Last Feb. 23, in a countermove, five leading citizens of Hattiesburg traveled to Charleston, Ill., near Decatur, to state their point of view on the home grounds of their antagonists. The five included three ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the southern branch of the denomination.

The "Ministers' Hattiesburg Project" began in January after the Rabbinical Assembly of America and national Presbyterian and Episcopal bodies acceded to a request from a joint council of civil rights groups in Mississippi for assistance in a voter-registration drive.

About 50 Northern clergymen took part at the outset, but the number has dwindled to 15 at a time or fewer in recent weeks. Most have been Presbyterian ministers. Central Illinois has been a principal center of support.

St. Louisans Involved

The Rev. Donald B. Register, assistant pastor of Berea Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, was one of nine Presbyterian ministers arrested Jan. 29 for refusing to obey restrictions on picketing outside the Forrest county Courthouse at Hattiesburg.

The Rev. Mr. Register, a Negro, spent six days in jail. He and the others forfeited $400 bail each on breach of peace charges.

Other St. Louis ministers who have participated are the Rev. William G. Lorenz, pastor of Grace Presbyterian Church, an integrated congregation, and the Rev. Frank M. Hutchinson, pastor of Clifton Heights Presbyterian Church, which is in south St. Louis and has an all-white congregation.

Report on Progress

The Rev. Jay Logan of Decatur, who has spurred much of the ministerial participation from his area, said 12 Negroes in the Hattiesburg area were registered voters before the project began. More than 600 have since applied to register and at least 100 of these have passed tests, he said.

"The ministers have been going in to try to provide an umbrella for the SNCC workers, who are safer with white people around," the Rev. Mr. Logan said. "They don't know how to take care of people who have other home grounds."

The ministers said Hattiesburg police have been permitting picketing at the courthouse and have not harrassed demonstrators. The local registrar is under orders of the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to accept registration applications from Negroes who wish to vote. Department of Justice agents are frequently in the area.

Economic Pressure

The St. Louis ministers said that fear—especially fear of losing jobs—has prevented many of the 7500 Hattiesburg Negroes of voting age from attempting to register in the past. At present, names of applicants are published 10 days in succession.

The visiting ministers are quartered in a former radio-television repair shop in the Negro residential section of the city. They bring their own bedding and sleep on cots.

They put in full days—picketing, canvassing Negro residents and, at night, taking part in prayer meetings.

"I went into 40 homes and never found a person who did not want to vote," the Rev. Mr. Hutchison said.

The five Hattiesburg white residents who attended the meeting at Charleston argued that the action of the out-of-state ministers was unnecessary. They said that they knew of no reprisals against Negroes who sought to register in the past, and contended that the matter was not the business of church men. One of the five conducted a minor filibuster, talking for almost and hour and a half on a two-hour program.

The Rev. Mr. Logan said that the reaction of the audience of 600 persons was mixed. He believed about 50 per cent of residents of the Decatur area favor the program.

The Rev. Newton Cox, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church in Hattiesburg, told the Post-Dispatch that the town is more open-minded than many other Mississippi communities, but residents "just aren't going to get used to outsiders coming in and telling them how to do things." Most white moderates have abandoned their own efforts to improve the lot of Negroes until the northern clergymen leave town, he said.

The Rev. Mr. Cox was reared in a suburb of Philadelphia and attended college at Wheaton, Ill.

Miss. Reg.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

JACKSON ~~DAILY~~
NEWS (MISS.)
p. 10
Date MAR 21 1964

Order Madison Co. Voter Records Be Re-Opened

Federal District Judge Harold Cox had ordered that Madison County voter records be reopened to U. S. Justice Department investigators.

He told Madison Registrar L. F. Campbell to permit investigators to begin examining and copying records March 25 and continue until they have completed the task.

The Justice Department examined Madison records earlier and applied for a second look after a Negro voter campaign was kicked off last month.

Miss. Leg.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.
P. 2
Date MAR 26 1964

Voter Activity By Older Negroes Noted

By TOM OXNARD

The most impressive fact about yesterday's Negro voter registration demonstration in Greenwood was the large number of elderly Greenwood natives who took part.

Standing patiently at the door to the Leflore Circuit Clerk's office from 10:15 a.m. until I left Greenwood at 1:15 p.m., scores of Greenwood Negroes, most over 50, waited for the chance to take the voting test.

News Analysis

Outside were pickets.

Most of the picketers were either under twenty-one, white ministers or out-of-town leaders of the civil rights movement.

* * *

ACCORDING to a Greenwood newspaper man, last year's demonstrations were largely made up of young people, both in the picket and the registration lines.

The fact of this year's concern by older residents of the town should have large significance to the city, the Delta and Mississippi as a whole.

Civil rights workers in the past have never been able to affect local sentiment except through the young and hot-headed of the Negro population.

It has been the high school and college students who pushed the drive, often to the consternation of their parents and older Negro leaders.

* * *

IF YESTERDAY was a gauge of the feeling in the Negro community in a strong Mississippi segregation town, then there is a distinct change from the past.

One newspaper man at the scene yesterday said he doubted if most of the people lined up for voter registration were aware of what they were doing.

But if one man can be an index of the determination of the crowd at the courthouse, C. L. Jordan, a Greenwood Negro and a resident of the city since his birth 60 years ago may be some sort of harbinger.

Jordan told a reporter that "he planned to die in Greenwood."

He was vociferous in his charges that "we can't get justice in this state."

* * *

OTHERS WERE not as articulate as Jordan but their presence seemed to indicate a feeling similar to his.

The demonstration as a whole was calm.

Leflore County Sheriff George Smith only asked that demonstrators not block the path elading from the street to the courthouse door and he put a ban on cameras in the courthouse.

Greenwood Police Chief Curtis Lary said his chief concern was "to keep the peace."

The fact that pickets were present was an important sign in the shifting strategy of the Greenwood authorities.

The night befoer the demonstrations, the Greenwood mayor had issued a statement in the local newspaper saying that pickets and marches would not be permitted.

The authorities evidently changed their minds before the action began.

Miss. Reg.

Greenwood

Microfilm Code No. Staff - Miss

SERS Library

BATON ROUGE STATE TIMES (La.)

P 2A

Date: MAR 26 1964

Vote Registration Drive Continues In Miss. Today

By ED MCCUSKER

GREENWOOD, Miss. (AP) — A renewed Negro vote registration campaign in cotton-rich Leflore County — where whites are outnumbered 2-1 — was launched without incident Wednesday.

Civil rights leaders said more Negroes would show up today at the buff-colored courthouse in Greenwood to take oral and written voter qualification tests —prerequisite to voting in Mississippi.

The 1964 registration drive started in marked contrast to one exactly a year ago. Police used a trained dog to disperse Negro marchers. Shots were fired at civil rights workers and many demonstrators, including Negro comic Dick Gregory, were arrested.

Nearly a hundred persons, including several white clergymen, circled the courthouse Wednesday carrying signs supporting the registration campaign.

Police and FBI agents were stationed outside the courthouse. There were few spectators.

Miss. Leg.

40 Apply For Registration

Some 40 persons applied to register to vote during yesterday's Negro voter drive here.

Mrs. Martha Lamb, circuit clerk, administered the voting test to applicants three at a time in her office while keeping it open for all other business.

Since the Negro vote drive began over a year ago, some 2,000 persons have applied for registration. Mrs. Lamb said yesterday she has always taken applicants three at a time when the numbers waiting warrant it.

Greenwood Commonwealth 3/26/64

Miss Regs.

Ministers Go, Negroes Keep Line Moving

Two dozen Negro pickets resumed their walk in front of the county courthouse today.

The group started out with several white ministers but shortly before 11 a.m. they had all left the line to return to their homes The line then contained all Negroes and most of these appeared to be teenagers.

During yesterday's demonstration at the courthouse there were close to 100 pickets circling the building being led by Negro druggist Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state president of the NAACP. Henry was not taking part in the picket line today.

The group continued its picket line up until the time Mrs. Martha Lamb, circuit clerk closed her office at 4:30 p.m. They then left the courthouse in groups of fours and fives.

During the day Mrs. Lamb received applications from close to 40 Negroes taking them three at a time.

As the ministers left today, they issued a statement saying that they "are not outsiders."

Hugh H. Annett, director of urban church work of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., handed the prepared statement to the Commonwealth. He said it represented what the ministers had to say after a meeting they held last night following their observations in Leflore County.

"Today we must return to our churches where we will continue to work for racial justice in our own communities," the ministers said. "We want the people of Greenwood to know we have not come with a sense of moral superiority, but with a deep sense of the tragedy of racial division and injustice today. We appeal to the ministers of Greenwood to open channels of communication between Negroes and whites in Leflore County."

Upon leaving, the ministers said they would reccommend that "the National Council of Churches organize another clergy task force for Greenwood."

Greenwood Commonwealth 3/26/64

Miss Reg.

Suit to open vote records is continued

B'ham News

file Mem. Reg.

OXFORD, Miss., Aug. 23—(AP)—A Justice Department suit to open Bolvair County voter registration rolls for inspection has been continued until next Monday by U. S. Dist. Judge Claude Clayton.

State and federal attorneys were asked Tuesday to submit authority in behalf of their cases on two technical points. They concerned whether or not the action obstructs due process in the case of federal and state authority and whether the federal government can order a state official to keep voter records.

"It seems a rather dangerous idea to permit a federal officer to have this much control over a state officer," Clayton said, commenting on the second point.

The state has maintained that the Justice Department should prove prospective Negro voters are being discriminated against in Bolivar County if it wants to inspect the county's registration records.

ATTORNEYS ARGUED on whether proof of discrimination was needed before inspection of the records allowed. U. S. Attorney John Doar said the case was similar to others and the government believed Mrs. Walter Lewis, Bolivar circuit clerk, was discriminating.

However, Asst. State Atty. Gen. Dugas Shands said the case was not the same. "The registrars in the other cases have not denied discrimination," he said, "but Mrs. Lewis has made a complete denial that there was any discrimination against Negroes attempting to register to vote."

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AS TARGET AREAS

(1)

State	District	Population % Negro	NVAP	Counties	% NVAP N.	% NVAP REG
Tennessee	7	35.2		Fayette	61.9	38.8
				Hardeman	32.0	–
				McNairy	5.8	–
				Hardin	5.6	89.4
				Chester	12.3	–
				Madison	28.9	–
				Henderson	8.7	70.5
				Decatur	4.8	–
				Carroll	12.0	–
				Henry	13.7	45.5
				Benton	2.5	–
	8	26.3		Tipton	33.8	–
				Haywood	53.4	31.8
				Lauderdale	33.7	–
				Crockett	18.6	–
				Dyer	13.7	46.8
				Gibson	17.6	–
				Lake	21.5	–
				Obion	10.7	52.1
				Weakley	6.5	–
	9	36.4		Shelby	33.1	63.1
South Carolina	1	44.0	3205	Allendale	55.9	6.9
			4052	Hampton	46.2	15.4
			3333	Jasper	55.3	20.3
			7247	Beaufort	37.5	37.6
			6180	Colleton	43.0	20.7
			35499	Charleston	31.3	26.6
			5370	Dorchester	43.0	13.4
			7619	Berkeley	42.9	42.6
			7735	Clarendon	59.7	6.8
	2	37.3	3242	Barnwell	36.4	22.0
			3807	Bamberg	46.5	15.4
			17355	Orangeburg	51.4	25.1
			10040	Aiken	23.0	24.9
			4782	Lexington	14.2	11.1
			3318	Calhoun	55.8	28
			32670	Richland	29.2	27.1
			15380	Sumter	41.1	24.0
	5	33.5	5903	Kershaw	34.4	29.5
			5536	Fairfield	52.7	16.2
			5664	Chester	33.6	25.0
			10196	York	24.3	34.3
			3360	Cherokee	17.3	26.5
			4762	Lancaster	22.7	26.2
			5219	Chesterfield	30.1	33.3

State	District	Population %Negro		Counties		
South Carolina	6	46.6	7173	Georgetown	44.7	50.5
			10535	Williamsburg	58.2	4.5
			7429	Horry	21.2	25.4
			7684	Marion	48.7	33.2
			15951	Florence	37.1	19.9
			5446	Lee	55.3	21.3
			9900	Darlington	37.2	33.5
			5932	Marlboro	41.9	24.4
			5579	Dillon	38.8	18.6
Virginia	1	29.1		Essex		
				Middlesex		
				King and Queen		
				Gloucester		
				Mathews		
				York		
				New Kent		
				Charles City		
				James City		
				Warwick		
				Hampton City		
				Princess Anne		
	2	28.3		Norfolk		
	3	25.8		Henrico		
				Chesterfield		
	4	48.0		Nansemond		
				Isle of Wight		
				Southampton		
				Surry		
				Sussex		
				Greensville		
				Brunswick		
				Dinwidde		
				Prince George		
				Amelia		
				Nottoway		
				Lunenburge		
				Mecklenburg		
				Prince Edward		
				Powhatan		
				Cumberland		
				Buckingham		
				Appomattox		

(3)

State j	District	Population %Negro	Counties
Georgia	1	37.6	McIntosh
			Liberty
			Bryan
			Chatham
			Long
			Effingham
			Bulloch
			Evans
			Tatnall
			Screven
			Candler
			Toombs
			Montgomery
			Wheeler
			Treutlen
			Emanuel
			Jenkins
			Burke
	2	38.9	Brooks
			Thomas
			Grady
			Decatur
			Seminole
			Miller
			Mitchell
			Colquitt
			Tift
			Worth
			Dougherty
			Baker
			Calhoun
			Early
			Miller
	3	37.2	Ben Hill
			Turner
			Wilcox
			Dodge
			Pulaski
			Dooly
			Crisp
			Houston
			Peach
			Macon
			Sumter
			Lee
			Schley
			Taylor
			Marion
			Webster
			Terrell
			Randolph
			Clay
			Quitman
			Stewart

C

		Cl ay
		Quitman
		Stewart
		Chattahoochee
		Muscogee
		Harris
4	30.7	Upson
		Talbot
		Lamar
		Butts
		Newton
		Henry
		Spalding
		Pi ke
		Meriwether
		Troup
		Coweta
		Clayton
		Fayette
		Heard
		Carroll
5	26.6	Fulton
		DeKalb
		Rockdale
6	41.3	Laurens
		Johnson
		Jefferson
		Blalock
		Washington
		Wilkinson
		Twiggs
		Bibb
		Crawford
		Jones ~~Baldwin~~
		Baldwin
		Hancock
		Putnam
		Jasper
		Monroe
		Bleckley
8	27.3	Camden
		Glynn
		Charlton
		Brantley
		Wayne
		Appling
		Bacon
		Pierce
		Ware
		Cl inch

			Atkinson
			Coffee
			Jeff Davis
			Telfair
			Irwin
			Berrien
			Cook
			Lowndes
			Lanier
	10	33.1	Richmond
			McDuffie
			Columbia
			Lincoln
			Wil kes
			Taliaferro
			Warren
			Elbert
			Oglethorpe
			Greene
			Morgan
			Walton
			Oconee
			Clarke
			Madison
			Hart
			Franklin
Louisiana	4	37.4	Bienville
			Red River
			Cl aiborne
			Webster
			Bossier
			DESoto
			Caddo
	5	40.5	Concordia
			Catahoula
			Tensas
			Franklin
			Caldwell
			Madison
			Richland
			East Carrol
			West Carroll
			Morehouse
			Union
			Ouachita
			Lincoln
			Jackson

6	35.4	St. Tammany Washington Tangipahoa Livingston St. Helena Ascension Iberville W. Baton Rouge E. Baton Rouge East Feliciana West Feliciana Pointe Coupee
7	26.0	Cameron Iber Calcasieu Jeffrerson Davis Acadia St. Landry Evangeline Al len Beauregard
8	29.1	Avoyelles Rapides Vernon Grant LaSalle Winn Natchitoches Sabine
1	32.4	Downtown N.O. St. Bernard Plaquemines
2	31.0	Uptown N.O. Jefferson St. Charles St. John the Baptist St. James

3rd District

Adams
Amite
Copiah
Claiborne
Franklin
Hinds
Jefferson
Lincoln
Pike
Walthall
Warren
Wilkinson
Yazoo

4th District

Clarke
Jasper
Kemper
Lauderdale
Leake
Madison
Neshoba
Newton
Rankin
Scott
Simpson
Smith

5th District

Berry
Covington
Forrest
George
Greene
Hancock
Harrison
Jackson
Jefferson Davis
Jones
Lamar
Lawrence
Marion
Pearl River
Stone
Wayne

file Miss. Voter registration

assume that 50% of reg. Negroes voted and that [illegible] and were white. This to get maximum white participation.

W. popl'n. N. Ppl'm.

Mississippi, 2nd District:

		TVAP		WVAP	NVAP	TOTAL '60 VOTE	KEN.	NIXON	SR.	% VAP VOTED	% WVAP THRU OUT
68 Benton	4,114	4159	3,609	2628	1531	1091	568	175	348	26.3	38.9
306 Bolivar	17,521	27511	36,663	10670	16841	3769	1119	1012	1638	13.7	32.4
3 Carroll	4,677	5979	6,492	3060	2919	1472	425	207	840	24.6	48.0
880 Coahoma	14,630	24481	31,440	9016	15465	3867	1386	1096	1385	15.8	32.0
2 Desoto	9,248	12234	14,625	5553	6681	2082	795	553	734	17.0	37.4
32 Grenada	9,352	10566	9,050	5981	4585	2343	529	682	1132	22.2	38.6
21 Holmes	7,595	14327	19,488	5047	9280	2567	628	455	1484	17.9	50.4
2 Humphreys	5,758	9408	13,300	3475	5933	1422	459	231	732	15.1	40.9
0 Issaquena	1,176	1840	2,399	669	1171	423	178	64	181	23.0	63.2
67 Lafayette	14,110	12997	7,208	9552	3445	2922	1308	705	909	22.5	29.9
236 Leflore	16,699	25111	30,307	10589	14522	4641	1212	1319	2112	18.5	41.6
8 Marshall	7,264	12358	17,239	4488	7870	1785	681	404	700	14.4	39.6
5 Montgomery	7,399	7646	5,968	4846	2800	1969	623	585	761	25.7	40.5
5 Panola	12,565	15602	16,216	7924	7678	2888	841	643	1404	18.5	36.4
158 Quitman	7,716	10363	13,254	4343	6020	1556	583	299	674	15.0	32.3
2 Sharkey	3,247	5281	7,469	1951	3330	1007	263	313	431	19.1	51.5
81 Sunflower	14,730	23616	30,855	9175	14441	3451	1033	1177	1241	14.6	36.9
0 Tallahatchie	8,580	12147	15,400	5264	6883	2597	830	346	1421	21.4	49.3
0 Tate	7,696	9456	10,439	4865	4591	1772	686	241	845	18.7	36.4
88 Tippah	12,337	9264	2,743	7893	1371	2892	1939	486	467	31.2	35.5
11 Tunica	3,505	8297	13,315	2078	6219	897	323	334	240	10.8	42.6
3 Union	15,592	11582	3,312	9866	1716	3295	2001	605	689	28.4	33.4
1281 Washington	35,239	42468	443,097	20718	21750	6655	3105	2292	1258	15.7	26.6
2 Yalobusha	6,962	7300	5,538	4688	2612	1903	650	549	704	26.1	40.5
3261	247,712	323,993	359,426	154,339	169,654	59266	22,165	14,771	22,330	18.2	

1st District

W 56005
36.3

Alcorn
Attala
Calhoun
Chickasaw
Ch octaw
Clay
Itawamba
Lee
Lowndes
Monroe
Noxubee
Oktibbeha
Pontotoc
Prentiss
Tishomingo
Webster
Winston

1st Primary 8-4-59

			Rep.		Dec.
Governor	5931	(4)	276	53.8%	23.6
Lt. Gov.	5859	(4)	264		
Ag. Com.	5756	(2)	260		
Ins. Com.	5742	(4)	261		
Land Com.	5576	(3)	258		
Supt Ed.	5795	(2)	262		
Tax Com.	5735	(10)	265		
State Treas	5800	(3)	262		
Pub. Serv. Com.	5674	(3)	254		

2nd Primary 8-25-59

Gov. 5631

Right to work Amendment
6-7-60

for	against	Total		
1778	197	1975	16.4	7.9%

Senate Primary
6-7-60

Est.				
1856	37	1893	17.5%	7.5%

~~Sen~~ Gen'l elec.
11-8-60

Senate	4495	repub. opp.	40%	17.9%
House	4445	" "		

file miss registration

JM

Marshall County

Whites over 21 - 4342
Whites registered - most

Negroes over 21 - 7168
Negroes registered - 80 to 100

Panola County

Whites over 21 - 7639
Whites registered - 5345

Negroes over 21 - 7250
Negroes registered - 2

Benton County

Whites over 21 - 2514
Whites registered - most

Negroes over 21 - 1419
Negroes registered - 150(?)

Lafayette County

Whites over 21 - 8074
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 3239
Negroes registered - 134

Quitman County

Whites over 21 - 4176
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 5673
Negroes registered - 435

Tunica County

Whites over 21 - 2011
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 5822
Negroes registered - 22

Tate County

Whites over 21 - 4506
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 4326
Negroes registered - 3 (?)

De Soto County

Whites over 21 - 5338
Whites registered - probably more than half

Negroes over 21 - 6246
Negroes registered - 4

ROUGH ESTIMATE OF
REG. STATISTICS (NOT RELIABLE)

COUNTY	NEGROES ADULT	NEGROES REGISTERED	WHITES ADULT	WHITES REGISTERED
CLARKE	2988	40+ (none before trial)	6072	5,000 ~~40+~~ ~~(none before!~~
JASPER	3675	~~1201~~ 6	5327	4500 ~~20,000!~~
KEMPER	3221	Probably 0	3113	3000
LAUDERDALE	11,924	1200	27,806	20,000
LEAKE (Percy Whaler near Thoradom)	3,400	120	~~18,559~~ 6,754	7,000
NESHOBA	2,565	0 or very few	9,143	7,500
NEWTON	3,018	Very few	8,014	6,000
NOXUBEE	5,172	0	2,997	2500
SCOTT	3,752	5-10	7,742	6,000
SMITH	1,293	24	6,597	6000
WINSTON	3,611	57		5250

11400
1000
1640
1000
500 SNCC

CORE: JACKSON

SNCC - MARSHALL — 7853
BOLIVAR — 16279
HINDS — 33697
PIKE — 7128
KEMPER — 3460
JEFF DAVIS — 3370
COAHOMA — 13505
NAA — Washington — 19187 [where?]
Tallahatchie — 14050
Warren — 9275
Forrest — 7848
Adams — 8756
Lauderdale — 10571
Jones — 7943
Jackson — 5450
Harrison — 10298
Pike — 7128
Amite — 3762

Justice Dept
Clark — 3080
Forrest
Jeff Davis
Wallhall - 2663
Tallahatchie - 6883
Panola - 7668

Core 1000 for Hinds
& 9 Jackson

SCLC Bolivar
Coahoma
Tallahatchie

$16,400

Forrest 7848 — 3.0 — 492.00
Jeff Davis - 3370 — 1.3 — 213.20
2 - 50569 — 19.7 — 3230.80
3 - 101567 — 39.7 — 6510.80
4 - 92423 — 36.1 — 5920.40 Hinds 36.4 2155
255777 — 99.8 — 16367.20

Artcle

New Bars to Negro Vote Set by 'Moral' Amendment

atl Journal-Con
6-3-62 Jackson, Miss

By KENNETH TOLER
Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., June 2—Additional obstacles to registration of Negroes as voters were erected by the 1962 General Assembly which adjourned sine die Saturday after a record-setting 22 weeks session. It was the longest session since 1870.

The series of proposals are designed as added legal barriers to slow down the current U.S. Justice Department's drive to remove discriminations assertedly faced by Negroes seeking voter status.

One of the new statutes places in the law a previously voter-ratified constitutional amendment which requires an applicant for registration to be "of good moral character" and to demonstrate that fact to the county registrar.

COUPLED with that law is one permitting a third party to challenge the good moral character of an applicant for qualified elector status. When such a challenge is filed, the county registrar must inform the applicant and provide for his appearance at an "administrative hearing to determine the sufficiency of the application or challenge."

TIED-IN to the challange statute is a requirement that an applicant must publish his intentions in a local newspaper before it can be considered by the registrar. After the application is filed with the registrar, that official has it published once a week for two weeks. If no challenge is filed within 14 days of the last publication, the registrar then puts the application through the necessary "tests" as to "good moral character" and, ability to intrepret any section of the Constitution submitted by the registrar.

Inclusion of the "good moral character" prerequisite is additional to an existing requirement that the applicant "be able to read and write any section of the state constitution and give a reasonable interpretation thereof and demonstrate a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government."

ANOTHER requirement to gaining voter status is that the applicant shall have "never been convicted of bribery, burglary, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, embezzlement or bigamy and who has paid all poll taxes for the two proceeding years and have paid them before the first day of February of the year in which he offers to vote." There is no "catching up" on back poll taxes in an election year.

On the application blank for registration, the applicant must give his age, occupation, where business carried on, if employed, by whom, place of residence, date such residence began, previous place of residence, whether applicant has been convicted, and if so, when and where, of the crimes outlined in the constitution.

File Voter resistance Mississippi

5:10 p.m.
Wed - Aug - 8th 1962 - call from Jim Monsonas (Atlanta) - SNCC - stating that SNCC's worker Samuel Block had been harassed as follows in Greenwood Mississippi. Last Thursday Block was told by Greenwood police that they would "beat his teeth in" or words to that effect if he continued his voter registration activities. Then, on Friday, police came into a meeting which Block was conducting for the purpose of instructing and encouraging voter registration. There demeanor was threatening. Today Block took three Negroes to the registrar's office and was followed home by police. At the time Monsonas received the call from Block, the police had been sitting outside his (Block's) home for a couple of hours.

~~Called Jim McDonald on Greenwood about 5:30 p.m.~~

Samuel Block - Last Monday a week Greenwood City Police Chief (or Captain) acted as if investigating car theft - said S. was smart Nigger from up North - Ben Broach Greenwood police officer with them - didn't come in office - S met them them downstairs - Friday S took 3 Negroes to County Court House where he had been instructing them - S only in the registrar's office - deputy registrar - about 2:30 pm - One of Gentlemen was frightened and so were ladies - Lady in registrar's office said - "What's for you Boy" Said they'd come to see Miss Jamb (reg) - asked her what her job was - asked her how many Negroes reg - She said none of his business - gave Negroes test - Literacy test - Interpretation of Const. Article

of citizen of Mississippi - Dan N. Jody scared - gave them test but didn't tell them if they passed - When got home W.C.C. called - said "this is Mr Patterson - if you take anybody else up to register you'll never leave Greenwood alive!" Gets these calls every nite - about 1½ week ago woman he lived with - Miss E.H. McNeese & E Foyest - called said she had been called by Patterson and threatened by him!

Today - carried 2 people up to register - they were picking out farm - Miss Jant left for about ten minutes - Come back in and about 5 min later 2 Greenwood police come in. They talked to Jant - Jant went out - people started looking in door - Jadin finished test - turned paper in - they went out and police were waiting - Police said something but he ignored them - Got in Taxi - police followed in took registrants home - Got out of taxi and went in drugstore - saw police go by - went up to office - police sat in front of office for long time.

Friday Registrants: Nettie Bradfield
210 Vardaman St.
Barbara Hawes 210 Vardaman -
Patricia Elliot Pillow - Rt 1 Box 24B,
Ittabena, Miss. - Rev. Sedfetter - 702 Howard.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THEIR PARTY

Jones
Forrest (Hatchelburg)
Lowndes
Jackson
Harrison

Aug 14, 1962 From FBI, Memphis to Ben C Collins, Chief, Clarksdale P.D. from Earl W. Hessly, Spec Agent in Charge

"It is a pleasure to be associated with such fine law enforcement officers. Your cooperation in this and other matters is most appreciated."

cc W.S. Kincaid Mayor Clarksdale

August 29, 1962

Car towed on authorization of Police dept. to Weiss Auto Co. Towing and Service Charge 31.76. - Richard Weiss. Distance not more than one mile. Storage at .50 per day for one day

file Albany Ga.

August 15, 1962 10:00 am

Jim Foreman, SNCC, called this morning to report that the Shady Grove Baptist Church, 1½ miles outside Leesburg Georgia (Lee County) on State Hwy. 195, was bombed last night. No one was in the building and there were no injuries. The church has been used in recent weeks as the regular meeting place for SNCC's voter registration work in Lee County. Forman said he had reported the bombing to the FBI office in Atlanta this morning and had also sent a telegram to Burke Marshall's office asking for an investigation.

Minnis

Phone conversation betweenWAB and Sam Block
morning of 8/17/62

Burns never bothered to get a divorce from his first wife but for 15 years their present situation has been mutually agreeable. He has lived with his present wife for 15 years and has two children (ceremony unknown at this time). Recently a white lawyer approached his first wife and asked if she had ever obtained a divorce. No. He asked if her husband were taking care of her. No. She signed a statement. Bigamny charge.

Nowkpeople where he is living have asked him to move out.

The police came last night and later one car with 18 white men. All the white men got out and started up the stairs while the boys watched them. The boys then jumped out the window and fled.

Belongs to Mrs Gardner
Burns worked at Post Office
bail $2000 on Burns

Sam Black, Guyot and Brown jumped out of window when men rushed in.

Burns [illegible]
[illegible] lawyer [illegible]
(15 yr [illegible])
[illegible] no

[illegible] no
[illegible]
15 yrs / 2 children arresting?
Bigamy /

[illegible]

The Clarksdale Press Register - Miss.

Civil Rights Suit Denounced

8/29/62

State Officials Pledge Defiance

JACKSON (UPI) — Top Mississippi officials have reacted defiantly to a Justice Department civil rights suit filed here Tuesday and have sworn to fight it.

Gov. Ross Barnett called the suit "an attempt to win the Negro vote."

Sen. James O. Eastland said it was a "political document. . . which reads more like a speech prepared for delivery before the NAACP or in a lunatic asylum, than any legal document."

Sen. John C. Stennis said it was an "unwarranted direct assault upon the laws of Mississippi."

State Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, who along with Barnett was one of the defendants named in the suit, would make no comment about the complaint, but said, "You can say we will defend the acts in the courts."

The suit, filed in U. S. district court, would nullify two sections of the Mississippi constitution and five state laws which the department says are used to keep Negores from voting.

It asks that a three-judge panel hear the case and issue anti-discrimination injunctions against registrars in Amite, Coahoma, Claiborne, Lowndes, Leflore and Pike counties, who also were named defendants.

Eastland said the suit "is a polemic designed purely and simply as a political document to further partisan politics. This is a brutal grasp for political power through the prostitution of the federal judiciary."

Circuit Clerk Is Away As Charge Against Him Filed

Coahoma Official Is One Of Six Cited In Justice Department Action

Coahoma County Circuit Clerk J. W. Smith was out of town today and could not be reached for comment on the Justice Department suit which was filed in Jackson yesterday and which named him as a defendant.

His office deputy, Mrs. Lelia W. Thistle, said Smith started his vacation last Wednesday and that she did not expect him to return to work until next Monday. She said she did not know where he had gone on his vacation.

Smith is one of six Mississippi county registrars listed as defendants in the suit.

About 40 Negros filed complaints against Smith, saying he would not attempt to register them during the last two weeks of July. They said Smith told them he was too busy with court duties — circuit court then being in session — to handle the registration at that time.

Meanwhile, U. S. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy released voting registration figures for the six counties in the state involved in the civil rights suit.

It alleges that in Coahoma County there are 8,708 whites of voting age and 8,376 registered; that there are 14,604 Negroes of voting age and 1,371 registered.

In Leflore County, the only other Delta county involved — the others are Amite, Claiborne, Lowndes and Pike — the Kennedy report showed 10,274 whites, with 9,803 registered; 13,567 Negroes and 258 registered.

Mrs. Martha Turner Lamb of Greenwood is a defendant along with Smith and registrars in the other four counties.

Discrimination Ban Expected In Washington

Federal Housing Would Be Affected

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said today President Kennedy might issue an executive order before Jan. 1 banning racial discrimination in federally assisted housing.

Kennedy was asked by newsmen when he expected the President to sign the long-awaited order, which he promised on several occasions during the 1960 presidential campaign.

"There is no time set for it," the attorney general replied. "I know the President is giving it consideration. I think it is very possible that it will come out before the first of the year."

Administration sources have said there was a better than even chance that the order would be signed and promulgated after Congress adjourns and before the Nov. 6 election. They said it probably would take effect on Jan. 1, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The expected order would prohibit racial, religious and ethnic discrimination in rental of federally subsidized low-rent housing, in rental or sale of property in federally aided urban renewal areas, and in sale or rental of new housing with FHA - insured and VA-guaranteed home loans.

The White House has been studying the possibility of broadening the order. The Civil Rights Commission has urged that it cover mortgage lending by federally insured savings and loan associations and banks.

August 29, 1962 - Clarksdale Mississippi
Statement of David J. Dennis

On the evening of August 28, 1962 I attended a meeting of the Council of Federated Organizations at the Haven Methodist Church in Clarksdale Mississippi. The meeting broke up at about 12:30 A.M. I left the church in my car, a 1956 Chevrolet, the car with me were, Peter McKenney, Dave Dennis, Calvin Siddell, another young lady from Hattiesburg. As we pulled away from the Church I noticed a police car (Clarksdale Police Dept.) parked in front of the Church. We had driven a few blocks and had stopped at a traffic light. A police car turned onto the street we were on while we were stopped at the light. There were two policemen in the car. One came over to our car and the other went to the car behind us, which contained some people who had been at the meeting. The officer asked to see my drivers license. I gave him my license, in a cellophane folder. He told me to "take the damn thing" out of the folder. He walked to the rear of the car and spoke to the other officer. He came back and asked me what we were doing here. I told him I had been to a meeting and that I was on my way back to Jackson. He told me to move on and returned my license to me. We drove on and I noticed that the car behind us had stopped so I turned and went back, thinking they might have had car trouble. One of the guys from the Miss. Free Press was driving the car. He said they had decided to go back to Jackson by way of Cleveland. They didn't want to go thru Ruleville because they were afraid police

there would stop them. We drove on there to get on Highway 61. We were turning off 4th Street onto another Highway (not #61) when we were stopped by another Clarksdale police car. The officer asked if we were looking for anyone. I said no, that we were going to Jackson. He told us to go on and I noticed in the rear-view mirror that he was following us. There were two officers in the police car. This was not the same police team which had stopped us before. After we got on Highway 61, we passed by a car which had apparently been stopped by two police cars. I think both these police cars were Clarksdale police. The car that had been stopped was driven by Jim Farmer. I do not know who was in the car with Farmer. Farmer was standing outside the car talking to policemen. I do not know how many policemen were there. I do not know whether or not the spot where I saw Farmer stopped was inside the Clarksdale City Limits. The police car which was following us pulled off and stopped at Farmer's car. We went on down the road about 10 blocks and pulled off and stopped. We wanted to see if Farmer would come on or if he would be detained by police. We waited four or ten minutes and then decided to go on. Before pulling back onto the road I looked behind me. I saw headlights of a car coming towards us about four or five blocks away. It was my judgment that the car was not approaching at such a speed as to make it unsafe for me to pull onto the highway. The speed limit at this point on the road is either 35 or 40 M.P.H. I pulled onto the road and had traveled about a block and a half when the car behind me rounded

a siren. This was the first indication I had had that the car I had seen approaching was a police car. I pulled off the road again. Only one officer was in the car. He pulled off behind us, blinked his lights on brights and called for me to come to him. I went back to him and he asked to see my drivers license. I showed it to him. He asked whose drivers license I was showing him. I told him it was mine. He asked where I was going. I told him. During this conversation I had spoken to him civilly but had not used "sir". He told me to come sit in the car beside him. I asked him why it was necessary. He said "I told you to come" "sit" "down right here" pointing to the seat beside him. He made a gesture toward his gun, strapped to his waist. I went around the car and got in beside him. He asked me if I knew how to say "Yassuh" and "nossuh". I said I didn't feel it was necessary, that I thought it more respectful to say "yes". He explained to me that people should respect police officers. At this time he was referring to me as "nigger". Mari Jahner got out of our car and came to see what was going on. He told her "Get your ass back in that car". Mari had been looking out the car window toward the police car. At one time she said "What is that license number". The officer had heard her. During the conversation about respect, I said "Yes, I understand what you're talking about". He said "What did you say". I repeated myself. He said that he was "tired of all this bullshit". There was a billy on the seat beside him. He picked the billy up and pushed it near my face and said he would "knock

My boots down my throat". He went on to say that both white and niggers say "yes sir" to police here and that this was a mark of first class citizenship. There had been some discussion previously about first and second class citizenship. The officer spoke at some length about how he respected a "nigger" as much as a white. At this point he said it was not my fault that I was a "nigger". He shined a light on my face and asked me if I had white blood. I said I didn't know. He said I did know. Up to this time he had said nothing at all about any thing I might have done that violated any law or ordinance. He spoke at some length about how we were destroying the harmonious race relations in the South. He said we would never be able to change things. At no time did I say yes "sir". Finally he pushed up the billy and said "I see what I'm gonna have to do". Cordia leaned out of the car ahead and said something. He said say "yes" one more time. I said I had no reason to. Just previous to this, as noted above, he said "I see what I'm gonna have to do — take you down to the station and give you a going over" or words to this effect. Up to this time the officer had mentioned nothing about any offense I had committed. He asked me if I had any money. I said why. He asked if the others had any money. I said I didn't know, — why? He sat looking at my driver's license for a moment, then said "You committed a driving offense you know" I said what. He thought for a moment. Then he said "you cut out in front of me". I protested that there had been plenty of time — that I had said

been guilty of improper driving. He said that I was guilty of failing to yield right of way. He said he was going to put me under arrest. I asked what would be the fine and if I could put up bond. He said the bond would be about $19. He asked if I had that much. I told him I didn't. He asked if the others had money. I said we could ask. He said it might be more. He asked if anyone of the others had a driver's license. I said maybe Tester did. He called Tester. Tester came back to the police car. He asked Tester if he had a license. Tester said no. He had Tester converred for a while and the officer rebuked him for not using "sir". After Tester showed him identification he told Tester to go back to the car.

The officer began to fumble around with my license. I asked him if there most I had to go to jail. He said yes if I couldn't put up bond. I think he was undecided about whether or not he should arrest me. He told me to follow him to the station after ~~the~~ having further remarked upon my failure to accord him proper respect. I got into my car and followed him to the station.

When we got to the station the officer and I went inside and he remarked to the other officers that this was one of those "smart aleggers" that wants to be a first class citizen. He ~~told~~ the other officers that I had cut in front of him and that he had

nearly run over me. The other officers remarked that this was a very serious offense for which I probably would get some time". I asked if I could put up bond. He asked how much money I had. I told him just a few dollars. I said I could go outside and see if my companion had any money. He told me to do so. I went out and told the others to call Bob Moses & Dr. Aaron Henry and let them know what happened. The officer let me go outside alone.

When I went back in I was told that no one was there who could accept bond. They told me to go check my personal belongings to the desk sergeant. I asked the desk sergeant if I could make bond. He said yes. The arresting officer overheard this and he and another officer came over and discussed the matter of bond-making with the desk sergeant. The sergeant seemed to think he could take bond, the other officers insisted he couldn't. They called the Chief on the radio and he came and they conferred. Then I was told by the Chief that I couldn't make bond because this was a County offense. It was my impression during all this that the arresting officer was a Clarksdale City policeman. I did not understand the intricacies of the reason why I couldn't make bond.

I gave my property to the desk sergeant. He put it in an envelope and had me sign it. Then they took me back to a cell.

Kept warning about 6:30 they come and handcuffed me and took me to the County jail. I was described to the desk sergeant there as a "smart nigger". They put me in a private cell. About ½ hour later they came in with Alcohol sheets and asked me if there was anything I needed.

Around 8:30 A.M. I was released and they told me to go see Mr. Aaron Henry and instructed me how to get there. Mr. Henry told me they had agreed to let me come to him to get the money to pay my fine. At no time did anyone ask me if I was guilty of failing to yield the right of way. Mr. Henry let me use his car to take the 21.85 back to the Sheriff's office. I paid the 21.85 and was given a receipt which reads "On account of failure to yield Rt. of Way". The receipt is signed by Calvin Weeks for L. A. Ross, Sheriff and Tax Collector, Coahoma County, Mississippi.

Witness: Jack Thomas

Marvel F. Dennis

Aug 29, 1962, Clarksdale - WB and I went to the office of Everett Connell, Judge of Municipal Court, Clarksdale. It was WB's intention to secure from the Judge a continuance of the cases of the six defendants for a week or two. Their cases are presently scheduled to come up Aug 30 at 5:30 pm. WB wants to secure the continuance in order to get time for justice to seek an injunction barring prosecution of these defendants on these charges.

The judge asked why WB wanted the continuance. WB said defendants needed time to secure counsel. Judge asked if they had tried locally. WB said that, in all honesty, and with due regard for the administration of justice, the boys could not expect to get fair and honest representation from local counsel. The judge seemed taken aback by this frank appraisal of conditions. He did not attempt to refute this interpretation of conditions in Clarksdale.

He would not agree to a continuance, insisting that a motion must be filed at the time appearance is scheduled.

WB asked him if he could represent the defendants, explaining that he had practiced some in other Miss. Counties. The judge said he would have to look up the rules on this. It was WB's opinion that the judge himself was the final authority on who could practice in his court (assuming of course that the individual in question was otherwise

qualified). It seems justifiable to infer that the judge actually wanted to discuss the matter of WB's practicing with local politicians and influentials. He said he wanted call WB at 4th St. drug store in short time.

WB came to 4th St. Drugs & called Burke Marshall in DC. suggesting enjoining of prosecution of the sit lottering defendants. He explained the whole thing to Marshall. (WB concerned about position of Justice coming in either after forfeiture in Muni. Court or conviction in Muni. Court. It might be argued that appropriate remedy would then be appeal rather than injunction against prosecution. However, it could be argued, against this, that this would not actually be an appeal, but a trial de novo under Mississippi procedure.) Marshall thought that the latter argument would suffice, though he would much prefer that Justice be able to get into it at the Muni. level with a contemnor.

WB called Carsie Hall, attorney in Jackson with the idea that Hall could be the boys attorney, but he would be unable because of the short notice, to appear at the hearing on Aug. 30. Thus the judge could not preserve any semblance of judicial fairness and at the same time deny the contemnor.

Judge called WB and said he could represent them. WB told him that the students were trying to get Carsie Hall but that he was afraid Carsie might have a conflict. WB had not at this time talked to

Carrie

when Case come through, Carrie was not in, but we talked to Jack Young, Carrie's partner, who confirmed the hypothesis that neither he nor Carrie could make it for tomorrow.

Six arresting officer.
B. C. Collins
Foster
Nassar

Lake Providence La. Aug 30, 1962.

Stopped at Harris funeral home. Mrs. Harris very cautious and gave every evidence of rather extreme fear. Directed us to Rev. Scott's residence and told us about Scott's shooting. Mrs Harris said she is not registered. Said she's been too busy and that she intends to register as soon as she gets the time. She did not mention herself being afraid. She said that the ones who have been active in registration work had not been scared off by the Scott shooting but that with others, fear had been intensified by the incident.

Rev. Scott was in Chicago. Convention but we talked to Mrs. Scott. She gave this account of the shooting. On the evening of August 22 she and her husband and four young children were returning in their car from a church service in Lake Providence. Their home is on the outskirts of the town. The turnoff to their home is in the middle of a long curve in the highway. Passing on the curve is imprudent and therefore they thought nothing of the fact that a car was behind them. They had been having some trouble with a wheel on their car and were driving very slowly. Just as they started their turn off the highway a car behind them swung out to pass. Because the turn is a very sharp one they had almost come to a standstill to negotiate it. As the car pulled alongside them Mrs. Scott heard what sounded like a blowout on the other car. Almost immediately her husband shouted something like "I've been shot" and threw his arms out in front of him. Mrs Scott saw blood on his left arm and saw that his left shirtsleeve was torn. Her immediate re-

action to her husbands statement was one of incredulity. Then her husband told her to take the wheel of the car and drive on to the house. He jumped out of the car. She drove on a few feet and then stopped to look back, fearing that her husband might be seriously injured. She saw him running across the fields toward their house, so she drove there herself. A shot gun had been fired at the left (driver's) door of their car, blowing a hole in the metal of the door. Some of the buckshot had entered her husbands left arm, but no serious injury resulted. Her husband had been in St. Louis enroute to Chicago prior to this incident, but had returned for the hearing on Contempt Charges against the registrar of E. Carroll Parish. The Sheriff and local F.B.I. are investigating the shooting. Mrs. Scott states that she has little confidence in the F.B.I. men who cooperate with local officials. Her daughter, about 14, was on the porch with her when she mentioned the F.B.I.'s role in the investigation. The daughter, gently, displayed some ironic mirth at the implied suggestion that there was any confidence to be placed in the racial impartiality of the F.B.I. people. Mrs. Scott verbalized similar sentiments. Mrs. Scott is one of those registered by the federal Judge as is Rev. Scott. She gave no indication that she was intimidated or discouraged by the shooting but she indicated that many Negroes were. Rev. Scott and the home seem leaders, apparently, in local registration efforts. Mrs. Scott displayed a rather sophisticated knowledge about local and state political processes.

we were advised by Mrs. Scott that we should also talk to Mr. Eric Armstrong who, she said has been very active in voter registration. Armstrong owns an Esso Service Station and a dry cleaning plant in Lake Providence. Armstrong was out of town but we talked to Mrs. Armstrong.

She is a public school teacher in the parish system. She is not registered to vote, though her husband was one of those registered by the federal judge. She said she thought it would be foolish for her to register unless she could get at least 2 or 3 other teachers to go with her. She felt sure that if she went alone, she would lose her job. She did not think Louisiana's tenure law would be any protection against arbitrary discharge unless several teachers were involved. Her reasoning was that it would be to explain away the coincidence of several teachers', newly registered, being fired.

She said that those Negroes who were determined to register previous to the Scott shooting seemed even more determined now. On the other hand she felt that the apathy engendered by fear of reprisal was keeping most local Negroes from registering. She said that she would not even mention registration to the teachers except in an oblique way and then only to close friends. She felt it would be dangerous to have the word get around that she was advocating registration.

She said several federal people had talked to her and her husband about the Scott shooting. She said that she found it impossible to discuss matters with local F.B.I. with any confidence. She felt much different about non-southern justice department folk. She mentioned having one

justice department lawyer over for dinner while he was in the area investigating the shooting. She felt that outside help was needed for an effective registration program. She was particularly interested in having workers come in. She said that no economic reprisals had been visited on her husband, though the town Marshall had told him recently that he'd never "lay another goddamn gallon of gas" at Armstrong's Drive station.

WB and I returned to Clarksdale Mississippi about 1:00 pm August 30. WE had just gone to Henry's house to relax a bit when WB got a dall from Bob Moses. Five of the SNCC workers had been arrested, he said, in Indianaola, Miss. WB walled the city jail there and was told that four individuals had been charged with distributing literature without a permit. The city jail told WB that the fifth person, Lawrence Surney, was 17 years old and had been turned over to the juvenile authorities. Three of the four arrested in Indianaola were due in court at 5:30 that day in Clarksdale. By the time we got all this information it was about 3:00. WB suggested that I take bail money to Indianaola, about 50 miles from Clarksdale, and try to get the individuals back there in time for the trial. I arrived in Indianaola about 4:30. I went to the city jail and found, inthe office, the chief of police and one other person. The other person appeared to exert some authority and I suppose him to have been a city councilman, probably in charge of police matters. I told the cheif the nature of may business. He appeared not to understand what it was I wanted. I spedified the names of the individuals I wanted to make bail for. The cheif acknowledged that they were in jail but still did not appear to understand what I wanted to do about it. I was finally able to get him to acknowledge that he understood that I wanted to make bail. Then he wanted to know what kind of bail I wished to make. I told him I had the cash for their bonds. He said that he could not accept cahs bonds for them without the authority of the Mayor. Asked him where I could find the Mayor and he directed me to the Pitts Coal and Steel Co., the Mayor's place of business. I went there andfound the place closed. I returned to the jail and so informed the cheif. I asked him if he had any idea where we might get in touch with the mayor. He said the mayor was not at home and picked up the microphone and informed someone (presumably a patrol car) that the mayor was to be looked for. We sat there for ten minutes or so, awaiting the results of the search. Finally the individual called back and said that he had been unable to locate the mayor but that he had seen the mayor's truck someplace and that this indicated to him the mayor probably had gone to his farm. The cheif then suggested that I wait while they tried to locate the mayor. We sat and chatted for a while about the weather, the cotton crop and the distance between Indianaola and the Mississippi River and about the venerable old jail in which the five were imprisoned. The chief said it had been built around 1900. After about 20 or so minuets of this the cheif got a phone call. He sat nodding his head and saying "yes" for five minutes or so. Then he hung up the phone, walked toward the door, truned and

said to me "You just be patient, we'll get you taken careof". Then he walked out. I waited another ten minutes or so and then decided that they had no intention of permitting me to make bail for the five that evening. Since it was 5:30 there was no chance of getting the five back to Clarksdale in time for court. Bob Moses and James Bevel came in and they suggested that we leave the five in jail overnight. They further suggested that we try to get BM's people to interview the five in the jail that night. I returned to Clarksdale and informed WB that trila was to be held in Indianaola for the five the following morning at 7:30 (as the chief had informed me during our chat). WB said that when he appeared in court in Clarksdale that afternoon, the prosecutor had moved for dismissal of the charges because, he said, investigation subsequent to the arrest had revealed that the six "might" have had a reasonable excuse for being outside after the 12:00 Clarksdale curfew.

(The cheif in Indianaola had informed that the juvenile, Surney, had been released to the custody of James Bevel).

We saw BM's people that night in Clarksdale and the three gave statements. We arrived in Indianaola about 7:45 next morning. The court had already tried one of the defendants, Block, and found him guilty. The court agreed to WB's motion for a one-week continuance for the other three. The court called Surney to the bench and asked him where he was from. He replied "Ruleville". The court warned him to stay in Ruleville and not come down there and be stirring the peopledup. He further warned him he would send him to the county farm if he did come back to Indianaola. The front seats of the court room were filled with a dozen or so uglies of the Klan type who had apparently gathered for the sport. The defendants were being brought from the jail and tried one at a time. The only reason which suggested itself for this was that the bullying of the uglies would be less tolerable if the defendants were not even granted the comfort of numbers. When court recessed we went into the cheif's office and WB arranged bail and an appeal bond for Block. While we were there one of the officers came in with a deoderizing bomb and sprayed around and near us. The uglies were now in the hall way outside the cheif's office making various and sundry remarks. When bail details had been completed, we went outside to where we had parked the car. No one was there in whose custody we could leave the four (the juvenile having left with Bevel). We waited around for some time but when BM's people did not show up and we could find none of the four's associates, we decided to take them to Cleveland where BM's boys could find them. Serverl little knots of angry

whites had gathered at various places around the city hall and we did not feel it safe to leave the four to their tender mercies. We met BM's boys on the way to Cleveland and they trailed us there and interviewed the four at Amzie Moore's house in Cleveland. WB and I proceeded to Memphis where we caught a plane for Nashville. In Nashville, WB called SRC and learned that Bob Moses had been arrested that same day on a charge of distributing literature without a permit in Indianaola. WB called Mayor Pitts and got him to agree to release Moses if we sent a $100 money order to cover the bail. We subseqentuly learned that ~~the~~ Pitts honored this agreement.

The Clarksdale Press Register
Mississippi 8/29/63

Collins Denies Voter Group 'Harassed'

Police Jail Six After Meeting Here

Six persons were arrested by city police last night for loitering following the close of a state Negro voter registration meeting at Haven Methodist Church.

Police Chief Ben C. Collins denied an NAACP claim today that the arrests were made to harass the voter registration campaign. He said he did not know anything about the meeting.

He said the arrests were "strictly routine," and handled just like any other of the hundreds of loitering cases which receive the attention of police during the year.

The chief also said that the individuals were warned at midnight that the city has a midnight curfew and that they were supposed to be off the streets at that time. The arrests occurred about 1:20 a.m.

Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, said the six along with another man arrested by a highway patrolman, attended the voter registration meeting. He said it was a meeting of paid employes in the campaign and that about 50 people attended the gathering which began about 9 and ended about 12:30.

Among those attending were Wiley Branton of Atlanta, national director of the voter registration drive, and Norman Kurland and Edgar Brown, identified by Henry as field representatives of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Those arrested included John Hodges, Samuel Black, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, Albert Garner, Dewey Roosevelt Greene Jr. and Daniel Dennis, the latter by the highway patrol. Dennis was charged with failure to yield the right of way.

All the others were charged with loitering and Greene was charged with driving without an inspection sticker.

Collins said Greene was arrested in his car on Mississippi Ave. and that the others were standing on Fourth St.

The six persons arrested by police were bailed out of jail about noon, paying $51 bond each. They are due to be tried in city court at 5 p.m. Thursday.

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Decision Time Nearing For Rigid Mississippi

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

JACKSON, Miss. — Ever since the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision, white Mississippi has been on an official binge of defiance and racism.

Today, there is a distinct possibility that when the University of Mississippi opens its new term two weeks hence, a Negro may walk on the campus with admission papers issued by a Supreme Court Justice. Negro efforts to register to vote are being countered with arrests by white officials, intimidation and the shout of "Communist."

Clear heads and sober thoughts are needed in Mississippi now more than at any time in the past century.

But instead of sobering up, white Mississippi seems to be belting down one more for the road.

There could be an ugly crash.

Judicial Warfare Subject

A week ago, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy entered the University of Mississippi desegregation case, which has been the subject of judicial warfare between Federal Circuit Judge Ben F. Cameron of Meridian and his colleagues on the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Each time the Fifth Circuit has ordered the University to admit James Meredith, a Negro, Cameron has stayed the order at the State's request.

Finally, the NAACP asked Associate Justice Hugo L. Black of the U. S. Supreme Court to revoke Cameron's latest stay. Black issued an order to that effect today.

Most white Mississippians seem to think Cameron will stay Black's order.

Kennedy's criticism of Cameron's actions, said State Attorney General Joe Patterson, was "like a jackass looking up into the sky and braying at a great American eagle as it soars above."

The day after Ole Miss opens its session, the Mississippi State Legislature is scheduled to go into special session. University of Mississippi educators don't know what's going to happen.

The University has had great difficulty getting faculty members from outside the State as the crisis nears. Gov. Ross R. Barnett has shown no dilution of his vow that no desegregation would occur while he is top man in Mississippi.

Called 'Uncle Tom'

Percy Greene, Negro publisher of the Jackson Advocate, has been called an "Uncle Tom" by many Negroes who consider him too conservative on the race problem. But when Greene editorially called for Mississippi to accept Meredith in the University, white advertisers recovered from their shock enough to cancel their ads.

In 1955, some Jackson Negroes petitioned the School Board to desegregate the school system. The Board never answered. Last month, nine Negroes filed another petition and promised to take their request to Federal court this time if necessary.

mons took out after Johnston's hide.

The word is that Johnston, who three years ago handled Governor Barnett's racist campaign for Governor, will resign from the Commission after the November election.

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman, figured to be a gubernatorial candidate next year, has tried to talk sense within the narrow limits allowed Mississippi politicians in this era.

At the Neshoba County fair last month, Coleman said today's race problem is the same old problem, in a different form, that has confronted the South in the past and, in a still different form, will confront it in the future.

"Let us resolve that a whole people will not be stampeded by a handful of spooks and goblins," he said. "Let us resolve, instead, that we will, as in ages past, remain loyal Americans, loyal Mississippians, ladies and gentlemen to the core, unawed and unafraid."

And some of his advisers and supporters quivered because they thought he had gone too far out there in left field.

The McComb Enterprise Journal prescribes moderation in as big a dose as it can without the patient going berserk and attacking the doctor.

Clock Running Out

In an editorial last month, the newspaper wondered whether Mississippi wasn't undergoing a change similar to that in Arkansas, where Gov. Orval E. Faubus, once the darling of the White Citizens Council clan, had just won renomination as the "moderate" gubernatorial candidate.

"The logic of the Arkansas election is that it points up the fact that the voters recognize the futility of the extreme segregationist view and the violence and disorder which is stimulated in the

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In 1955, some Jackson Negroes petitioned the School Board to desegregate the school system. The Board never answered. Last month, nine Negroes filed another petition and promised to take their request to Federal court this time if necessary.

The Jackson Daily News published not only their names and addresses, but the names and addresses of their employers as well. And editorially, the Daily News called the petitioners "sick, pity-seeking" people who "will destroy Jackson's school system or bring hate and publicized horror to Jackson . . ."

Last week in the Jackson Clarion Ledger, columnist Charles M. Hill recalled and reviewed an 1857 Mississippi law that provided for the cutting off of the ears of Negroes guilty of perjury in felony cases.

"We cannot find it in us to condone such severe punishment," wrote Hill, "but will hasten to observe that our forefathers erred in that they lopped off the wrong appendage.

"Had they concentrated on the tongue, we might not have the vociferous NAACP today."

Not of One Voice

But white Mississippi isn't entirely of one voice of defiance. The White Citizens Council, the official disciplinarian of thought and action, has discovered recently that it is not so much the Negroes that must be kept in line but straying whites.

Jackson Judge Russell Moore, who handled the Freedom Riders here, began distributing petitions among officials that were interpreted as calling for their oath to go to jail rather than obey desegregation orders.

With the delighted applause of the White Citizens Council, all but three Hinds County officials signed them. But Jackson' Mayor Allen C. Thompson said that was a silly way to act in so serious a drama and refused to sign. Without the Mayor as leading man, the show flopped.

Erle Johnston, publicity director of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, which uses tax money to subsidize the White Citizens Council, also has clashed with the powerful Council.

In a speech at his home town of Grenada, Johnston said the time has come for the accommodation to the facts of life, that Negroes and whites must work together for [illegible]

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"The logic of the Arkansas election is that it points up the fact that the voters recognize the futility of the extreme segregationist view and the violence and disorder which is stimulated in the State of Arkansas," said the Enterprise Journal.

The clock is running out in Mississippi. A few of the white people are trying to tell the rest what time it is.

Memo from Bob Moses and Charles Cobb
Re: Shooting incident in Ruleville

SEP 14 1962

Mississippi Project

1. Interview with Mr. Herman Sisson and his wife, Hattie Sisson:

Mr. Sisson says he went to Cleveland around 4:00 P.M. to pick up two girls to carry to Jackson, Vivian Hilley, his granddaughter, Mary Lee Burks, and also his daughter, Annie Laura. He says he returned to Ruleville around 7:00 P.M. They fixed a bite to eat, the two girls washed the dishes, then they sat around the living room chatting and reading, (see attached diagram) Mr. Sisson says they were talking about going to Jackson and he was saying that they had to get away at 4:00 A.M. so they should go to bed. He was reading a newspaper and the two girls were talking to each other on the couch. Then he says he heard two shots, Bam Bam, and then after a few minutes another shot, Bam. He says it sounded to him like a rifle.

Mr. Sisson says Vivian fell first, off the couch onto the floor, then Marion fell on Vivian and then rolled off onto the floor in front of the table. Then he says everybody began hollering. Mrs. Sisson called to the man across the street, "My granddaughter is shot", "Help, help, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hayward". Mrs. Balock, from across the street, and Mrs. Ada Anderson from down the street came. Mrs. Sisson ran out on the porch and back into the house, shouting for help. Mr. Sisson said he was moving around keeping kind of a fuss- he was upset. Then he carried the girls outside to the car. Cindy and another girl helping carry them. The girls, he said kind of walked out, using them for a balance.

Mr. Sisson drove the car to the hospital. At the hospital he saw the Mayor. He said the mayor approached him and said, " You done that yourself, trying to lay it on somebody else, you done that your self, get out of here, go on out of here". Mr. Sisson said he went home then.

Mrs. Sisson, who was at home, said the mayor came by the house and said, "I was looking for this to happen, I was looking for this to happen, lot more should have gotten this" .... "This is like Carl Braden, he pulled a stunt, burned down his house to get publicity". Then the mayor left and went to the hospital.

Mr. Sisson said shortly after he came back the mayor came, saying, "Where's Hattie, where's Hattie"..."Hattie, you go over to the hospital, you shot, come onelet me take you to the hospital, let the doctor see about this arm". He said the mayor came back shortly, and said, "I'm so glad Hattie didn't get shot".

In the meantime Charles Cobb, student voter worker, had gone to the hospital, after calling Bob Moses from Mr. Sisson's house. The mayor arrested Charles at the hospital (see Charles Cobb's report) and brought him back to Mr. Sisson's. Mr. Sisson said, the mayor came in saying, "I got the evidence, I got the evidence, here it is, right on this book, I know he's guilty and shows it, take him on up there and put him in the cooler and go back by Joe's and get the other three and get the gun. (The reference here is to Mr. Joe MacDonald's house)

Mr. Sisson said he had to run over here and get Hattie, but the mayor said, "No, no, I'll get Hattie back, you don't know what'll happen, I brought her over here and I'll bring her back". Then he called Mr. Sisson over, "Jack, you be careful around here cause you don't know what'll happen." Then the mayor went and brought Mrs. Sisson back. There were 7 or 8 in the house when the mayor came back. Irene Johnson, George Jordan, Miles Foster, Charlis McLendon, Mrs. Balock, Mrs. Anderson, Charles Beazley (local student who has been very active in the vote drive).

Mr. Sisson said that all of the officers were gone then and the people began to leave.

Comments: There was one light on in the room, the fan was not on. There were nine bullet holes in the lower par t of one window, four on one blade of the fan and seven up on the wall opposite the windows. Mr. Ollie Young said they had to be bullets, that a shot gun would have torn the window and the guard over the fan out.

2. Interview with Mrs. Anderson:

Mrs. Anderson runs a small store facing East on Reden st., on North Division st.. She said she was in her home when she heard a shot coming from the direction East on Reden and after the shooting she heard a car come through. It wasn't very long before she heard a shot in the direction North from her home and some other shots and then screaming and hollering.

She said she was lying down onthe couch, got up on her front porch to see what it was. Someone was hollering, "Help, help, Lord help us " Lots of neighbors were on their porches. She walked down the street to the Sisson's home.

She said when she walked into the house, blood was all over the floor, the girl was just laying there in the blood, Mr. Sisson had gone out and got into his car to go th the hospital. His wife was trying to call her brother, she couldn't cause she was in a nervous shape and her arm was hurt too. Mrs Anderson said she called for her, but couldn't get her brother. She then called for Irene Johnson and dialed the operator and told her that an accident had happened at Mrs. Sisson's home and they needed the doctor and the law right away.

Irene Johnson came right on and Mrs. Anderson said that it was then that she got the full meaning of what happened, that someone had shot through the window.

The mayor came in then, Mr. Sisson had carried the girls to the hospital;the mayor began investigating the holes in the wall and the fan, said, I been expecting something like this, agitators had been causing this for publicity, asked Mrs. Anderson where the girls were laying; she told him right there in that puddle of blood.

The mayor called someone on the phone, while he was talking Charles Cobb and Charles Beazley came in, both are workers

in the vote drive.

Another man in a white shirt, black tie, dark pants came in, a little spare made man with small face and hair combed back. He was asking who was in the house when the shots were made and where each one was sitting, he said that he knew just about where to go, just about who to pick up, that ole Moses.

Mrs. Anderson says that Milan, the night police, who had come with the mayor, went on the outside and was looking and went in the bathroom to see if any shots came through. And another one with a star stood up on the coush and dug through one of the holes, said this was buck shot. Mr. Givens, the day man came in, but Mrs. Anderson says she didn't see him doing a thing, didn't hear him say anything, just walked around and looked.

In the meantime Mrs. Johnson, who had left, came back and told them about Mr. Mac's house. They all jumped out then And the mayor said let's go find the gun, and he left with the officers.

Then Mrs. Anderson, Irene Johnson, and Preacher Storey's wife sat and talked. Mr. Sisson and Charles Beazley were also there. Someone had carried Mrs. Sisson to the hospital (Mrs. Anderson said that Milan had looked at her arm and said that she better have that treated, have that dressed, because she might get blood poisoning).

They talked about the accident - how sorry they were. Mr. Sisson was telling them that the girls were there and he was to leave at 4:00 to take the girls to college.

Mrs. Anderson says it wasn't very long after that that she got up and left, with Mrs. Sisson, Mrs. Storey and another lady remaining.

3. Interview with Mrs. Bessie Lee Green:

Mrs. Bessie Lee Green lives at 820 Washington st. She said:

> I was sitting right over here (in her house) sewing. I said well sir, I believe somebody shot in Joe's house. After the first shot I went to the back door and heard the car, it went past "Ves"(Sylvester Gray) house I saw the shadow of the light when it went past Ves' house cause it was running fast, it really was running fast. Then I came to the front door and 'fore I could see that car was passing it had passed Benny's house and I couldn't see nothing but the tail light. Then I closed the front door behind me and stood on the porch and heard some more shooting and after that shooting I heard some the hollering. I still stood there, said, well sir, I believe somebody in that house done got shot. I heard people saying, "Well let's take her to the hospital, let's take her to the hospital".

4. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester Gray:

Mr. Gray, "Ves", said he was in bed early Monday night, that he heard the shot, but didn't pay no attention to it, he was too near sleep.

Mrs. Gray said she heard the shots, heard a car past, make the turn from Center and go down the street, that she heard some shots right after the car passed, that she just didn't know what and who." She said she asked Mr. Gray what the noise was and he said it sounded like some shots.

They live at 825 Center st.

5. Mrs. Mary Buris, 813 Center st.

She said she heard the shots up there (pointing in the general direction of the Sisson's, that she did not hear any car, but that Brother Sally, on the corner (E. Reden and Center) told her he was on the porch when the car drove down center.

6. Mrs. Zisie Bell Hurley, 815 Center st.

Says she heard a shot back this way (Pointing East in the Direction of Mr. MacDonald's home).She heard a car pass, it seemed like it was speeding pretty fast.She heard some more shooting.

She says she had the ironing board out, and after she heard the car pass, and it seemed like it was speeding pretty fast, she went to the window and looked out, but didn't see the car.

7. Mr. Edward Sally, Mrs. Lucy Sally, 820 East Reden st., corner of Reden and Center, N.W.:

Mr. Sally had been sitting on the porch with his wife and another girl, Baby Ruth, (they were not sure of the name) who stays on Mr. Livingston's plantation. They had been sitting there a long time, they said, since just a little before dark.

Mrs. Sally said a car came down Center st. from the highway, driving kinda slow, and as it turned onto Reden st. she said, "Oh, that sure is a nice looking car there!" She said it was a real black car, and she didn't see but two people (she thinks they were men) in the car.

They said the car drove on down E. Reden st., kinda slow until it reached the end and turned around, still slow, to MacDonald's house, then they shot and speeded up and turned down Center st. (heading North). Mr. Sally says the drivers window was down and the driver had his arm laying out on the window when they turned and he saw that the driver was a white man. They said the car was going so fast they like to cover the ditch on this(West) side of Center st.

Mrs. Sally says that when they left, her husband said they done shot in Bro. Mac's house. She went to the back door and watched the car go on down Center st. and around on Byrom and on down (heading West) Then she heard more shots and hollering.

8. Mrs. Louise Taylor, East Reden, across from Mr. MacDonald:

She says she was sitting at the supper table when she heard the shots, three shots. She ran to the front door to see what it was, she seen this car getting out as fast as it could and turned down Center st. heading North. (Mrs. Taylor says she saw the car backing out, and there is some question whether it turned around, or backed out.) She said she heard some more shots a little later. She said a man came in from Morehead to question her, said he was the sheriff.

9. Mr. Guy McINtosh, 800 Ob st.
Was at home sitting up listening at the ball game, imagine it was around 8:15, 8:30. Heard what sounded like three or four shots. He stepped to the door there I thought it w as round about Bro. Tuckers of the church. When he stepped to the door he saw a car go out to the highway and take a right It was a black car, a 59 Chevy, no headlights on.

10 Statement from Mrs. Leona McClendon Concerning the Shootings in Ruleville Miss. on August 10, 1962

Monday evening, kinda early but dark, I was sitting on the front porch of my home at 801 E. Reden St., with Lula Jones.

We heard a shot. I told her it was a backfire(I knew it wasn't no backfire). She(Lula) already had a headach, and I didn't want to run her blood pressure up.

We heard one shot that sounded like it came from an easterly direction.

I sat there then.

From a westerly direction, we heard two more shots. We both jumped up and ran into the house.

No cars passed here(corner of Washington and Reden Sts.). I did hear a car running.

I came back out to see what I could hear. I went back in the house. I could hear jab, jab, jab(hollering), but I couldn't understand.

There were people jab jabbing, but I didn't know whether they was crying or what.

Mary Kilbert(second house down Washington), heard some shots. She asked me did I hear the shooting. I told her I did

11. Mrs. Mary Kilbert's Statement: 804 Washington Street
I was watching T.V. when I heard a shot that sounded like it was down this way.

I heard two seperate shots and the other was just like a car backfiring. After the first shot I heard no car drive by.
After the second, I heard a car running fast. When I heard it, it was going north on the next street.

If I had looked out of the window, I could have seen it; but I was laying down on the couch. The window was open over the couch.

I didn't hear anything else; and I didn't go outside.

12 Account of the Shooting at the home of Mr. Joe MacDonald in Ruleville Mississippi, August 10, 1962

Joe MacDonald:
Mr. MacDonald came in the house(909 Reden St.) at about 8:00pm,from sitting on the porch. He had been sitting there about 45 minutes. While sitting on the porch, he saw two cars. One was Mr. Nahmer's, who lives four houses down from Mr. MacDonald on the same side of the street; and the other was Mr. Walker's,who lives three houses down from Mr. MacDonald on the same side of the street.

After comming in the house, Mr. MacDonald sat beside Mrs. MacDonald as she was reading the bible in the bedroom. Around 9:30 pm, he lay down on the bed. Mrs. MacDonald stayed up for about 30 minutes longer. Afterwards she said,"I believe I'll go take a bath and I'll lay down". About the time she began to bath, a gunshot was heard.

Mr. MacDonald asked his wife,"was that a gunshot?"

His wife answered,"yeah I believe it was, I believe that gun shot in this house."

Mr. MacDonald called his wife and said,"look a here, here's a shot through the door here."

His wife came to the door and said,"shore is."

Mr. MacDonald said,"They shot through that glass; I heard it falling on the floor from that window."

His wife said,"sure did Joe, they shot out one of these window panes." Mrs. MacDonald went back in the bedroom saying,"lets pull this light out."

Mr. MacDonald got his gun(single barrel shotgun-12 gauge), and went to the bathroom. While in the bathroom, Mr. George Jordan came to the house looking for Mr. MacDonald. Mr. MacDonald thought it was the people who had done the shooting,returning to break in.

His wife said,"let's see who it is."

Mr. MacDonald said,"no let em break in. If they break in here, then I'll have a chance to take care of them."

Mrs. MacDonald recognized Mr. Jordan's voiceand said,"Joe this is George Jordan. Come on out and let him in."

Mr. Jordan said that he heard the gunshot and wanted to know if they had shot in Mr. MacDonald's house. He had seen the car, but didn't know what kind of car it was because it was going too fast. The car according to Mr. Jordan,went 1/2 a block west up Reden St., then turned north at the corner of Reden and Center St.

About 30 minutes after Mr. Jordan left,three policemen came. One was the night policeman(officer Milan);another the day policeman(officer Givens); and the last, an unidentifiable man who didn't where a uniform. This last man was over six feet tall and looked like he weighed about 230lbs.

This third man took the pellets from the shotgun out of the walls of the house.

Milan, the night policeman, asked Mr. MacDonald if he had a shotgun. he said,"Mr. Charles(the mayor) told me to come down and get it."

Mrs. MacDonald said,"let him have it Joe; let him have it".

Milan turned and went into the living room; saw the gun and grabbed it. He wanted to know what kind of shots Mr. MacDonald used for his gun.

Mr. MacDonald said,"you look in and see that for yourself".

Milan then wanted to know if Mr. MacDonald had another gun. He saw an air rifle an wanted to know what it was. Mr. MacDonald explained. Milan then began to search the house. He went into the wardrobe closet and other closets, and overturned the studio couch.

Mr. MacDonald asked Givens if milan had any papers,"search warrant to search my house that way.

Givens answered,"I don't know about that". Givens also said,"Joe we gonna get to the bottom of this thing and find out what we can do about it. You been listening to some strange folks anyhow, to cause this trouble to happen."

Mr. MacDonald and his wife went back to bed after the police had gone. Mrs. MacDonald got up several times, but didn't go out of the house.

13. Rev. Tucker's House - as yet not interviewed.

Report from Charles Cobb:

On Monda y, Sept. 10, 1962, Charles Beasley and myself (Charles Cobb), received word that gun shots had been fired through the home of Mr. and Mrs. Herman Sisson from Mrs. Mattie Price, 617 Weber st., The time was about 10:00 P.M.

Upon arrival at the Sisson home, we found that shots had been fired about 8:30 that evening. (Mrs Anderson told us) Pools of blood lay all over the living room floor. Mayor Dorrough, police from Ruleville, and other unidentifiable men were investigating.

Two college girls visiting the Sissons had been hurt, according to Mrs. Anderson. On e of the girls, Mary Lee Burkes, had been shot in the head and in the shoulder; and the other girl, Vivian Hilley, through the leg.

Immediately I went to the phone and tried to call Amzie Moore in Cleveland Mississippi. There was no answer. I then called the office of the Jackson Nonviolent Movement. I explained the situation to Bob Moses. At his suggestion, I went to the Norht Sunflower County Hospital to make inquiries as to the condition of the two girls.

~~Immediately-I-went-to-the-phone-and-tried-to-call-Amzie-Moore-in-Cleveland-M-~~

As I was taking notes in an address book, Mayor Dorrough asked what I was doing, and grabbed the address book. I told him that I was a friend of the Sissons. The Mayor said, "How come you're asking that lady who Mrs. Sisson is?" (I didn't know what he was talking about.) The mayor then said, "go on, get out of here!"

I began to leave, and the mayor grabbed me by the collar and said, "this way, you're going to jail".

The mayor then took me to the home of Mr and Mrs. Sisson and told me to get into a police car that was parked in front of the house. He told the police officer who drove the car, to take me to Joe McDonald's house and search for a shotgun (The theory among the local police seems to be that we who work on voter registration staged the shootings for publicity purposes.) Dorrough said, refering to me, "He looks like the type of person who would do this."

The police officer then drove me to jail and locked me up.

The next morning at about 10:00 A.M. I was ta ken to see mayor Dorrough. The mayor wanted basic information about myself. I told him that I worked on voter registration for SNCC, and that the reason I was taking notes was because I felt that the shootings had a definitedconnection with the voter registration project. The mayor agreed in a way, he said, "I think you all shot at those houses, you were disappointed a t the lack of violence here; and you need the publicity to get money from the North". The mayor then asked me how long I would be here. I told him that I would be here at least until Janua ry. I was then dismissed.

Key to diagram of Sisson's living room:

The shots; nine bullet holes in the lower screen of window number 7; four of these bullets penetrated the window fan; there were seven bullet holes over the West end of the couch, #2; One bullet was fired into the middle of window #6, didn't go into the room, but fell on the window sill. Mr. Sisson says it was taken by someone, he's not sure who.

Mrs. Sisson was sitting in chair #8, her right arm was grazed in at least two places.

Annie Laura Hilley, Mr. and Mrs. Sisson's daughter, was sitting in chair #5.

Mr. Sisson was sitting in chair #10.

Mary Lee was sitting on the couch #2, at the extreme West end; Vivian Hilley was sitting next to Ma ry.

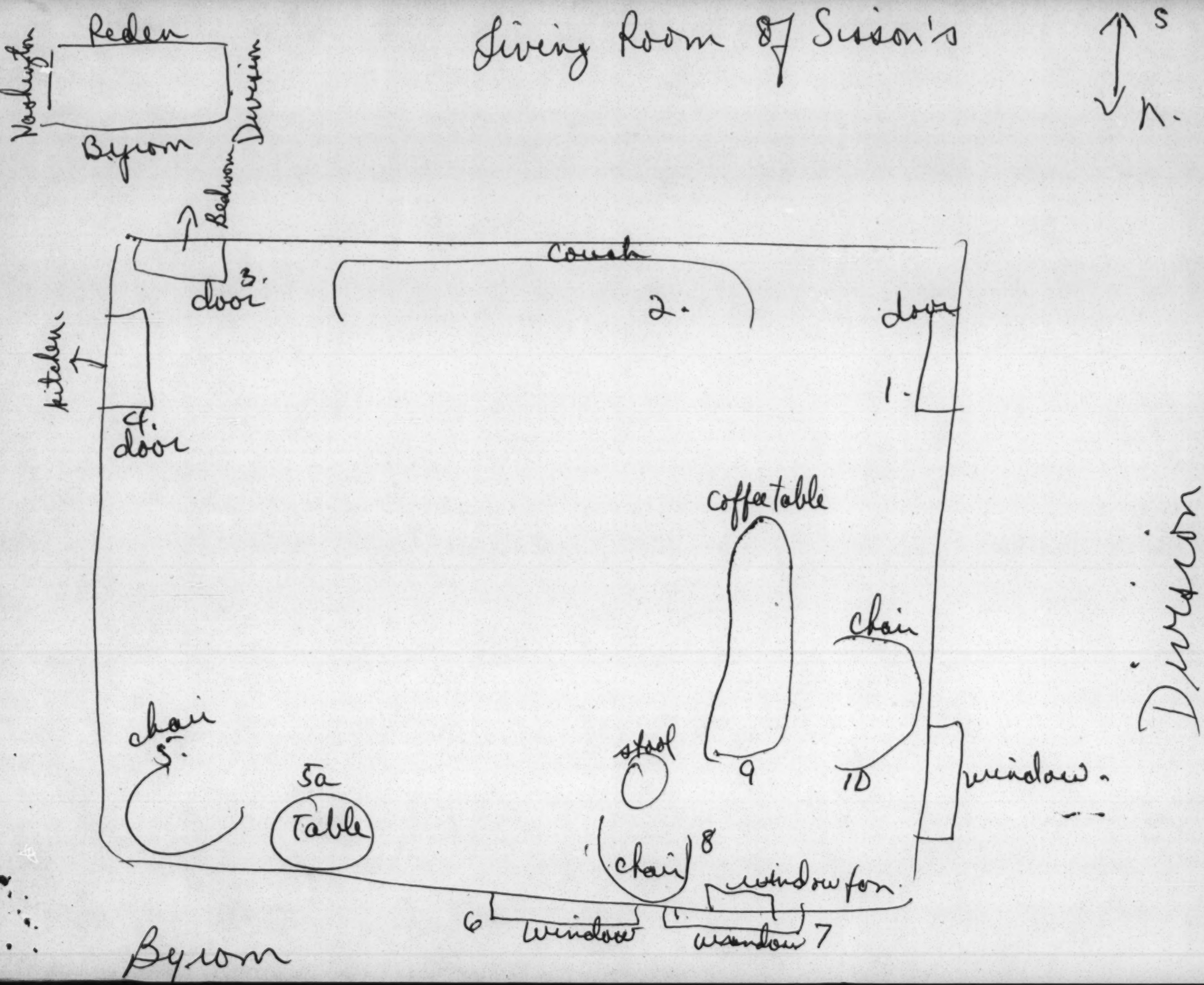
The girls fell on the floor in front of the coffee table.

One light was on, on the table #5a. and the fan was not running, according to Mrs. Sisson.

Both bottom windows were up.

The distance from the windows #6, #7, to Byrom street is about ten feet.

The guard over the fa n was not noticeably bent or dissarranged.


Living Room of Susan's
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Reden
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Byron
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door
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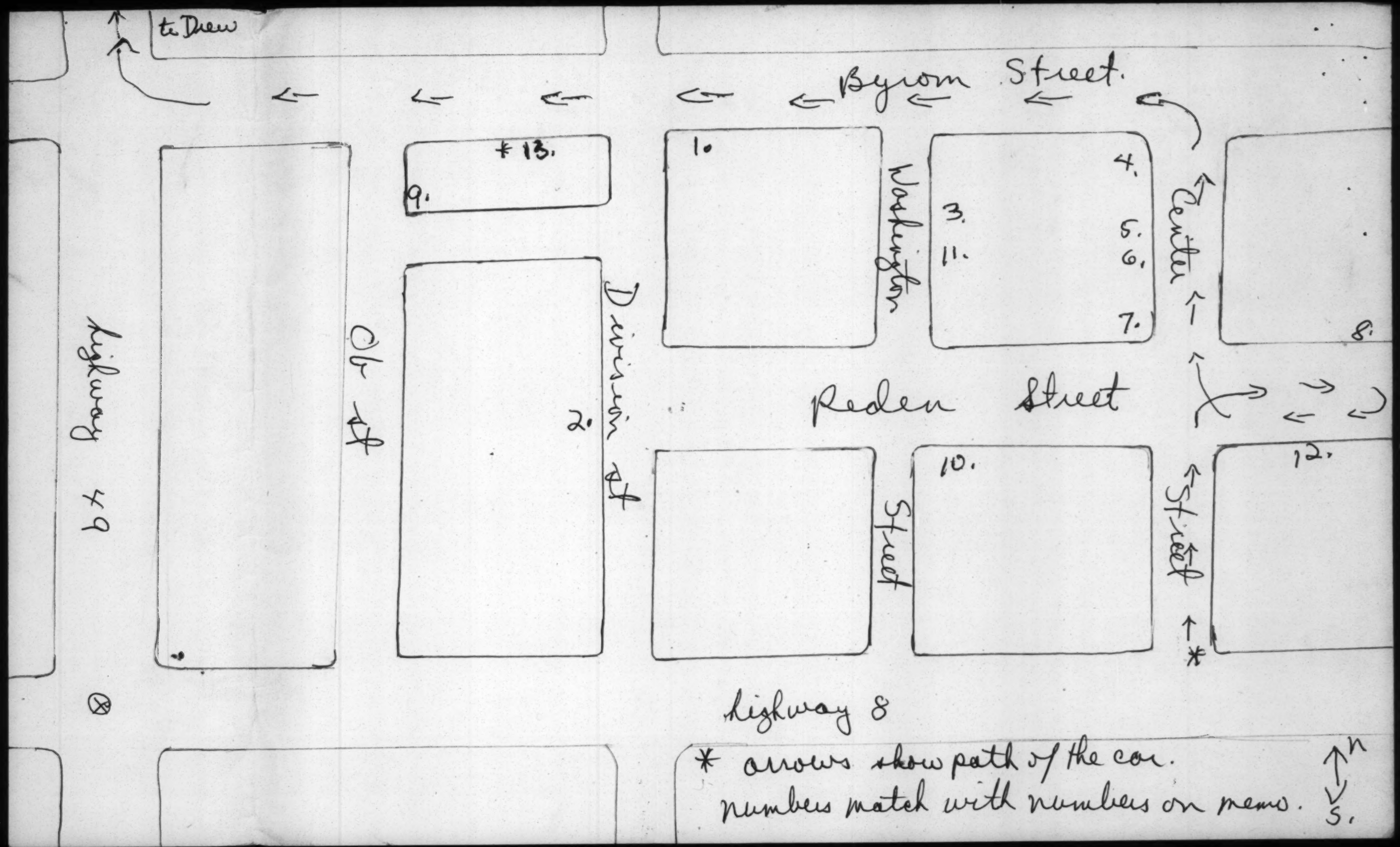
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* arrows show path of the car.
numbers match with numbers on menu.
N
S.

SEP 17 1962

Mr. Boss Foster Jr. is a 36 year old Negro who lives in Ruleville Miss. He has a wife, Ossie Foster, and seven children whose names are:

Adline Foster 14 yrs.	Ezie Weed Foster 10yrs.
Larry Foster 16 yrs.	Eddie Foster 8 yrs
Rosie Mae Foster 8 yrs.	Mossis Reed Foster 6 yrs.

Willaiam Henry Foster 17 yrs.

Mr. Foster works on Mr. Sidney Livingston's plantation, driving a tractor.

On Sept. 12, 1962, Mr. Foster came to Cleveland Miss., with Rev. Jeff Surney. He arrived at Mr. Amzie Moore's house at about 10:00 a.m.

When he left Mr. Moore's house, he backed out of Mr. Moore's driveway, and went straight north on Chrisman st. He was stopped by a policeman who said, "What are you doing backing out of that road. Drive your car down to city hall".

Mr. Foster said, "I don't have any money", when he faced the Judge.

He was told, "We're going to lock you up".

Mr. Foster said, "Call my boss man".

He was told, "We're not going to call him".

Mr. Foster said, "Give me a chance to go to some of my friends".

The Judge let him do this. Mr. Foster was fined 15 dollars.

That same day, Mr. Foster talked to the fellows who drive tracters on the Livingston place with him, about registering. The drivers were:

D.H. Henderson	James Davis	Jessie Gear	
Nick Vaughn	Eddie James	Eli Kenna	
Tom Gear	Horace Roby	Willie Bachen	
Ed Johnson	W.F. Davis	Andrew Clark	Walter Clark

Mr. Foster told them to come to St. Mary's Chapel, on the Livingston place, "to learn how to register the fomm". He also said, "If you don't understand, someone will be out there to show you" All the men said they were ready.

The next day, Mr. Foster was talking with Mr. Joe MacDonald, at Mr. Joe MacDonald's home, about getting the boys "to get ready to go down and sign".

Mr. MacDonald suggested that Mr. Foster talk it over with Mr. Livingston, because he had heard that Mr. Livingston had said that it was O.K. for Negroes on his place to register.

At about 9:30 or 10:00 that same morning, Mr. Foster asked Mr. Livingston about registering. He was in Mr. Livingston's Ruleville office. Mr. Livingston said, "Hell no, whoever told you that story is a Godamn liar. If you or anyone else on this place try to register, I'll put all of your stuff on the road. Who told you this?" Foster said, "I just heard it; no harm in asking." Livingston then said, "You heard a damn lie".

SEP 17 1962

Interview with Mr. George Jordan:

On Monday night, August 10, the night of the shooting, Mr. George Jordan was driving around the Negro sections of town, notifing people about picking cotton Tuesday.

At the home of Mrs. Zisie Bell Hurley, 815 Center St., Mr. Jordan was playing with the baby for 2 or 3 minutes when he heard something that sounded like a car trunk being slammed.

Mrs. Hurley said,"that sounds like a shot".

Mr. Jordan replied, "no it doesn't....yes it does sound like a shot". After the shot, he heard a car running fast.

Mr. Jordan then went to Sylvester Gray's house to notify him of cotton picking Tuesday.

After leaving Gray's house, Mr. Jordan saw Mrs. Irene Johnson and her son Tommy comming out of their home on Reden St. They needed a ride to the Sissons .

When he arrived at the Sisson home, Mr. Jordan pulled up behind the Mayor's car. The girls had already been taken to the hospital.

Inside the house, Mayor Dorrough was on the phone calling the High Sheriff: "shootin been goin on down here;and Bob Moses is the cause of all of it. I knowed something like this was going to happen. That's how come I been riding day and night."

Someone wanted to clean up the blood, but the mayor said, "let it stay until the F.B.I. comes; I don't know whether it's human blood or not".

Jordan then left the Sisson home(walking because his car was blocked by other cars), and went to the Taylor house and asked if they had heard the shots. They had, and Mr. Jordan then went across the street to Mr. Joe MacDonald's house(909 Reden). Complete statement in Mr. Joe MacDonald's report.

Mr. Jordan then walked back to the Sisson house to get his car. He drove the car to the home of Mr. Miles Foster and together they drove to Cleveland Miss. to look for Mr. Amzie Moore. Failing to find Mr. Moore, they drove back to Ruleville and spent the night at the Sisson's home.

On Tuesday night between 6:30and 7:00 in the evening the mayor told Mr. Jordan to "beat it" (Mr. Jordan was in the streets on his way to visit his sister)

"I just came to see my sister", said Jordan.

The mayor said again, "Beat it, get off the streets".

SEP 17 1962

Interview with Dorothy Conrod, ~~830 North Division~~ 907 E. Reden st.

Mrs. Conrod was visiting on North Division st. on Monday evening and after hearing the shots she went out in the street and down to the Sisson's house. She said she arrived there about seven minutes after the shooting and stayed until 10:30 or 11:00 P.M.

The two girls were lying on the floor and Dorothy helped put them in the car along with Willine McIntyre, and Cindy (Celeste Davis' sister) In the room were, Dorothy Conrod and her aunt and mother, Mrs. Anderson, and George MacIntyre. She said they wanted to clean up the blood, but decided to let it stay until the law came. Mayor Darrough and Milan came, and the Mayor asked what happened and began to make phone calls. After this the mayor wanted to take care of Mrs. Sisson's arm.

Dorothy Conrod says she saw a bullet laying on the window sill of the window without the fan, but did not say anything about it to anyone . She says she saw Milan pick it up a little later, at least she saw Milan go to the window sill, and the bullet wasn't there after he left.

She says theystood around and talked the remainder of the time.

Interview with Mr. ~~Hungstony~~ Lungdor, on Center st., second house South East of E. Reden st.

He says he was watching T.V. when he heard a shot (thought it was a firecracker) then heard a car moving fast. He then got out to try and see the car but missed it. While trying to see the car he heard four or five shots from the direction of the Sisson's. "Told you it was firecracker

Interview with Mr. Edward Taylor: lives across from Mr. MacDonald.

Mr. Taylor was home in the kitchen eating supper, and had gone to the bathroom, when he heard shots. By the time he came up front he could only see the tail end of the car as it turned the corner and sped down Center st. (Headed North)

He said the car was moving fast for in a few minutes he heard more shots at Mr. Sisson's house.

He said Mr. Sally came down and asked if anyone got shot down here. Mr. Taylor said no, but also said he has not been ~~[illegible]~~ into Mr. MacDonald's house to see about what happened and what actual damage was inflicted.

LWD ✓
SB ✓
ML ✓
VEP - file

"Over"

SEP 18 1962

Clarksdale, Miss. September 16, 1962. In the Early morning hours Vandals Struck at the Fourth Street Drug Store in Clarksdale, Miss. knocking out the plate glass front windowa of the Fourth Street Drug Store. The Fourth Street Drug Store is operated by Aaron E Henry, President of the Miss. State NAACP and Also President of the Miss. Council of Federated Organizations the organization currently sponsoring the Registration to Vote Campaign for Negroes thur out the State of Mississippi. The two windows knocked out and glass broken by the vandals were both decorated with NAACP and Registration to vote posters. One window contained announcements and copies of the NAACP history written by Langston Hughes, entitl ed "Fight for Freedom, and "The NAACP Does the Job". the other window contained Posters saying, "Push Me Mister Register and Vote" and "We are too young to Register, What is your Excuse". Prior to this incident Henry reports difficulty with the Clarksdale Police on Saturday Afternoon Sept 15. over the arrest of a Fountain Wroker employed in the Fourth Street Drug Store after he had carried copies of the NAACP Weekly newssheet (Included) to the Secretary of the Branch. After calling upon County Authorities and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate the matter, Henry hung another sign in the broken windows saying,"This Coward Act will not hinder our march to Freedon, Racial hatred is not the way". Scores of Negroes and Whites passed by the store during the day to observe the damage and express their disgust with such an act.

over -

Aaron E. Henry

The fountain worker, a 15 year old student of Higgins High School reports that the policemen threatned to cut up his body and throw him in the river.

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

THANKS FOR YOUR PRESENCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE "PRAYER FOR FREEDOM WEEK ACTIVITIES". EVERY NIGHT FROM SEPT. 10TH THRU 14TH THE MEMBERS OF THE COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH OF THE NAACP MET IN NIGHTLY PRAYER MEETINGS SEEKING GOD'S GUIDANCE IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE. THE CASE UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS REGARDING MISS WILLIE GRIFFIN WAS "POSTPONED", BY THE JUDGE. THIS WAS DONE APPARENTLY TO GIVE RACIAL TENSION A CHANCE TO COOL OFF. (MEANING NEGROES) WE WAN'T ALL TO KNOW THAT THIS DELAY IN TIME ONLY GIVES US MORE TIME TO PREPARE OUR PROTEST. THE ONLY WAY OUT IS FOR MISS GRIFFIN TO BE FREED OF ALL THE UNFAIR CHARGES AGAINST HER.

WE ARE NOW WEARING "BLACK RIBBON", CALLING ATTENTION TO THE ABSENCE OR DEATH OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM IN OUR AREA. IF YOU FEEL THAT YOU ARE NOT A COMPLETELY FREE AMERICAN, WILL YOU JOIN US IN THE WEARING OF THE BLACK RIBBON, UNTIL JUSTICE AND FREEDOM ARISE FROM THE GRAVE AND BECOME A REALITY. REMEMBER EVERY GOOD FRIDAY, ULTIMATELY GIVES WAY TO THE TRIUMPIANT BEAT OF THE DRUMS OF EASTER.

BY WEARING OF THE B L A C K R I B B O N WE AGREE TO:

1. DON'T SHOP DOWNTOWN FOR ANYTHING ESPECIALLY DURING THE CHRISTMAS SEASON. LET US HONOR THE BIRTH OF CHRIST BY REFUESING TO PARTICIPATE OR PURCHASE GOODS FROM STORES THAT PRACTICE THE UNCHRISTIAN ACTS OF NOT HIRING NEGROES ABOVE THE MENIEL LEVEL AND NOT TREATING THEM WITH COURTESY AS THEY DO THEIR OTHER CUSTOMERS.

2. POSTPONE ALL LOCAL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ACTIVITIES NOW, AND BECOME INVOLVED IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS SETTING FORTH OUR DISSATISFACTION THE DAY MISS GRIFFIN GOES ON TRIAL. DESEGREGATION PLANS WILL BE RENEWED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND SEMESTER. ALL PRESENT PLANTIFFS WILL BE USED THEN.

3. BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER AND ENCOURAGE ALL OTHER NEGROES THAT WE KNOW TO BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER. THIS IS OUR BEST OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO REGISTER. BEFORE LONG THE COAHOMA COUNTY DIFFICULTY WILL BE ALL OVER, AND ALL NEGROES THAT HAVE TRIED WILL BE ORDERED REGISTERED. YOU MUST HAVE TRIED AT LEAST ONCE HOWEVER.

4 SUPPORT THE "YOUTH COUNCIL" IN NOT DRINKING MILK OR BUYING ANY DAIRY PRODUCTS FROM THE DAIRY THAT ABUSED ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS. CHECK WITH THE YOUTH COUNCIL FOR FULL DETAILS.

5. BECOME A BONDSMAN FOR THOSE WHO NEED BONDS THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THE FREEDOM STRUG LE.

6. SUPPORT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN ITS SUPPORT OF US IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE. BE PREPARED TO GO TO JAIL IF NECESSARY FOR THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.

FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH
WE NOTE WITH APPREHENSION THE UNSIGNED AND UNDATED LETTER PUBLISHED THIS WEEK BY THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL. THIS LETTER CALLS ATTENTION TO THE REGISTRATION TO VOTE CAMPAIGN NOW GOING ON IN OUR AREA AMONG NEGROES. IT ALSO MENTIONS THE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE WE ARE RECEIVING. (A FUND WAS SET UP LAST WEEK IN THE LOCAL BANK FOR THIS PURPOSE. THE WCC GOT THE NEWS IN A HURRY. DO YOU WONDER HOW?)
SEVERAL COPIES OF THE LETTER PUT OUT BY THE WCC ARE AVAILABLE AND WILL BE DISTRIVUTED AS FAR AS THEY WILL GO IN THE MASS MEETING WEDNESDAY NIGHT AT THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH. BE SURE TO BE ON TIME AND GET A COPY. (LET THEM WONDER HOW WE GOT A HOLD OF THEIR LETTER.')

IN ORDER TO GET PUBLIC OPINION ON THEIR SIDE THE WCC IS CHARGING COMMUNIST ACTIVITY WITH REGARD TO THE REGISTRATION TO VOTE CAMPAIGN. BECAUSE WE KNOW THEIR ARE MENY CITIZENS BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO THAT ARE IN FAVOR OF THE NEGRO VOTING WE TAKE TIME TO DENY THE CHARGE OF COMMUNISM. WE BELIEVE IT IS DEMOCRACY NOT COMMUNISM THAT ENCOURAGES AMERICAN CITIZENS TO BE REGISTERED VOTERS.

J. M. ✓
LWD ✓
PA ✓
SB ✓
ML ✓
PR ✓
Return to VEP
& file miss. Result.

SEP 22 1962

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

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COPY

COAHOMA COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

P. O. Box 431

Clarksdale, Mississippi

SEP 22 1962

Dear Friends:

The shadow of integration and Negro policical domination now looms over Mississippi in general and Coahoma County in particular. We are going to be harassed from every possible angle during the next several years by professional agitators who are sent in for that purpose.

Clarksdale has the highest percentage of Negro voters, approximately 26% of any city in Mississippi with the exception of Mound Bayou. In Coahoma County we have 31,440 Negroes and only 14,630 white people.

CORE, the NAACP, and other related organizations have placed thousands of dollars at the disposal of these agitators for the purpose of financing a Negro voter registration drive in THIS COUNTY. Over 100 Negroes have applied for registration in Coahoma County during the last month! The law suit recently filed by the U. S. Attorney General against the State of Mississippi, our Circuit Clerk and other public officials presents a "clear and present" danger to every white citizen of this State, threatening the very foundation of our economic and social survival. We have every indication that the Communist Party of the United States is actively supporting these measures, and refer your attention to the Carl Braden report fully published in the Clarksdale Press Register of August 31st. The enclosed material gives you an unqualified picture of the magnitude of the problems we face.

We feel that the answer is a strong White organization which can anticipate and counteract the moves by these professional trouble makers. If you as an individual have not contributed of your time, ingenuity and financial support we now appeal to you to do your part in helping your local organization in this important struggle.

THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW, NOT TOMORROW. Contact your local Council at P.O. Box 431, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Sincerely

COAHOMA COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

September 26, 1962

Mr. Robert P. Moses
614 Chrisman Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Re: Williams Chapel Church, Ruleville, Mississippi

Dear Bob:

This will acknowledge receipt of the letter dated September 3, 1962, from C. M. Dorrough, Mayor of Ruleville, Mississippi, to Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, regarding the cancellation of the tax exemption and free water privileges for the church, together with the envelope in which it was delivered.

We have made photocopies of both exhibits, and we are returning the originals and a copy of each to you herein. I would suggest that you return the original and the envelope to the person to whom it was delivered by the Mayor, and that you suggest that that person preserve these papers for possible future use. The copies are for your file.

I think you should suggest to the church officials that they write a letter of protest to the Mayor regarding his letter and that they ask for a hearing on the matter of tax exemption and free water privileges. Before doing so, however, the church should get some legal information as to the right of the Mayor or City Council of Ruleville to cancel a tax exemption. I am of the opinion that this is a matter which can be handled only by the county tax assessor or some similar county official, and that the Mayor or City Council of Ruleville would have no such legal authority. The matter of free water privileges is an entirely different matter, and is something which the city could control, but not in a discriminatory manner.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr
Enclosures
bc: Mr. Burke Marshall

TOWN OF RULEVILLE
RULEVILLE, MISS.

September 3, 1962

CHAS. M. DORROUGH, MAYOR
MRS. WM. S. CARROTHERS, CLERK
GEO. W. WACHTER, MARSHAL

ALDERMEN:
WALTER CROOK, JR.
GUS MORGAN
HYMANN TURNER
W. G. FLOWERS
J. M. ROBERTSON

Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church
Ruleville, Mississippi

It has been brought to our attention that you are using the building located on the North Half of Lot 8 Block 6 of Finley's Addition to the Town of Ruleville, Ruleville, Mississippi for purposes other than worship services.

This property has heretofore been exempt from taxes and we have furnished you free water. You are hereby notified that you are no longer furnished free water and your exemption as religious property will be cancelled.

Yours very truly,

C. M. Dorrough

C. M. Dorrough
Mayor

TOWN OF RULEVILLE
RULEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

Williams Missionary Baptist Church
Byron St.
Ruleville, Miss.

Atlanta Journal
10/4/62

A Class on the Constitution

By ART BUCHWALD

Washington.

ONE CAN'T help wondering what they're teaching down at "Ole Miss" during all the trouble there. We can only speculate as to what is going on in the classrooms.

How, for example, do they teach the United States constitution? Maybe something like this:

The professor speaks. "Now, class, today we're going to discuss the American Constitution, a very unique document, which, while it has nothing to do with us, should be studied anyway to show how other people govern themselves."

BELIEVE IN IT?

A student stands up. "Sir, do the people of the United States really believe in the Constitution?"

"Now, let's not be too harsh on them. It is a primitive document with many flaws in it, but there are also some good things in it, and even we in Mississippi have taken some things from the Americna Constitution to govern ourselves. For example, there is the freedom of speech amendment. Now, this is a very good thing. We also believe in freedom of speech and we have never stopped anyone in Mississippi from yelling 'Help!' if he so desired.

"Freedom of religion is another thing we've taken from the U.S. Constitution. We not only encourage them to pray—we make them.

"The Second Amendment of the U.S. constitution also has some merit—the right to keep and bear arms. As our greatest constitutional expert, Maj.-Gen. Edwin A. Walker, has pointed out, every citizen has the right to bear arms against the United States.

A student raises his hand. "Do we go along with the Sixth Amendment which provides the right to a speedy trial?"

"Yes, we do," the professor replies. "If anyone in Mississippi whom we don't like tries to register to vote, he is entitled to a speedy trial."

A student raises his hand. "The Americans have an amendment which says that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. Is this a good thing?"

WHO'S TO SAY?

"Well, that's what they believe in and who is to say under their system whether it's wrong or right? You must understand that what is constitutional in one part of the country doesn't necessarily make it constitutional in another. Otherwise our governor would be in court all the time."

A student stands. "Amendment Fifteen says the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. How are we to take this amendment?"

The professor says, "I didn't understand the question."

The student starts to ask the question again and the professor pushes a button on his desk. Two state highway patrolmen come into the classroom and drag the student out.

As the class settles down, the professor says, "If there is anything I hate worse than a Negro, it's a Constitution-lover."

(c1962.)

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

file Miss. Resist.

FOR LIMITED CIRCULATION

NOT FOR PUBLIC
OR PRESS QUOTATION

SUMMARY REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ON THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
MISSION TO MISSISSIPPI -- October 3-5, 1962

BACKGROUND. The first proposal for a "Mission to Mississippi" came in late September when religious and agency leadership in the South suggested to Community Relations Division staff that a "Quaker Mission" should witness to another point of view on the role of Christian leadership in such a crisis. The rioting had not yet broken out at Oxford; the focus of these early proposals was on a visit to Governor Barnett, primarily to discuss another point of view, and hopefully also to see if we could appeal to the Governor to get off "collision course" with the Federal government and with the inevitable process of change.

Community Relations staff explored the idea with a variety of people in a position to give opinions on the wisdom of such a mission. There was consultation with the South Central Regional Office and recommendations which resulted from a special meeting of the Community Relations Division Executive Committee on Friday, September 28, reflected the advice of committee and staff there. The Division Executive Committee made these recommendations: 1) The AFSC should relate itself to the Mississippi crisis, most probably through a mission of concerned Friends. 2) These Friends should meet at Quaker House in Atlanta to consider what the manner of their speaking to the Mississippi situation should be. 3) The situation was so urgent that the AFSC should act as promptly as possible.

On Monday, October 1, the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors considered this proposal. During the weekend which intervened, the Oxford rioting broke out and the focus of the Mission became broader. The Board Executive Committee approved the Mission and asked staff to search out those Friends who might have a concern and the necessary qualifications for it. (Mission personnel on attached sheet).

The Mission and supporting AFSC staff and committee membership met in Atlanta on Wednesday, October 3. The considerations there were divided into two parts, the first being a meeting with knowledgeable southern leadership to help the group understand the situation better. Next the AFSC group considered its role in relation to the Mississippi crisis. It was during this time that the statement of purpose (attached) was developed and the Mission was divided into its Oxford and Jackson groups. Following the meetings in Atlanta, Tartt Bell, Burns Chalmers and Frank Loescher flew to Jackson and Mary Moss Cuthbertson, Lewis Hoskins and Clarence Yarrow flew to Memphis. From there they drove to Oxford.

THE MISSION. The Mission, both teams, in their busy two days saw a total of more than three dozen people in the general categories of educational, religious, business and political leadership. They sought a clearer understanding of the situation; they explored what constructive steps could now be taken to secure peacefully the rights of all American citizens and to bring about necessary reconciliation; the group at Oxford, in particular, sought to share its concern for the welfare of the university as a center of learning and search for truth. Both groups sought to see if here, as they have in so many places, new and creative opportunities could come out of tragedy.

Jackson. As the Jackson group left Atlanta it was far from certain that they would be able to reach the Governor and yet it seemed the appropriate place to begin. Ingenuity and patience enabled them to see the Governor. Though in one sense this might not be considered the most "productive" of the visits, it is obviously one of unusual interest.

Of the setting, the Mission report says: "The Office had an informal air. A radio carrying the World Series game was on. Magazines and a newspaper (with a July date) were on the table. The Governor's secretary talked briefly with us about segregation as the right way and the problems of integration in Washington, D.C...."

Once in the Governor's office, Frank Loescher stated the group's purpose in coming and proceeded to make a central point. He said to Governor Barnett that "we came to urge him to use his leadership to help his people prepare to accept the changes that are required of them."

The Mission reported the Governor's response, as follows: "Up to this point the Governor had been listening politely and with patience. With the word 'change' he spoke for the first time, still without excitement. He said that by 'change' you mean 'mongrelization' and proceeded to give us a lengthy discourse on his view of history. Overly simplified it is that one race must always be in charge and he spoke of white dominance in Europe, India and Egypt...as being high points in human history. He dwelt particularly on the history of Egypt.... Governor Barnett related this view of history to the Mississippi situation by saying that he would be a "sluggard" if he did not use his power and responsibility of office to maintain whites in the ascendancy.... asserted that God made us into separate races and intends us to be that way. /At this point a trivial but symbolic incident took place. His aide brushed against the American flag in passing and it fell practically to the floor -- as if in mute protest at this kind of talk./ He said that he was receiving 1600 telegrams a day in favor of his position and that people throughout the country were supporting his leadership...

"It was apparent that his position was unchanged and that we had only succeeded in setting before him some aspects of another point of view in an attempt to have him exert his leadership in an entirely different way. We had the feeling that he is a captive, that it is hard to get through to the real man. From our point of view he is not thinking in human terms or in Christian terms but rather in static, outmoded and political terms. And yet he did see the Quakers, when most people doubted that he would, and there were glimmers of understanding although basically no agreement. Representing the political sector he is a stone wall to the values we hold most dear."

The small team then divided itself in various ways to talk with religious and business leadership and with leadership which could give them an insight into the point of view of the out-and-out segregationist. From these conversations, which numbered a dozen or more, the following observations can be made.

Business Leadership. On October 2 approximately 130 businessmen met in Jackson and signed a public statement in which they first reaffirmed that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 was morally and legally wrong but went on to urge all local public officials "to advocate forthrightly and immediately the maintenance of law and order." This modest statement was the first public rebuff for the Governor and the White Citizens Council leadership to which he listens most attentively.

The Jackson Mission visited some of the business leadership involved in this statement. On one hand, the question was raised as to whether among those issuing the statement there was a real commitment to law and order, with the suggestion made instead that the motive was to make certain that things were quiet in Jackson and that the University did not lose its accreditation.

Other business leaders asserted that 90% of the business community supported the statement and that business felt encouraged and was made more comfortable by the statement, though there had been negative reaction to it by both political figures and the White Citizens Council.

The Mission discovered that over the past two years business leaders had operated in an increasingly repressive atmosphere. For example, a card had been circulated among some business leaders reading "I hereby authorize my bank to honor any check drawn to my account by the Citizens Council of Jackson for the payment of my dues or any other assessment and I take all responsibility for abuse of this privilege."

Religious Leadership. Conversations with religious leadership found both those who saw in the new crisis an opportunity to break through the unhealthy silence which had prevailed as well as those who seemed immovable. None, however, had gone unchallenged by the crisis.

One minister struck a hopeful note, saying that "out of the tragedy...had come a chance to break through the crust and talk about the realities of the situation and what needed to be done as Christians and as citizens." The incident "required communication", he and others felt.

Conversations were held with the Episcopal Diocesan leadership, which had commended, through its Executive Committee of Laymen and Clergy, the action of businessmen who had called on political leadership to restore law and order. (It is important to note that conversations with other religious and educational leaders indicated that the statement by the businessmen, with all its limitations, had as a matter of fact provided the freedom for the other two groups to speak up to the degree that they did.)

On the other extreme was a conversation with a religious leader close to the sources of political power. During this long and difficult conversation the minister avoided coming to grips with any question on which the Mission sought to elicit his position.

Said the report: "...it was as if he could not bring himself to defend his position theologically in the presence of concerned fellow Christians who represented the position of Friends on this question. By his silence in the pulpit he apparently can give consent to [what is being done] in the name of the Christian position, supported by the Bible, but he could not actively defend his position with us. ... This man was continuing to maintain an institutional church, preach Sunday by Sunday to large congregations, ...maintain wide civic contacts including leaders in the Citizens Council as well as in the political sphere and at the same time keep sufficient peace with his conscience to tacitly condone in the name of Christ what was going on. There was no question but that his extreme tension reflected both in his manner and in his countenance was the price of this precarious peace."

This was an extremely exacting interview but at the same time Mission members reported: "We felt that some real contact on a deeper level had taken place despite our failure to communicate on the central issue."

Segregationist Leadership. During the course of their visits in Jackson the Mission was eager to gain some insight through interviews into the conflicting advices which might be guiding the Governor from such sources as the State Sovereignty Commission on the one hand and the White Citizens Council on the other. At the moment White Citizens Council leadership is obviously the Governor's chief advisor. The State Sovereignty Committee leadership, on the other hand, having come out in the open last summer with some rather sharp criticism of some of the tactics of the White Citizens Council, has fallen from grace.

Oxford. All reports from the Oxford group began with a setting of the scene. One Mission member reports that "...there was an atmosphere of almost unnatural calm, with soldiers stationed at frequent intervals on the street and regular patrols of soldiers in jeeps riding around the town. It created the feeling of an occupied city."

The overflowing city of Oxford was being "viewed by the world." This was made clear early to the Mission as they found, just ahead of them in one of the endless lines of people waiting to use one of Oxford's few public phones, a Japanese newspaperman who sought to phone his story on events in Oxford directly to Tokyo. Later came a saddening interview with a student editor of the college paper who had been shocked at the death of the French correspondent in the riot, had proposed a scholarship fund in his memory, and had just heard from a representative of the French government that it could not be allied with segregation in such a way.

The group saw nearly two dozen people in their limited time. General themes from their visits on the University campus were 1) the evidence of shock they found in the faculty and religious leadership and 2) the deep personal need they found among people to talk to someone who wanted to listen and who cared profoundly for them in their difficult situation.

In the first visits with the administration, which began with the Chancellor and his assistant, a former assistant director of the FBI in Washington, they found quickly stated: a respect for Friends, a desire to return to normalcy, a statement of support for law and order and the Constitution. The group found no major restrictions on their visits on the campus.

They did see clear evidences of a tight control over the functioning of the university. For example, the system through which a speaker at the university is screened efficiently sifts out any carriers of ideas which might challenge the status quo. Interviews began in some key places with a firm statement of "why things had to be as they were," with little openness to other ideas.

From their total range of interviews, the Mission gained an understanding of the political background against which those concerned that the University of Mississippi be a university, with all that this should mean in the way of freedom of inquiry, had had to work for many years.

A picture emerged of the consolidation of power by the White Citizens Council over the last eight years. Through economic pressures it had exerted control over businessmen. It then consolidated its control over religious leadership. Some selected students enter the University of Mississippi each year under scholarships from the White Citizens Council. There seems little doubt that many are assigned the job of reporting back to their sponsors any statements of the faculty challenging the status quo. There is little doubt that some of these students were among the instigators of the rioting.

There has always been an unusually interfering relationship between the legislature and the University of Mississippi. More than most legislatures it has used the weapon of controlling the purse strings of the university to enforce its views on the university and its 13-member Board of Trustees. Behind this legislature are the White Citizens Councils, claiming now 100,000 members in the state and led by an avowed white supremist, the State Sovereignty Commission which helps finance the Council's program of propaganda and coercion and, ultimately, the Governor himself who had vowed to go to jail rather than see "Ole Miss" integrated.

The university's weapons with which to fight back against this kind of pressure are small. Mission members found in some cases that "there was not much we could do besides share our dismay and discouragement." Faculty members who have spent their lives instructing the youth of Mississippi in such vital subjects as political science and law have had a serious toll taken of their spirit by the tragedy of the past month. Faculty members discussed with the Mission the question of whether or not the university could become, in fact, a real university. Some felt that the chances were slim. This remark is made against a history of a university which not many years ago lost 50 members--a quarter of the staff--over issues of academic freedom.

In analyzing the total scene which may have contributed to getting the university and the state where they are today, some felt that the lack of strong executive leadership at the federal government level after the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 had created a vacuum into which reactionary forces had rushed. Encouraged by silence on the national scene to believe that defiance was in order and might win, irresponsible leadership took the steps which inevitably led to ultimate defiance by Governor Barnett.

The Mission had the opportunity to talk with some of the professors who signed a statement issued by the University of Mississippi Chapter of the American Association of University Professors. In this statement, the professors declared their belief that the attempt of men in prominent places to place all of the blame for the riot on the U.S. marshalls was "not only unfair and reprehensible but...almost completely false," and their belief in the "use of the courts and the ballot boxes to state their convictions."

The Mission spent considerable time with the Episcopal ministers who had acted with courage and personal risk on the night of the violent outbreak on the campus as they sought to direct students away from the scene of violence. They were torn by their inability to be effective. With these men the Mission had a most provocative and sobering discussion concerning "non-violence." Mission members report the soul-searching involved in considering their own dependence on and approval of the presence and actions of the federal marshalls and federal troops.

Conversations with student leadership were particularly challenging to the Mission. Conclusions would be these: 1) the point of agreement was that law and order must be preserved and obedience to Federal court order observed; 2) they were not glad that James Meredith was on campus and when questioned said that 99.7 percent of the student body agreed with them; 3) they expected James Meredith to stay on campus but felt that he would have to have a marshall guard to maintain both his safety and law and order; 4) they admitted there were some hotheads among the students but felt they were a minority; 5) students were gravely concerned about maintaining the accreditation of the university; 6) they had never heard of the Service Committee and seemed curious as to why the Mission had come. Mission members reported that this gave a chance for a brief conversation about relating to some activities beyond their campus.

The Mission reports, "Their provincialism was almost 100 percent imperturbable even in the face of the tragic events which had taken place on the campus just three or four days previous to that. We found no opening for discussion of acceptance of James Meredith as a person with rights and dignity. There was no mood to consider reconciliation or talk about any new base for relations on campus other than the necessity to observe law and order."

Students as a whole were even more cautious than the administration in saying anything, even off-the-record, about the Governor's policies. They stated that it was the settled policy of the student government not to make any expressions on issues in the state and to confine themselves only to campus affairs. They felt this was "a wise and natural restriction since students had no business sounding off on state issues and could only get themselves and the university into trouble."

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM OXFORD. 1) What happened in Oxford on Sunday, September 30, appeared to our Mission to have been a planned movement which included leaders on the campus, in government, business, church -- all under the leadership of the White Citizens Council; 2) Discipline for the leaders in the riot will continue to be a major problem. For while it might be more helpful to the university to be able to take care of its own disciplinary problems (the point of view of federal representatives at the time the Mission was on the campus), the problems of discipline of those who have a proven link with the White Citizens Council may be more of a challenge than should be taken on by a school judiciary committee; 3) James Meredith's life continues in jeopardy, particularly as long as ringleaders in the planned rebellion remain on campus; 4) The superficial calm may prove to be a deceptive mask; 5) Resistance to integration is still very much alive. 6) There is a weak, vacillating and fearful administrative leadership at the university which is buffeted by pressures external and internal and conditioned by a traditional pattern of compromise. 7) It is a question as to whether the university can survive as a truly independent educational institution. It is well to remember that the university and its basic function of freedom of inquiry is a first casualty in a fascist state.

IDEAS FOR FOLLOW-UP FROM OXFORD AND JACKSON: 1) contact with concerned religious leadership. 2) support for businessmen who see this as an opportunity for communication. 3) support for those in the academic community who see the need for an institution free of political controls and fear. 4) reaching students, in a variety of ways, to help them see beyond their present closed environment. 5) deepening our understanding of the sources of opposition to inevitable change and of the potential for violence in tightly controlled and isolated situations. 6) learning from this situation and looking ahead to difficulties which can be anticipated in other "hard core" areas still to face basic challenges of change.

BWM:ml

Attachment to
Summary Report on AFSC Mission to Mississippi

MISSION:

B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary of AFSC Southeastern Regional Office, High Point, North Carolina, and a native of Alabama.

A. Burns Chalmers, AFSC Secretary of Education and staff of Davis House, focus for many AFSC meetings of an international character in Washington, D.C.

Mary Moss Cuthbertson, Director of the AFSC College Program and a native of Georgia.

Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

Frank S. Loescher, member of the AFSC Board of Directors and the Community Relations Division Executive Committee; General Secretary of the U.S.-South Africa Leaders Exchange Program.

Clarence H. Yarrow, Executive Secretary of AFSC North Central Regional Office, Des Moines, Iowa; former faculty member at University of Mississippi.

THE PLANNING IN ATLANTA.

Charles Darlington of the AFSC Board of Directors and of the Community Relations Division Executive Committee, chaired the planning meetings. Participating in them were: Richard Bennett, also of the Board and the Community Relations Division Executive Committee; Allen Bacon, member of the Community Relations Division Executive Committee; Garnet Guild, Executive Secretary of the South Central Regional Office, in whose region Mississippi falls; Barbara Moffett, Secretary of the National Community Relations Division; Noyes Collinson, AFSC Merit Employment Program staff in Atlanta; Phern and John Stanley of the Atlanta Friends Meeting; George Hendricks, also of the Atlanta Meeting and on the faculty at Georgia Tech.; and John Yungblut, now Director of Quaker House in Atlanta, former staff of the AFSC's program to search out and support "isolated liberals" in Mississippi, and in current contact with Mississippi leadership.

For the first part of the day, this group was joined by knowledgeable southern leadership from: the Southern Regional Council, the National Council of Churches, the YWCA, the Anti-Defamation League, the Mennonite Central Committee (which has put staff in Atlanta recently), the President of Tougaloo Southern Christian College in Mississippi, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and briefly, later in the day, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

(OVER)

Attachment to
Summary Report on AFSC Mission to Mississippi

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE:

We are members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), visiting in Mississippi for the American Friends Service Committee. We are concerned for all people whose lives have been affected by the divisiveness which surrounds recent events at the University of Mississippi. We seek a clearer understanding of the situation.

While such Quaker activities as relief and rehabilitation in the wake of wars are best known, it is also in the tradition of the American Friends Service Committee to work in areas of tension in various parts of the United States. There is a basic unity in all our efforts, whether they be directed to saving lives, or changing them, or refusing to be party to their destruction. We seek to show the relevance of the life and teaching of Jesus to present day problems. We work for a world society that is nonviolently ordered and in which men are neither debased nor exploited for any reason. We work for it, because we think it is the kind of world in which God intends us to live.

We recognize that all Americans have a responsibility to help in repairing the damage from the tragedy that has occurred at Oxford. Our experience tells us that out of tragedy may come new opportunities. Our hope is that constructive steps can now be taken to secure peacefully the rights of all American citizens and to bring about the reconciliation necessary for the spiritual well-being of the nation.

NYT 11-7-62 p. 36

GREENVILLE, Miss., Nov. 6 (UPI)—A municipal judge convicted two white couples and two Negro voter-registration workers yesterday on charges filed after they attempted to eat together at a Negro restaurant.

Judge Earl Solomon fined the defendants $55 each and sentenced them to 30 days in jail, but suspended the jail terms after a stern warning.

The defendants all pleaded not guilty to charges of creating a disturbance.

November 7, 1962

Mr. Robert Moses
614 Chrisman Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dear Bob:

Do you have any information or comments about the attached news story from the New York Times of this date?

Sincerely,

Jack Minnis

JM:jl
attach.

11/7/62

file Mem. Recd.

GREENVILLE, Miss., Nov. 6 (UPI)—A municipal judge convicted two white couples and two Negro voter-registration workers yesterday on charges filed after they attempted to eat together at a Negro restaurant. NYT 11/7/62

Judge Earl Solomon fined the defendants $55 each and sentenced them to 30 days in jail, but suspended the jail terms after a stern warning.

The defendants all pleaded not guilty to charges of creating a disturbance.

11/12/62

file Miss. Resist.

Vote Troops Urged For Mississippi

atta. Guar. 11-12-62 p. 9

CLEVELAND, Nov. 12 (AP)—The use of government troops in Mississippi to protect Negroes trying to register as voters is being sought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the association's board chairman said here Sunday.

Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood of the 4th Episcopal District of the AME Zion Church said in an interview that the NAACP board at its monthly meeting in New York this week will discuss the protection of registrants and organizers of the voter registration drive among Mississsippi Negroes.

BISHOP Spottswood said the request for federal troops in various parts of Mississippi to avert what he called violent interference with voters registration is not the first such request.

"We first approached the administration just before the Cuban crisis," he said. "Now that the Cuban situation is relaxing, we again think troops should be sent not just to Jackson, but anywhere in the state where voters have been threatened with repressions."

Threats of reprisals have been received by several NAACP registration workers and Negro voters are being terrorized, the bishop said.

The bishop said the NAACP would continue its attacks on "discrimination in the labor movement," but said he doubted this would disrupt the group's "harmonious relations" with labor.

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Jackson Daily News 11/9/66

Court Asked To Imprison Mississippian

New Orleans, Nov. 8 (AP).—The Justice Department has asked the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals here to jail Mississippi voter Registrar Theron Lynd for 45 days for contempt of a court order barring discrimination in voter registrations.

The Justice Department also asked the court to order Lynd to register 43 Negroes who "were illegally denied registration," in Forrest County, Miss., or face the prospect of continuing imprisonment.

Earier this year, the Justice Department charged that Lynd discriminated against Negro applicants for voter registration in violation of the Civil Rights Act. The Appeals Court issued an injunction ordering him to cease discrimination.

The Justice Department later brought contempt action, contending Lynd was continuing discriminatory practices. Lynd has denied the charge.

A three-judge panel of the Appeals Court held a hearing in Hattiesburg, seat of Forrest County, last September. At the end of the hearing, the judges asked attorneys for both sides to submit briefs. The Justice Department proposal was in its brief, which was filed yesterday. 3 - Miss Reader

LWD ✓
PR ✓
WB ✓

FOR RELEASE November 12, 1962

FROM: Fay Bennett, Exec. Secy.
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE BRINGS SHARECROPPER EVICTIONS

Attempted voter registration by 36 Negroes at Indianola, Mississippi, has touched off a new wave of violence and economic reprisals against sharecroppers and farm workers in the Delta area. Two girls were wounded when shots were fired into their home in Ruleville, at least three sharecropper families have been evicted, five workers have lost their jobs, and independent farmers are facing loss of private credit, according to a report received here by the National Sharecroppers Fund. One evicted farm worker, Boss Foster, had worked on the same plantation for 30 years.

"This new effort to thwart the right to vote emphasizes the need for would-be Negro voters to be able to earn a living near their homes without being dependent upon entrenched local business and plantation interests," NSF executive secretary Fay Bennett said today. "The events in the Mississippi Delta lend new urgency to the National Sharecroppers Fund rural conference at Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina, on November 14-16, which will discuss ways to bring government aid and training programs to backward rural areas of the South."

The conference will bring together sharecroppers and small farmers from many parts of the South to discuss with government officials ways in which federal aid projects may be developed locally. Participants will also hear a report on a National Sharecroppers Fund pilot project in Fayette County, Tennessee, which was developed to aid 700 Negro sharecroppers who were evicted in Fayette and Haywood Counties in January, 1961, after attempting to register to vote. The project is expected to result in 200 full-time jobs in a new industrial plant, which will be brought to the area by a local bi-racial committee cooperating with the federal Area Redevelopment Administration.

(more)

In discussing the new threats against voter registrants, Robert Moses, Field Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and leader of the voter registration drive in Mississippi, reported that plantation owners had given notice to their sharecroppers that mass evictions would follow if any sharecropper attempted to register. Federal government attorneys from the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department are conducting investigations to determine whether court injunctions, similar to those obtained in the two Tennessee counties, should be requested to halt the evictions. But Mr. Moses stated that he expects more evictions as the registration drive gains momentum.

Pointing to the urgent need for this conference, the National Sharecroppers Fund reported that technological and social changes have forced four million rural Southerners out of farming in the past decade alone. Most of them lack the education and skills to better their lives elsewhere, a problem that is aggravated by the disappearance of many unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and widespread urban unemployment. This has caused particularly severe hardships for many of the 1.5 million Negroes who have migrated to northern industrial cities.

Speakers at the National Sharecroppers Fund conference will include John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; James M. Dabbs, Chairman of the Southern Regional Council; and Dr. Hollis F. Price, President of LeMoyne College in Memphis.

Additional information is available from the National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3, New York.

(The full program of the conference is enclosed.)

# # # # # # #

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BALTIMORE
AFRO-AMERICAN
p. 17
Date: Nov. 17, 1962
Miss
Vote - Miss.

VEP

Two states which lag behind in rights also lag in voting

17

WASHINGTON (ANP) — The two southern states into which federal troops have had to be sent to enforce federal school desegregation orders are, by coincidence, the same two states in which voter participation has been the lowest in the nation.

Fewer of the citizens eligible to vote cast ballots did so in the last two elections for congress in Arkansas and Mississippi.

The two states have achieved notoriety because of their resistence to admitting colored pupils to Central High school in Little Rock and to the University of Mississippi in Oxford.

THE STATE with the highest percentage of eligible voters casting ballots is Connecticut where two colored persons were opposing candidates for state treasurer in last week's election.

In Arkansas, 6.7 per cent of the potential voters cast ballots in the elections in 1960 and 5.9 per cent voted in 1958.

In Mississippi, 22 per cent voted in 1960 and 5.2 per cent in 1958.

The United States as a whole lags far behind the other democracies in the proportion of eligible voters who actually go to the polls.

This is particularly true of midterm elections, such as the one last week, when the vote falls behind that cast in Presidential years.

* * *

IN 1958, in the last midterm election, 43.5 per cent of the eligible voters actually voted. In 1954, it was 42.5 per cent and in 1950, it was 41.6 per cent.

There are several reasons in United States law and custom for the relatively low voter turnout.

In the South, especially colored persons find it difficult to vote because of the poll tax, literacy tests other legal devices and intimidation used to discriminate against them.

In Mississippi, for example 42.3 per cent of the population is colored but very few vote.

* * *

IN SOUTHERN one - party areas, voting is often heavier in the primaries than in the general elections.

The mobility of the population is another reason for non-voting. Some states have residence requirements of up to two years. The Census Bureau estimates that 35,500-000 people, or 20 per cent of the population in March 1961, moved at least once the previous year.

Other factors that lower participation in elections include bars to the insane, the imprisoned and members of the armed forces who can vote by mail only with considerable difficulty.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

November 21, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Atreet, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

My main report to you is that this morning I had a long talk with Jim Meredith and I am now convinced, even more than I was at the meeting, that he has the brains and the will to complete his school work here without serious trouble. He has been in a little trouble but most of the reports of his scholastic failure have been the result of poor reporting and harassing tactics.

I enjoyed my visit with you very much. Tuesday morning I went out to Emory to talk to a class or two and to renew acquaintanceship there.

If you have any sort of report on difficulties in voter registration in Mississippi, I would like to have it very much. For my next year's address at the Southern Historical Association meeting, I am going to review the efforts at thought control in Mississippi and I need information regarding various pressure tactics, etc. As a matter of fact, I would appreciate being put on your mailing list.

Enclosed is my statement of expenses for the trip to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

James W. Silver

DCC: Wiley Branton
plus copy of Silver's letter

November 27, 1962

Professor James W. Silver
College of Liberal Arts
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

The check for your expenses is enclosed.

You did a tremendous job and were altogether the star of the meeting.

Thank you for your letter. I was glad to get the reassuring note about Meredith.

The next issue of New South will have something in about voter registration difficulties in Mississippi, and we shall send it to you. Enclosed is an older New South which also had a piece. Had you been at the meeting Monday afternoon you would have heard Wiley Branton giving a lurid description of some events out there which will be covered in less detail in the forthcoming New South. I am passing your letter on to Wiley with the request that he write to you further if he has anything to send off.

I am putting you on our mailing list as of now and entering also a one year gift subscription for New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures:
New South, Oct. 1961
~~Hayden, Revolution in Mississippi~~
L-38
Check

From the desk of DEC 13 1962 11 Dec 62

FREDERICK B. ROUTH

Wiley —

I will be passing thru Atlanta the end of this month and will spend a few days there with Paul Anthony —

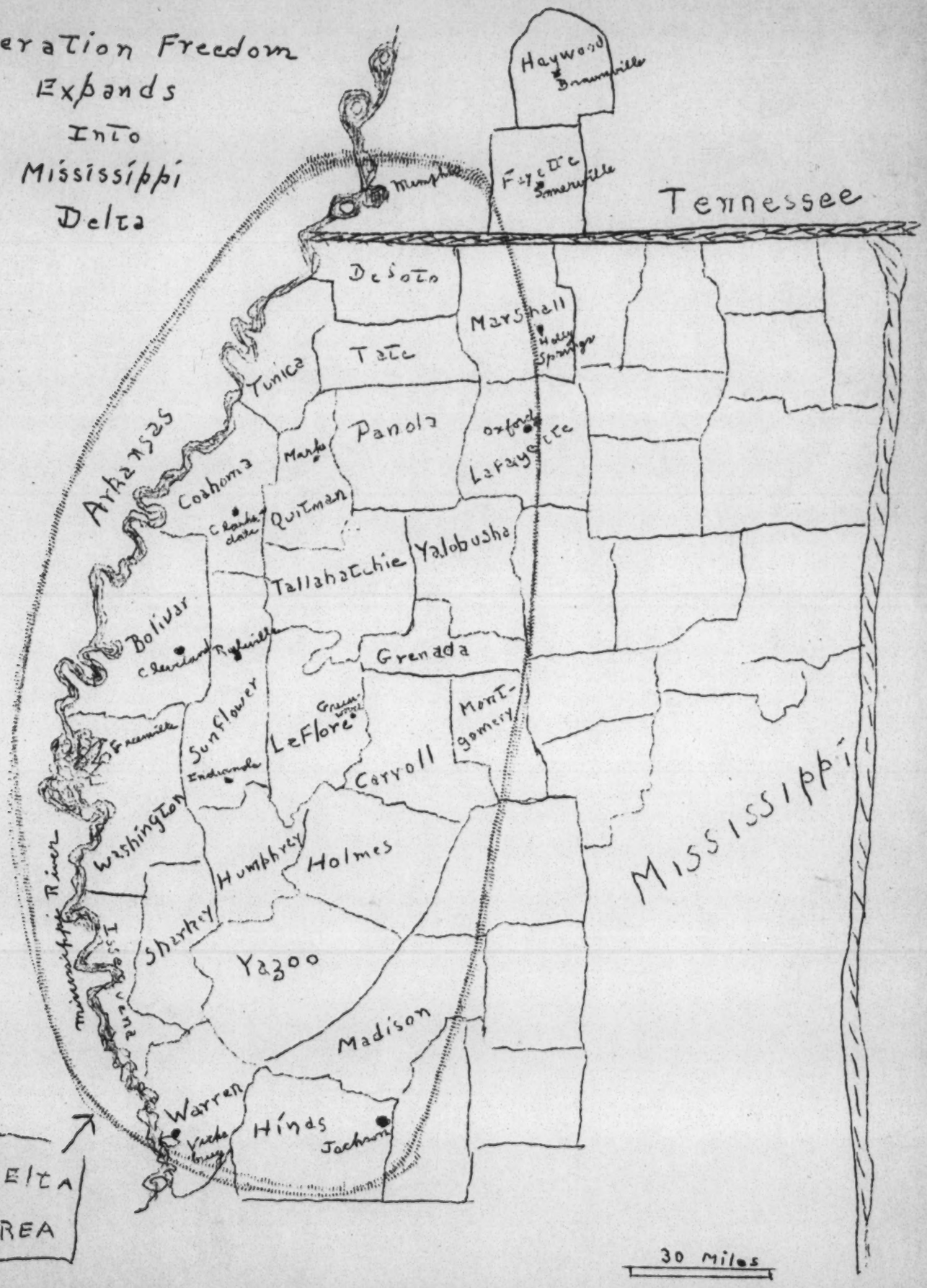
Remind me to talk with you at that time about past experiences with Maurice McCrackin.

Have a good Christmas.

as ever

Fred

Operation Freedom Expands Into Mississippi Delta



NEWS from
Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio
Phone: 771-6485

Dec. 5, 1962

CINCINNATI, Ohio——Operation Freedom is extending its work into the Delta Area of Mississippi, where it is assisting persons harassed for registering to vote.

The board of Operation Freedom voted to expand into Mississippi after receiving reports of widespread and bitter hardship resulting from the drive to register Negroes to vote in that state.

The Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, Detroit, board chairman, reported that thousands of persons have been cut off from surplus food. Others have been driven off the land, denied credit, shot at, and arrested on trumped-up charges, he said.

For two years Operation Freedom has been assisting farmers and others subjected to similar harassment for registering to vote in Fayette and Haywood counties in West Tennessee. Cash grants and loans helped to save many families from being driven off the land.

The Delta region of Mississippi adjoins one of the Tennessee counties. It includes some of the richest farming land in the world, producing fine cotton in great quantities.

The Delta is not the same as the delta of the Mississippi River. It is an alluvial plain formed by the wandering of the Mississippi as it flowed south from Memphis, Tenn., to Vicksburg, Miss., a distance of roughly 200 miles.

The area includes 18 counties in which Negroes constitute up to 80 per cent of the population. Oxford, scene of the riots at the University of Mississippi, lies on the eastern edge of the Delta. The vast plantation of U. S. Senator James O. Eastland is in the heart of the Delta, south of Ruleville in Sunflower County.

"Ruleville is one of the places where Negro citizens have been wounded by gunfire, jailed, and run off the land for registering to vote or for encouraging

others to vote," Operation Freedom reported. "Negro business houses have been closed on various pretexts.

"Members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), who have led the registration drive in the Delta, have been arrested and shot at. SNCC workers in Greenwood, LeFlore County, narrowly escaped being lynched."

LeFlore County is where the body of Emmett Till, 14-year-old Negro boy, was found in the Tallahatchie River after he was brutally murdered in 1955. Two white men later admitted killing him but were freed by a jury. 22,000 Negroes in this county alone have, in recent action, been cut off from receiving surplus foods.

Operation Freedom sent a committee of three into the area to investigate reports of hardship. This committee was headed by the Rev. L. Richard Hudson, Cincinnati, secretary of Operation Freedom. He took along enough money to pay off the mortgage of a man who had lost his job for getting people registered to vote.

The committee found that the situation in the Delta is desperate, but that few people outside the area are aware of it. Mississippi newspapers have not reported the atrocities against Negroes, with the result that news services have not sent the information to other news media.

Operation Freedom plans a drive to raise funds for relief work in the Delta. Working with Operation Freedom will be Bob Moses, Amzie Moore, Aaron Henry and others who have been active in the voter registration movement in the Delta.

Treasurer of Operation Freedom is the Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin, 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio. He said that money will be channeled into the Delta through committees in various counties there.

#

12/29/62

ARK GAZETTE p. 3A

Judge Says Two Lied In Vote Case

Min. Rent. 12-29-62

Meridian, Miss., Dec. 28 (AP).—Federal District Judge Harold Cox today promised to hold two Negroes on perjury charges unless the Justice Department showed their testimony in a voter suit here was true.

Judge Harold Cox said he thought Rev. W. G. Goff, a Methodist minister, and Andrew Kendrick "were lying."

He halted the voter suit hearing after Clarke County Circuit Clerk A. L. Ramsey, the voter registrar, testified to facts contrary to those of the Negroes.

Judge Cox said he would hold Mr. Goff and Kendrick to the Grand Jury on a charge of perjury and set the bond at $3,000 each unless the Justice Department could convince him otherwise.

"I want you to know you can't come into this court and swear to something that isn't true and get away with it," Cox said. "I simply will not tolerate perjury."

The federal government charges that Ramsey discriminated against Negroes attempting to register to vote.

Ramsey denied the charges.

Mississippi Police Hold 2 Students

ARK. GAZETTE 12-29-62 p. 5A.

Min. Rent.

Clarksdale, Miss., Dec. 28 (AP).—City police held two Michigan State University students today on charges of possessing barbituates. The students said they were carrying food, clothing and drugs to destitute Negroes in rural areas.

Officers arrested the students when they came upon them sleeping in a station wagon early yesterday.

Police identified them as Benjamin J. Taylor, 21, of Camden, N. Y., and Ivanhoe Donaldson, 21, of New York.

The students were parked in front of a drug store operated by Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Henry said the NAACP and other organizations were sponsoring the program to bring emergency supplies to Negro farm families left destitute in the winter months.

The Uppiest

LWD ✓
PAL ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓
Return to WAB

Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial
December 29, 1962

They Say...

The Kennedys Threaten American Civil Rights

JOHN C. SATTERFIELD
Past President, American Bar Association

Every citizen from the smallest to the greatest must recognize that our nation of liberty under the law and freedom of speech and action is a nation in which men may honestly differ and yet respect each other. Unity in diversity will never be attained until we learn to disagree without being disagreeable, that liberty under the law means the freedom of dissent, that might does not make right and that those with whom we disagree absolutely may nevertheless be honest, law-abiding and patriotic American citizens.

In the face of intense provocation by the Attorney General of the United States, I have remained silent concerning the Meredith case. This is for the reason that I am one of the attorneys representing the State of Mississippi, the Governor and other defendants in the Meredith case, which is still pending as to them in the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit. The Attorney General of the United States is also one of the attorneys in that case, acting on behalf of the plaintiff.

IT HAS never been and is not now my intention to try pending litigation before the public in the newspapers. Such discussion is prohibited generally by Canon 20 of the Canons of Ethics of the American Bar Association. However, the numerous statements by the Attorney General of the United States including derogatory statements concerning the lawyers of Mississippi and the South have been accentuated by Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach's speech recently made before a bar association in Washington, D.C.

It is my considered opinion that such statements cause the present situation to become "an extreme circumstance of a particular case justifying a statement to the public", as provided in Canon 20. I conceive it to be my duty to the legal profession in Mississippi and the nation to make such a statement at this time.

IT IS regrettable that within recent days and weeks, the lawyers of Mississippi and the South have been called cowards by Attorney General Robert K. Kennedy; they have been recklessly accused by Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach of being untrue to their professional trust and of contributing by their silence to the violence at the University of Mississippi; I have been personally so accused by name by Mr. Katzenbach; Mississippi educators have been called "weak men" by the Attorney General; Mississippi businessmen have been threatened by the Attorney General with diversion of federal funds to which they are justly entitled—all because they have not agreed with the Attorney General of the United States in the Meredith case. Is government by intimidation taking the place of liberty under the law?

The lawyers, educators, businessmen and other citizens of Mississippi believe in law and order, and the use of judicial processes to determine and enforce the rights of parties to any litigation. They believe in the maintenance of peace and prevention of violence. They regret and do not condone the violence and rioting at the University of Mississippi.

Two are dead. Many are injured. Irreparable damage has been done. The violators of the law should be punished. No issue exists on this score between federal and state officials. Professional and businessmen of Mississippi and its other citizens are in accord with men of like mind throughout the nation.

NEVERTHELESS, every citizen of our country must realize that a person or a state which tests whether or not he or it is bound by a court decree to which he or it was not a party, or attempts to persuade a court to overrule any one or more of its decisions, is exercising a heritage of freedom which is ours under our form of government and is not a violator of the law or a defier of the Constitution of the United States.

In this time of peril these truths should be recognized by all citizens of our great country, whether they be liberal, moderate or conservative. There must be forbearance and there must be understanding.

THE AMERICAN people must realize that citizens who act to protect their constitutional liberties and states which act to protect their sovereign rights are not defiers of the law nor violators of our Constitution.

What has happened in Mississippi is an illustration of what may happen in any state when the desire of the Attorney General or the President of the United States may be opposed by a state or by individuals. As was said by the editor and publisher of the Manchester, New Hampshire, Union Leader concerning actions of the federal marshals in the classroom of the University of Mississippi,

> **"It can happen here—you may say this is remote from you since you are not in Mississippi, but if federal marshals can use this sort of illegal and unauthorized force to keep a group of students sitting in a classroom where they don't want to sit, in Mississippi, they can do it to you right here in New Hampshire —and your freedom is gone.**

It seems that tolerance and forebearance have been forgotten . . . .

Negro Vote Works Hit by Gun Shots

Wash Post. D.C. 9-11-62

RULEVILLE, Miss. (UPI) — Shotgun blasts ripped through the window of a home Monday night and wounded two Negro girls active in the voter registration of Negroes on the Mississippi Delta.

The pellets struck one girl, Vivian Hilley, in the leg and the other girl, Marylene Burke, in the scalp. The victims were taken to hospitals for treatment.

Mayor C. M. Darr said neither girl appeared seriously hurt. He said local and Sunflower County law enforcement officers were investigating the incident and he had personally asked the FBI to investigate.

Darr said a shotgun blast also had been fired into another house in the Negro residential area but no one was hit.

The mayor said although they had been participating in a Negro voter registration campaign he did not believe the shooting had anything to do with their activity.

James Foreman of Atlanta, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, demanded that President Kennedy "convene a special White House conference to discuss efforts of stopping the wave of terror sweeping through the South, especially where SNCC is working on voter registration."

Foreman had wired the President in a similar vein Sunday after two Negro churches, one active in Negro voter registration, were destroyed by flames near Dawson, Ga. Last week, a white college student working with SNCC was wounded in the arm by shotgun pellets fired into a Negro home at Dawson.

Darr and Sheriff Woodley Carr charged that the shootings were perpetrated by "agitators" who had been carrying on the voter registration campaign "in order to gain publicity."

Friday, January 4, 1963

Telephone conversation between J. Minnis and Aaron Henry, Clarksdale, Mississippi

J. Minnis: We have just heard over here about the arrest of those two people from Michigan and we wanted to call and get some details on it, Aaron, for our files. When did it happen, when were they arrested?

A. Henry: Uh, I can only give you the police report on that - the 28th. They were missing two days prior to the 28th - they should have arrived here on th3 26th. They were really arrested on the 28th - that's the day they smuggled a note to me that they were in there. (in jail.)

J. Minnis: How did they smuggle the note out?

A. Henry: Well, uh - - -

J. Minnis: You mean you'd rather not tell? O.K.

J. Minnis: We just saw the article in the Arkansas Gazette - it hadn't been reported in the papers over here. The names are Benjamin Taylor and ----Donnelson. Are they Negro or white?

A. Henry: They're Negro.

J. Minnis: They're both Negro. And they were driving a station wagon? You don't know anything at all about the kind of drugs that they had?

A. Henry: I have not seen them, but I have been in touch with this Dr. King that was responsible for the collection of the drugs. He is sending an inventory of what was in there and, of course, he contends that there was nothing in the shipment but aspirin, cough syrpp and vitamins. Now, it's quite possible that in the cough syrup preparation there might have been some barbiturate in it but nothing that anybody could siphon out

J. Minnis: You don't know anything about where these fellows had been the missing two days?

A. Henry: No. They had dinner with a girl named Margaret Cutler (?) In Louisville. (Girl's name is Tucker)

J. Minnis: When was this?

A. Henry: Christmas Night. And they left there Christmas night anticipating getting in the following day about eight o'clock in the morning. That would be the 26th,=see? But they were not arrested until the 28th.

J. Minnis: According to the arrest report. Who gave you a copy of that? You saw it?

A. Henry: In the paper, yes.

J. Minnis: Is there a possibility of a typographical error? You haven't been in touch with the police, have You?

A. Henry: Yes, I've been in touch with the police. But the day that I called the police was the 28th. That was the day they smuggled the note out to me. They admitted that they had them.

J. Minnis: Now, they're in the sherriff's custody? Were they arrested by the city police?

A. Henry: They were arrested by the city.

J. Minnis: And what's the amount of bond?

A. Henry: $15,000 each.

J. Minnis: $15,000 each! And what are they charged with?

A. Henry: Possession of narcotics. That's a technical charge. They admit there were no narcotics in the strict sense - involved.

J. Minnis You mean the police admit this?

A. Henry: Yes, that there were no narcotics as we understand the

A. Henry: term. But I gues s in the general term - the barbiturate is also classified under the lMississippi Omnibus Narcotic Act and even drugs that are prescription legend - that have no relations either to barbiturates or narcotics are involved in the general Mississippi narcotics act. It's a sort of catch-all thing.

J. Minnis: Well, is there any possibility that under Mississippi rule they would be generally in violation?

A.H. I don't think so. You see the doctor that gathered the drugs was sending them to me to be dispensed without charge to the same people to whom we were giving the clothes. So, the fellows were only driving the truck.

J.M. They were just transporting.

A.H. Yeah. Now, the drugs we get in every day - the driver of the truck is responsible for what's in it.

J.M. Isee your point. Where is the truck now?

A.H. The police got the truck, the drugs and the men.

J.M. Do you know who owns the truck?

A.H. Yeah, the - Professor Elliott.

J.M. At Michigan State?

AH Yeah, Martha there's a girl at Michigan - her name is ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Prescott (?) I can give you a phone number there, too - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - (unintelligible for a few sentences.)

JM: Now, do you know of any action taken by the police? Has there been any kind of a hearing or preliminary hearing evidence of a grand jury hearing or anything?

AH: They're in jail between bonds and I suppose that would mean that some preliminary hearing has been held.

JM. Have you gotten any counsel for them.

AH Yes, counsel has not arrived, however we were in touch with counsel from the time they were arrested on Friday. - - - - (something unintelligble here about trying to reach counsel by phone.)

JM Would you be able to send us a copy of that inventory when you get it?

AH Yes.

JM I'd certainly appreciate it, Aaron.

AH SEnd it to the Voter Education office there?

JM: Yes, I'd sure appreciate it. Wiley may want to talk to you - wait a minute

WB How's everything going?

1/4/63

Pastors Oppose Mississippi's Ban

ark. Gaz. 1/4/63

Jackson, Miss., Jan. 3 (UPI).—Twenty-eight young Methodist ministers issued a statement yesterday opposing racial discrimination and the closing of public schools and voicing concern for "freedom of the pulpit."

The ministers, all natives of Mississippi, said the public school system was "essential to the preservation and development of our true democracy."

"We are unalterably opposed to the closing of public schools on any level or to the diversion of tax funds to the support of private or sectarian schools," they said.

Mississippi law permits the closure of any or all public schools to avoid racial integration.

The ministers' statement was published in the Mississippi Methodist Advocate, an official church newspaper.

1/5/63

Afro Jan 5, 63

Houston lawyer gets Miss. case

Miss, Resist.

WASHINGTON

A private lawyer from Houston, Texas, has been appointed to handle criminal contempt proceedings against Mississippi Gov. Ross R. Barnett and his chief lieutenant, Paul B. Johnson.

U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy announced Saturday that Leon Jaworski, 57, president of the State Bar of Texas, had been named special counsel in the James H. Meredith case. He will have full charge of the government's action.

On Friday, the government filed papers with the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, charging Barnett and Johnson with "Willful disregard and defiance" of the court's orders to admit Meredith to the University of Mississippi.

* * *

BARNETT ALSO was charged with "Willfully" failing to exercise his responsibilities in regard to maintaining law and order on the Oxford, Miss., campus on September 30, the date Meredith arrived at "Ole Miss."

Judge Admits Facts Prove Bias, But Accuses 2 Govt. Witnesses Of Lying

Miss. Reest.

U. S. District Judge Harold Cox threatened to hold two Negro witnesses for perjury a day after he admitted, December 27, that testimony had shown "very substantial evidence of discrimination against Negroes."

The action came last week during a hearing in Meridian in a Justice Department suit to enjoin Clarke County Circuit Clerk A. L. Ramsey from discriminating against Negro voter applicants. Cox denied Ramsey's request to dismiss the suit.

Justice Department attorney Gerald Stern presented 31 government witnesses, including Negroes, whites and special FBI agents. They were questioned to show that whites were registered immediately without testing, while Negroes were forced to undergo rigid testing or were turned down.

Recounted Denials

Negro witnesses recounted denials of registration attempts occurring from 1955 to 1958. The government produced white witnesses who declared that they had done nothing but sign their names to register; others reported that relatives had registered for them.

The Clarke County Registrar has denied that he, the County Sheriff and the Board of Supervisors had agreed not to register Negroes. Ramsey's lawyer, Talley Riddell, stated that Ramsey had never turned down a Negro, but had merely sometimes suggested that they come back at another time — for various reasons. Negro witnesses declared that they were told that no Negroes would be registered unless the

(Continued on Page 3)

Miss Free Press
1-5-63
p. 1.

Rights Group Postpones Hearings in Mississippi On Request From RFK

Washington, Jan. 6 (AP).—At the request of the United States attorney general, the federal Civil Rights Commission has postponed for a third time its public hearings in Mississippi on charges of civil rights denials.

In making this disclosure today, the Commission indicated that it acted reluctantly and still felt such hearings were necessary in part "to acquaint citizens of Mississippi with many conditions which by and large may be unknown to them."

There was no indication of any new date for the hearings, first set for October 1962, then rescheduled for December 1962 and then set again for late this month.

The third postponement was disclosed through the Commission's release of an exchange of letters between Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and John A. Hannah, the Commission chairmen. The Commission set back the earlier hearing dates because of tensions resulting from rioting induced by admission of a Negro to the University of Mississippi.

In his letter, dated December 15, Kennedy noted the pending criminal contempt of court case against Mississippi's Governor Ross R. Barnett and Lieutenant Governor Paul Johnson, as well as other litigation involving the state against Justice Department and military personnel.

If the hearings were held, Kennedy wrote, "I am confident that the claim will be made that the Civil Rights Commission is working with the Department of Justice publicly to prejudice the state of Mississippi and its officials" in the contempt case.

The attorney general added:

"While there obviously would be no substance to such charges, I think that in a matter of this great national importance, involving as it does the governor of one of the states on a question of criminal responsibility, even the appearance of impropriety or questionable ethical conduct by the federal government should be avoided."

Further on in his letter, Kennedy seemed to be suggesting that the idea of public hearings in Mississippi be abandoned entirely when he wrote:

"In the meantime, it seems to me that * * * the work of the Commission staff could continue, and a report could be prepared, without any need for public hearings in the state."

In his January 2 reply, Hannah said that in view of the pending litigation and the effect hearings might have on it, "* * * the Commission would be remiss not to yield to your request to forego, for the time being, its scheduled public hearings."

Hannah Reluctant

But Hannah then made clear his reluctance this way:

"We must state in all candor that this decision is difficult for us, since our preliminary investigations indicate the existence of a situation in Mississippi which urgently demands the fact-finding activities the Commission is uniquely able to provide."

Hannah seemed to reject any idea of dropping all plans for hearings when he wrote:

"While the Department has the power to prosecute (and take(* * * action to eliminate specific deprivations of constitutional rights, the Commission also has statutory obligations it must discharge. Additionally, we feel that our public hearings conducted in many states have served to acquaint both federal and state officials and the local public with relevant facts that can lead to correction at all levels.

Obligations Cited

"It has been our conclusion that the scheduled hearings would isolate the facts and circumstances responsible for civil rights denials in Mississippi and would produce the evidence necessary to fulfillment of our statutory duty, including the formulation of appropriate recommendations to the president and to Congress. In addition, it would serve to acquaint citizens of Mississippi with many conditions which by and large may be unknown to them.

"The evidence at hand suggests that the few persons in Mississippi who have spoken out for law and order have been subjected to increasing harassment and intimidation. This has certainly been the case with the courageous members of our Mississippi Advisory Committee, who have consistently urged us to hold hearings in the state. This committee, composed of both white and Negro native Mississippians, has shown great courage in the discharge of its authorized function in the face of unusual difficulties, and we cannot dismiss lightly our obligation to support them and other advisory committees in like circumstances."

1/7/63

file Miss. Resist.

Rights Hearings In Mississippi Delayed Again

Atla. Const. 1-7-63 p. 8

WASHINGTON (AP)—At the request of the U.S. attorney general, the Federal Civil Rights Commission has postponed for a third time its public hearings in Mississippi on charges of civil rights denials in that state.

In making this disclosure Sunday, the commission indicated it acted reluctantly and still feels such hearings are necessary in part "to acquaint citizens of Mississippi with many conditions which by and large may be unknown to them."

And the commisison said it will "press our current investigations vigorously" even though no hearings are held on charges of denial of voting rights, economic reprisals and so forth.

There was no indication of any new date for the hearings, first set for October 1962, then rescheduled for December 1962 and then set again for late January 1963.

file Miss Reist.

1-8-63

memo of pohne conversation with Aaron Henry

Henry says that Carsie Hall came to Clarksdale yesterday about noon and bailed out the two who had been charged with narcotics possession. Hall did not get in touch with any of the local folks--he just came in and didhis job and left again--and some of the locals were a bit miffed. Jones of the Ghandi Society had sent a check for the bail-bond premium but Ella Bakerkand Jim Forman had not wanted a bond used because this would mean the premium would be unreturnable. Henry saidhe had heard something about Jim Farmer raising the bail money, but could give me nothing specific on this. He said he simply did not know for sure where the bail money came from that Hall used. Bail had been reduced to 1500 each. The grand jury meets in Clarksdale tomorrow and it's Henry's impression that an indictment must come if prosecution is to take place. The two have left town to return to Detroit from whence they came.

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

Mrs. Daisy Bate

Files suit for divorce in Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Mrs. Daisy L. Bates filed suit here for divorce against L. C. Bates to whom she was married March 4, 1942. She is former state president of the Arkansas NAACP and he is an NAACP field secretary. She is also a director of the national NAACP.

The 20 - year marriage has for some months been reported on its last legs. In January, 1960, Mrs. Bates' national prominence carried her to New York and lectures throughout the country. Since that time, she has spent little, if any, time in their Little Rock home.

In her suit, Mrs. Bates said her husband treated her with "abuse, contempt and studied neglect."

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MARITAL DISCORD, then, seems to be accomplishing what terrorists' bombs could not — the break-up of the Bates household.

"Daisy Bates" became one of the names most often spoken in 1956 when the "Little Rock Nine" desegregated the city school system by attending Central High School.

How the name was spoken was determined by the speaker's attitude toward civil rights. Mrs. Bates was represented as the advisor, protector and spiritual leader of the nine trail-blazing children.

Attractive and stylish, she maintained her chic composure through the jeering mobs and midnight bombers. Recently, her book, "The Long Shadow of Little Rock," was published and is now in its second printing.

She spent two years in New York writing the book, which tells the story of that hectic time.

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LONG BEFORE the fame which attended the Little Rock case, Mr. and Mrs. Bates were prominent as publishers of the Little Rock State Press which Mr. Bates founded in 1941.

The paper had a stormy career which terminated in 1959. Local advertisers, incensed over the break-down of segregation, retaliated against the paper.

Shortly afterward, Mr. Bates took the post as NAACP field secretary. Mrs. Bates is currently on a lecture tour which will carry her to Jackson, Miss., St. Louis, New York, Long Island and New Jersey.

She said that after the lecture tour, she would live in Little Rock.

Haile chosen for top ILA office

BALTIMORE

William Haile, 60, 2533 W. Lafayette Ave., is new boss of the International Longshoremen Association's eastern district which runs from Maine to Brownsville, Texas.

The longshoremen, now in a strike throughout the district, named Mr. Haile inter-

Wills, D
Maury's

Afro-American Jan. 12, 1963

Ladies in the news!

MRS. DAISY BATES
She files for her divorce

DORIS DAY
Name linked with Wills

Ask RFK to halt police terror

By EDWARD PEEKS
WASHINGTON

"Mississippi is worse now for colored people than it was 100 years ago," declared William M. Kunstler, one of the lawyers representing plaintiffs in a suit filed Wednesday in District Court.

He made the statement at a press conference at the Burlington Hotel after filing the suit that demands federal action to put a stop to intimidations and beatings in the voter registration drive in Mississippi.

The statement came in reply to a question by a reporter on the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

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SEVEN COLORED plaintiffs and a white Mississippian brought the suit in a class action for themselves and all others similarly situated in what virtually amounts to trial by fire and floggings.

Named as defendants are Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

The court is asked "to compel defendants to perform their statutory duties," calling for them to order federal marshals and FBI agents to arrest state police and others for violating the constitutional rights of colored and white citizens.

The white plaintiff in the suit is William L. Higgs, a graduate of Harvard Law School, who is co - counsel in the case.

He served as a lawyer in litigation that opened the doors of "Ole Miss" to James H. Meredith. He was campaign manager for the Rev. Merrill W. Lindsay, who recently ran as the first colored congressional candidate in Mississippi since Reconstruction.

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OTHER PLAINTIFFS are members of the Student Non-Violent Co - Ordinating Committee, which is conducting voter registration projects in the state under Robert Moses.

In addition to Mr. Moses,

(Continued on Page 2)

Hospital turns down expectant mother

PLYMOUTH, N. C. — The Pamilco - Albemarle Medical Society Wednesday is scheduled to hear a complaint against a Terrell County doctor accused of refusing to admit an expectant mother to Columbia Hospital.

Dr. James R. Howerton, also hospital administrator, was accused of denying admittance to Mrs. Beadie Shelton Spencer, 25, who gave birth to child on the back seat of a car enroute to another hospital.

The complaint was lodged by William Miller, Hyde County welfare superintendent, who claimed the Swan Quarter mother of five was turned away the night of

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BALTIMORE

William Haile, 60, 2533 W. Lafayette Ave., is new boss of the International Longshoremen Association's eastern district which runs from Maine to Brownsville, Texas.

The longshoremen, now in a strike throughout the district, named Mr. Haile international vice president for the Port of Baltimore and port organizer on Thursday. He succeeds August Idzik, who died on Dec. 19.

Mr. Haile, before flying back to New York to continue negotiations in the

(Continued on Page 2)

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The Anti-Defamation Le
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January 31, at the Sheraton
CBS will televise the Preside

Who took Food

(Continued from page 1)

and they felt they were safe.

* * *

AFTER ABOUT a half hour, they were awakened by police who said they would be taken to city hall for "checking." After a brief questioning session, the men were taken to city jail and held for "investigation."

The young men were not allowed to contact anyone. The next day, over 24 hours after the arrest, police went back and picked up the truck the young men had been driving.

After a search the police changed this charge to possession of barbituates.

In a hearing before Rodney Brooks, justice of the peace, the men were bound over to the grand jury under $1,500 bail. At the weekend, they were in Coahoma County Jail awaiting a hearing before the grand jury in about ten days.

* * *

THE VICTIMS of the economic squeeze number over 200,000. They are sharecroppers who make their living by planting, cultivating and harvesting the cotton that is the stable crop of the Mississippi Delta area.

At best, their existence has always been meager. They managed to survive, however, through their work, through the federal surplus foods program and through the extension of credit by banks and land-owners.

With the vote - registration drives being conducted in various Mississippi counties and with the entry of James Meredith into the state university, the whites turned surly and began a massive economic retaliation.

Several counties halted their participation in the surplus foods program. They said they could no longer pay for the distribution of the foods. Observers point out, however, that no county employees have been laid off so no money is being saved.

* * *

BANKERS REFUSED to make crop loans. Farmers evicted families from their tenant farms or make any of the usual concessions.

According to one observer: "Plantation owners can handle the sharecroppers if they are cold and hungry. They cannot manage them as well if they are receiving help.

"Therefore, they are trying to foil the program of giving them aid and comfort."

This attitude, he said, led to the arrest of the two young men.

* * *

AID TO THE families has continued. The Louisville group has sent several more car-loads of food and clothing into the area. Individuals and organizations all over the country have also sent contributions.

Mr. Henry, in the forefront of the relief drive, asked that persons all over the country seek action by the Federal Government to aid the victims of persecution and to stop harassment of persons trying to help them.

"Let tons of material be the answer of the civil rights movement to this latest harassment by Mississippi," he said.

Mr. Henry said that in addition to food and clothing, money is also needed for the

James Fleming, political science professor, Morgan State College;

Lloyal Randolph, political leader and Senator Welcome's campaign manager; William Adams, businessman; Charles E. (Mouse) Dorsey, Baltimore Liquor Board inspector; Judge Robert B. Watts, of Baltimore's Municipal Court;

William B. Dixon, insurance executive and husband of Del. Dixon; Mrs. Emma Michael, Baltimore Equal Opportunity Board member; Dr. Lillie M. Jackson and Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, grandmother and mother of Del. Mitchell; Samuel R. Stewart, businessman, and George Paine, fraternal leader.

The bills introduced were prepared by the General Assembly's Legislative Council, and among them was one to set up a unified board for Morgan State College and the State Teachers Colleges.

Greene statement

that it is not given to a people or a minority by Presidential Executive Order.

Ask RFK to halt

(Continued from Page 1)

a native of New York, they are Sam Block, Greenville, Miss.; Charles McLaurin, Rulesville; Charles Cobb, Massachusetts.

(Young Cobb, 19, former Howard student, is the nephew of James B. Cobb, Washington lawyer).

Also, Jesse Harris, Ruleville, Miss.; Hollis Watkins, Jackson and Lafayette Surney, Greenville, Miss.

Plaintiffs Moses, Block, Cobb and Higgs, all young men, helped conduct the press conference, recounting police abuses, intimidations and beatings cited in the suit.

* * *

MR. BLOCK told how he and two other companions "barely escaped from a white lynch mob" last August in Greenwood, LeFlore County, where some 22,000 colored residents today are being denied government surplus food.

He said they eluded the mob by running across the roof of a two - story building and "sliding down a TV antenna pole."

The suit says:

"Plaintiff Block immediately contacted John Doar of the Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Department of Justice, who told Plaintiff Block that the Department could not act until someone was hurt and therefore denied Plaintiff Black's request for help."

The suit adds that the plaintiff "has continued to suffer at the hands of the local law enforcement officers," who are accused of having a hand in the near lynching.

* * *

CHARLES McLAURIN was "arrested and dragged off the steps of the Federal Building in Jackson in July, 1962, by city policemen," the suit says.

It goes in, "U.S. Marshal shot in the head, but survived."

William Kunstler, civil rights lawyer from New York, said that colored people in the state received better protection a century ago from the Federal Government than they do today.

However, he and the plaintiffs made note that they were expressing no "antipathy toward" Attorney General Kennedy and FBI Director Hoover, or any lack of appreciation for the two-year record of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

They said they are seeking legal action in this civil rights area to equal the 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

Federal codes give U. S. officials the authority to act in this area, they said.

PLAINTIFFS TOLD the Washington AFRO that voter registration will continue in Mississippi and other Deep South states, despite difficulties and opposition.

They said that the Student Non-Violent Co - ordinating Committee (SNCC) needs more money from the public to carry on the job in cooperation with other social action groups in the registration drive.

SNCC headquarters are at 135 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta 3. Chairman is Charles McDew, who was in Washington with plaintiffs, also Willie Peacock, Charleston, Miss., a field secretary.

William Mahoney former Howard student, passed through enroute back to New York after delivering a bus load of food to hard-pressed colored residents in LeFlore County.

Young men and women in the movement say they earn an average of $25 a week for running the gauntlet of fire and flogging to advance the cause of freedom in the Deep South.

ARE YOU AT THE CROSSROADS OF LIFE?

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Lloyal Randolph, political leader and Senator Welcome's campaign manager; William Adams, businessman; Charles E. (Mouse) Dorsey, Baltimore Liquor Board inspector; Judge Robert B. Watts, of Baltimore's Municipal Court;

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* * *

MISS LYNN PFUHL, secretary of the Louisville SNCC, said that the "Mississippi run" was being organized on a southwide basis with Louisville as the base of operations.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, one of the arrested men, is a staff field secretary of the SNCC.

Persons wishing to contribute can do so through the SNCC, SCLC, SCEF or CORE. Units or representatives of one or more of these organizations are in most Southern cities.

* * *

AMONG THOSE protesting the arrests and harassment to the U. S. Department of Justice were Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love, SCEF president, and Dr. Martin L. King Jr., SCLC president.

Clarksdale observers report that FBI agents are gathering evidence on the circumstances of the arrest. The Justice Department, however, has not announced it will take part in the trial against the two young men.

So far, the only attorney for the youths is Carsie Hall of Jackson, Miss.

(Continued from Page 1)

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It goes in, "U.S. Marshals, agents of the FBI, U.S. attorneys were in said Federal Building, but made no effort to prevent his arrest.

"During all this time, Plaintiff McLaurin was on property under the exclusive jurisdiction of the U.S. government."

Robert Moses was beaten in Liberty, Miss., in 1961, and was arrested last summer in Indianola on "the charge of passing out handbills without a permit," according to the suit.

The suits say of the beatings, "County officials in Libberty played a part in this act which resulted in severe injuries to plaintiff's head.

"This action resulted in the intimidation of prospective colored voters in Amite County."

* * *

WILLIAM HIGGS says in the suit that he and four college students, including a colored co-ed, were arrested by county police in Clarksdale last June.

They were held for more than 20 hours without being charged and weren't taken before any magistrate, he said.

He charged in the suit that his life was threatened, and explained to reporters that a county official told him:

We know how to take care of you. We'll put you in a cell with a life termer and tell him you're a n—r lover."

The lawyer said his mother and friends no doubt saved his life by expressing public concern over his detention.

Along with Hodding Carter Jr., editor of the Delta Democrat - Times, their proding and inquiries caused officals to release him and others, Mr. Higgs said.

* * *

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However, he and the plaintiffs made note that they were expressing no "antipathy toward" Attorney General Kennedy and FBI Director Hoover, or any lack of appreciation for the two-year record of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

They said they are seeking legal action in this civil rights area to equal the 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

Federal codes give U. S. officials the authority to act in this area, they said.

PLAINTIFFS TOLD the Washington AFRO that voter registration will continue in Mississippi and other Deep South states, despite difficulties and opposition.

They said that the Student Non-Violent Co - ordinating Committee (SNCC) needs more money from the public to carry on the job in cooperation with other social action groups in the registration drive.

SNCC headquarters are at 135 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta 3. Chairman is Charles McDew, who was in Washington with plaintiffs, also Willie Peacock, Charleston, Miss., a field secretary.

William Mahoney former Howard student, passed through enroute back to New York after delivering a bus load of food to hard-pressed colored residents in LeFlore County.

Young men and women in the movement say they earn an average of $25 a week for running the gauntlet of fire and flogging to advance the cause of freedom in the Deep South.

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A CHAMPION OF CIVIC WELFARE AND THE SQUARE DEAL

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Arkansas Gazette

Court Delays Voter Probe In Mississippi

1-19-63

Miss Resist.

New Orleans, Jan. 16 (AP). — Mississippi asked a federal appeals court today to stop FBI inspection of voter records in three counties because the probe cast a stigma on the registrars.

"If this inspection takes place," said Darryl A. Hart, special Mississippi assistant attorney general, "they are certainly going to suffer injury."

"I hardly think a person in Mississippi would have damage to his reputation as a result of being charged with discriminating against Negro citizens," Howard A. Glickstein, a justice department attorney, said.

The three voter registrars are appealing a federal district court ruling opening the way for FBI agents to inspect voter registration records for possible evidence of racial discrimination.

The registrars said the FBI didn't give sufficient reasons for wanting to see the records.

The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which took the case under advisement after hearing the oral arguments, has issued an order stopping inspection in Hinds, Lauderdale and Madison counties until it rules on the appeal.

Embezzler's Husband

THE AFRO-AMERICAN JANUARY 19, 1963

Jailed benefactors to sue policemen

Miss. Resist.

CLARKSDALE, Miss. — Two young men who were arrested while carrying food, clothing and medicine to needy families plan to sue the local policemen who arrested them.

The policemen at the same time face the task of convincing a Coahoma County grand jury here Wednesday and also explaining what happened to about 1,350 pounds of food and clothing missing from the truck.

The men, Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, both [illegible] released on [illegible] bond [illegible] week after [illegible]

[illegible]

drugs were in the truck. Two Louisville doctors sent affidevits to the FBI, the Department of Justice and the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. In it they swore no such drugs were sent.

It was also pointed out that the young men were arrested on Dec. 26, yet the truck was not searched until Dec. 27.

* * *

THE DAY - AFTER-CHRISTMAS arrest came after the young men arrived in Clarksdale and parked the truck in front of the Fourth Street Drug Store, owned by Aaron Henry, Mississippi NAACP president.

Arriving at 3 a.m., they settled down in the truck for a nap. Police arrested them and took them to city jail for "checking." They were then held for "investigation" and placed in a cell.

For two and a half days, the men later revealed, they were forced to stand in the center of the crowded cell. For the first day, they were given no food and not permitted to talk.

Mr. Donaldson later told a Louisville press conference: "The chief came around with a friend and I think he called [illegible] days in Clarksdale jail and Coahoma County jail.

They were released when their bond was reduced from $15,000 to $1,500. This reduction came only after Clarksdale authorities learned that the FBI and other federal agencies were investigating.

* * *

THE MEN WERE charged with possession of barbiturates. Police said they found a drug, used to ease the distress of middle - aged women, in the truck driven from Louisville, Ky. to Clarksdale by the pair.

[illegible]

He said that other prisoners fed them when authorities refused.

* * *

AFTER THE TRUCK was searched, the police charged possession of barbiturates and charged the men. They were then transferred to Coahoma County jail under unusually high bond of $15,000.

Immediately, protests were made to the U.S. Attorney General and the Civil Rights Commission. Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation went into Clarksdale investigating the circumstances of the arrest.

Attorneys for the two young men filed for a writ of habeas corpus which would release them. In the face of this unexpected pressure, the county prosecutor agreed to a reduction of bond.

The total of $3,000 was put up by the Student Non-Violent Coordianting Committee (SNCC) of which Mr. Donaldson, a University of Michigan graduate, is a field worker.

The SNCC was given the bond money by an unnamed woman in Detroit.

* * *

IN THE WEDNESDAY grand jury hearing, the police must prove that no one had access to the truck during the 24 hours between the arrest and the searching.

They must do this in order to prove the young men were in possession of the barbiturates they claim they found in the truck.

However, if police prove this, they will be somewhat accusing themselves of spiriting away a large amount of the food and clothing in the truck and dirtying the remainder with crankcase oil.

The Louisville group shiping the goods has invoices showing 1,500 pounds of food

pened.

* * *

WHEN THEY WERE freed last week on bond, the two youths returned to Louisville. Mr. Taylor then returned to the University of Michigan where he is a junior.

Mr. Donaldson said they will return to Clarksdale Wednesday, the day of the grand jury hearing, and will attend a rally that night.

When they go back, they said, they will carry another load of food and clothing for the relief of the needy sharecroppers. They voiced no fear of being arrested again.

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(Continued From Page 1)

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However, if police prove this, they will be somewhat accusing themselves of spiriting away a large amount of the food and clothing in the truck and dirtying the remainder with crankcase oil.

The Louisville group shiping the goods has invoices showing 1,500 pounds of food and clothing were sent. Police at first admitted having only 150 pounds.

When police later released the truck and the goods, about one fourth of the food and clothing was missing. Crankcase oil had been smeared on the food and clothing to render it unfit for use.

Police so far have made no explanation of how this happened.

* * *

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* * *

DRIVES FOR FOOD and clothing for the Mississippi operation were launched by several organizations throughout the country.

Mr. Henry asked that such goods be sent to the Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee. Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Ave., Clarksdale, Miss.

The sharecroppers in need of this aid he said, number about 200,000 and reside in Mississippi's Delta area. Following attempts to register and vote and after the desegregation of the University of Mississippi,, they were victims of a wholesale economic squeeze.

Land - owners evicted them from their farms; bankers refused usual credit, and the families found themselves without food, clothing and utilities.

* * *

IN HIS APPEAL to the nation for support, Mr. Henry said:

"We need your help in trying to ease this human misery. We need food — preserved or canned; clothing—coates, dresses, slacks, underwear, socks, shoes of all sizes; and finances to pay utility bills for light and heat.

"Colored persons who have been involved in the freedom movment are the first and the most severely victimized if their activities are known to the white racists."

* * *

BISHOP C. EWBANK TUCKER of Louisville, president of Louisville CORE and a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, is among the leaders in the appeal for Mississippi relief.

In a letter to attorney General Robert Kennedy, Bishop Tucker said that the arrest of the two young men was "a move to thwart the whole freedom movement in Mississippi."

SERS Library

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES (Greenville, Miss.)
P.1
Date: JAN 20 1963

file Miss. Rights.

Long, Long Road Leads To Registr

By BOB CARPENTER

Circuit Clerk C. E. Cocke said yesterday if applicants for voter registration fail to pass the required literacy test he is telling them to come back in a year for another chance.

"We can't have them coming back every other day," the veteran Washington County official said. "The policy we follow is to make them wait 12 months."

• • •

ASKED if state laws stipulated a year's wait, Cocke shook his head and said, "I don't believe the law is very definite on the waiting period. That's the way I'm interpreting it."

Cocke said he has not bothered to write the state attorney general for an opinion.

"However, any applicant is free to write if he wants," he added.

The question of a waiting period between tests was raised after the Delta Democrat-Times received several complaints from applicants who were told by Cocke they would have to wait a year after they had failed to pass the test. Cocke, as county registrar, is sole judge as to whether they pass.

The complainants said they felt the 12-month delay was contrary to state law.

The Mississippi Code of 1942, section 3211, and not amended since 1942, reads:

"The registrar shall keep his books open at his office and shall register the electors of his county at any time."

Several bills have been introduced in the state legislature in recent years providing that books be kept open only at certain times, and that a specific waiting period should be set. None of these proposals has been passed.

• • •

REGISTRATION of voters in Mississippi has been a rather complicated process, especially in recent years with a coordinated effort on the part of Negroes to qualify.

As a result, laws have been changed and each session of the legislature results in modifications, or attempts to modify.

The literacy test as of now contains 17 questions. They are worded to insure that the applicant meets all of the state's constitutional re-

Of Voters In Mississippi

quirements of residence, possible criminal record, age and similar information.

Another question requires the applicant to give a reasonable interpretation of a section of the Mississippi constitution.

Those applyng for registration in Cocke's office are handed the four-page form and told to fill it out.

In addition, they are asked to interpret a section of the Mississippi constitution and to write a brief essay explaining the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

Once the test has been taken, the state law says the registrar "within 10 days after the receipt . . . shall deliver for publication in a newspaper . . . the name and address of such applicant . . . and shall cause same to be published once each week for two consecutive weeks. . . ."

Following this, the law states there shall be a lapse of two weeks in which any person may contest the qualifications of an applicant by filing an affidavit with the registrar.

If a contest is filed, the county registrar is the sole judge as to whether the complaint bears merit, and he has the power to place the applicant's name on registration books or to declare him not qualified.

• • •

THE law requiring the publication of registration applicants in a newspaper of general circulation was passed in 1962. Cocke said he has been sending the names of applicants to the Leland Progress for publication. He said it has been two or three months since the last list of names was published. He declined to comment when asked if the delay were not in contradiction of the 10 days after receipt stipulation.

"It's been pretty slow lately," he said. "And I usually wait until I get 10 or 15 names."

He said he was getting ready to publish another list real soon.

It is only after the test, publication of name, and two-week contest period that the applicant knows whether he is qualified to vote.

He finds out by visiting the circuit clerk's office once more and asking the registrar if his name is on voting books or not.

If not, under Cocke's present 12-month waiting period, the applicant may return and try again after a year.

POLITICS:

Farewell, BBD&O

Almost since it was founded in the palmy Hoover days of 1929, the Madison Avenue advertising agency of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., and the Republican Party have gone together like Maine and Vermont. BBD&O, now the fourth largest agency in the nation, projected the Republican image in campaign after campaign. They used print advertisements and radio shows and, in a television age, pioneered in what seemed the ultimate image-builder—the TV political spot commercial.

So successful, in fact, was BBD&O that it won the compliment of invective from former President Harry S. Truman. The agency's efforts on behalf of the Eisenhower Administration, he said, proved BBD&O really stood for "Bunk, Bull, Deceit, and Obfuscation."

During the second Eisenhower campaign, however, Republicans began to worry about their gray-flannel associations. And when Richard Nixon was nominated in 1960, he made it clear that he didn't want his campaign tied to Madison Avenue.*

To help Nixon, BBD&O detached a vice president, Carroll Newton, to form Campaign Associates, Inc., a team of admen that served for the duration of the campaign.

Last week, with an eye to the 1964 campaign, the GOP National Committee completely severed its ties with New York advertising and looked to the heartland. It chose the nation's sixth-ranking agency, Leo Burnett Co. of Chicago, to handle some $3 million in Republican advertising through 1964. Republican National Chairman William E. Miller said the GOP was taken with Burnett's "grass-roots philosophy," and in Chicago Burnett's Michigan Avenue admen were ready to put their ideas on the train to see if they get off at Lake Forest.

INTEGRATION:

'Go! Go! Go!'

The winter morning rose gray and chilly, streaking the windows at Baxter Hall with its moist hand. Fretting at his typewriter, James H. Meredith sat in his second-floor bedroom in the University of Mississippi dormitory and worried through a hard decision. Finally, he buttoned his tan overcoat, tugged on his cap, stepped out, and handed copies of a typewritten statement to half a dozen waiting reporters.

In curiously opaque language, the statement spoke of Meredith's lonely fight to crack the color line at Ole Miss—a fight with a "determined, resourceful, and unprincipled" enemy who respects "no rules of war." He could no longer fight a battle so beset with "doubt and uncertainty." "Unless very definite and positive changes are made to make my situation more conducive to learning," he said, he would not register for the spring term.

Meredith had written the statement alone, consulting no one, leaving friends and foes alike to interpret its meaning.

Newsweek

Meredith: Tactic—or alibi?

Was it an admission of defeat or only a tactic? To some, the meaning seemed plain: Meredith was quitting, certainly for the spring term, probably for good. But others were sure he had no intention of leaving after all he had endured—the long struggle for admission, the bloody night of rioting last Sept. 30, the month of taunts and cherry-bombs, two months more in Coventry. These friends argued that an impatient Meredith was dismayed at how little real progress had been made and that he hoped—however naïvely—that his threat to leave would work changes at Ole Miss that his presence had not.

This argument was persuasive. However unlikely the mantle might look on Meredith's delicately boned, 5-foot 6-inch frame, he is a crusader with a mystical passion for the causes of "my people." He expected too much of his mission. He had hoped more Negroes would follow him to Ole Miss, but only three had applied—and two of those have been turned down for apparently valid academic reasons. He had hoped, too, that the lot of Mississippi's Negroes generally would be bettered by his symbolic act. "The situation in Mississippi has never been healthy for me," he told NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming last week, as he sat cross-legged in his underwear on his dormitory cot. "But I don't see why it isn't healthier now for everybody else."

Hollow Victory: With such expectations, his victory seemed to him hollow. What bothered him most was the continuing presence of 350 U.S. soldiers on campus, guarding his door, patrolling outside, skittering about in jeeps. While they remain, Meredith feels, Gov. Ross Barnett and his segregationist allies can argue that Mississippi has not yielded, that integration by bayonet is no integration at all. Meredith would rather have the troops pulled out, leaving Mississippi to take responsibility for protecting his rights.

"Meredith feels," said his Memphis lawyer, A.W. Willis, "that if he graduates at gunpoint, so what? I guess he feels he hasn't really cracked the wall after all, so why continue to take all of this pain and suffering?"

For Meredith the crusader was Meredith the human being as well. He was enduring his ordeal with seemingly invincible calm. Yet he has been anxious about his family—the more so since night riders fired into his father's home at Kosciusko last month. And however he might shrug off personal danger—"I have never considered it worth my while to worry about anything other than the basic problems"—he could not escape his human vulnerability. A month ago, with an almost poetic metaphor for the shape of anxiety, he suggested what life is like for a Negro at Ole Miss: "It's just like you walk along in the dark and a bird flutters in the bush . . . I have walked in the dark, and a bird is always fluttering."

D or B: Inevitably, his schoolwork suffered. Insiders said that, going into this week's final exam period, Meredith's average was between E (bad enough to flunk out) and D (good enough to stay, on probation). A B student at all-Negro Jackson State College before transferring to Ole Miss, he was clearly capable of better work. But with the situation as it is, he says he doesn't even know the names of his courses. "I don't know anything," he said wryly. "I just follow the jeep."

Students picked up the easy answer: his threat to leave was an advance alibi for flunking out. And most were jubilant. "He's cocky and arrogant," one student said. "I'm a broad-minded individual, but he just isn't a good nigger."

Whatever his hopes, the only changes wrought by Meredith's statement were for the worse. The silent

*In 1960, the Democrats stayed away from Madison Avenue, too. Their agency was Guild, Bascom & Bonfigli of San Francisco.

treatment gave way to open heckling for the first time in two months. The first night, students filed out of the campus cafeteria when Meredith arrived for dinner. Two nights later, they drummed their plates with knives and forks and chanted: "Go! Go! Go!" The next evening, a mob of 300—biggest since the riot—hooted: "Bye, bye, blackbird!" Finally, on Friday night, the university moved; campus cops checked ID cards at the cafeteria door, and one demonstrator was suspended.

Rallying Point: Many faculty members were, by contrast, dismayed. Faculty morale had already sagged to a low ebb under political and segregationist pressures. According to one administration official, 25 members of assistant-professor rank or higher—one-seventh of the faculty—plan to quit. The rewards for befriending Meredith have been cross-burnings, threats, and job pressure. At a third-grade school party, the daughter of a professor who had invited Meredith to dinner was given a doll—a black one with a card that said, "Nigger lover." As long as Meredith remained, there was a rallying point. But now, one faculty member complained, "I feel like he's pulled down the flag." So did some of his friends in the Justice Department.

Meredith had been enrolled at great cost—two lives, scores of injuries, millions of dollars, and immeasurable bitterness. If he leaves, it may bring momentary comfort to those who believe in harassment and violence as weapons against change. But would he have lost his fight? Others, inevitably, would walk through the door he opened. And every war has its casualties. Leaving the cafeteria one night, stepping calmly toward a pack of chanting students, Meredith said as much to a U.S. marshal beside him: "The price of freedom sure is high."

Flash Point

Suddenly, near the end of the last quarter, something snapped. Many of the 50,033 who filled D.C. Stadium in Washington to watch the 1962 Thanksgiving Day championship high-school football game between overwhelmingly Negro Eastern High and predominantly white St. John's sensed the tension and began herding their children toward the exits. Others stayed to watch officials untangle a player free-for-all on the field, and to hear the Eastern rooters chant a countdown as the clock ran out, leaving St. John's a 20-7 victor.

Then the mob took over. Charging out of the Eastern stands, an estimated 3,000 Negroes in their late teens pelted across the gridiron to the St. John's side. Groups of Negroes slugged, kicked, cut, and stoned individual whites and other Negroes who tried to help the victims. Indiscriminately they attacked priests and policemen, men, women, and children. In all, officials counted some 310 injury cases.

Frightful Uprising: Last week a sobering postmortem on this "frightful uprising" was issued from a special biracial investigative committee. Partly to blame were the Eastern player and coach whose actions on the field set off the first brawl. And partly, said the report, it was the sponsors (including the Touchdown Club, The Washington Post, and school officials) who "showed an amazing lack of awareness of the inflammable potential" of the situation. There was unhampered drinking in the stands and unruly gangs roved the aisles. But, most significantly, the report blamed a public-school system which has given "students little discipline, little guidance, and little incentive to develop strong citizenship qualities."

To combat this situation, the report urged such measures as increased authority for teachers to take disciplinary action in the classroom; revision of the "basic track system"—remedial classes for slow-learning pupils—to make it more than a "dumping ground for hundreds of Negro youth, who are consigned to inferior instruction, far too large classes, and a complete lack of training to fit them to become employable citizens of tomorrow."

The findings were seized upon by Mississippi Democrat John Bell Williams of the House District Committee, long a foe of school desegregation, as "evidence of a fact long recognized by most honest people: that forced integration of the District's public schools has been a dismal failure."

The report itself had an answer. "School integration can work," said the committee, "but it requires the help of responsible leaders, parents, citizens, and children." Driving home the point, The Washington Post editorialized: "The trouble is not a consequence of school desegregation; it is a hangover from segregation in the past, from continuing segregation in residence and work opportunities . . . a failure . . . to accomplish . . . genuine integration . . ."

NEW YORK:

Scandal's Rocky Road

"I am determined," Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller told the New York Legislature in Albany one day last week, "that the liquor laws will be administered fairly and without favor." Even as the governor was speaking in the Assembly Chamber, his usually affable press sec-

Associated Press

Sinner, Repent: *Out on bail pending an appeal from his swindling conviction, Billie Sol Estes, the West Texas farm and finance wizard, hit the evangelical trail last week. Billed as a "famous former financier," he spoke at Church of Christ gatherings in Toledo, Dayton, Indianapolis (above), and Cleveland to raise money for Nigerian missions. Estes offered this allusion: "King Solomon in the Bible stored all his grain up. He had everything he wanted . . . But then he realized that all is vanity." And he added: "If you follow Christ's life, there will be no problems."*

WASHINGTON

Smith's Country

by Kenneth Crawford

HEAD west out of Washington, cross any of the several Potomac River bridges, pick your way through the shopping-centered suburbia of Arlington and Fairfax counties and you arrive presently in another world. It is a fair world of voluptuously rolling countryside, antique small towns, neat dairy farms, imposing gentlemen's estates, and a tempo of life left over from the last century. You are now in Virginia's Eighth Congressional District, the constituency of 79-year-old chairman Howard W. Smith of the House Rules Committee, farmer, banker, lawyer.

Smith's district is bounded on the north by Maryland, on the south by Virginia farm country, on the west by the Blue Ridge Mountains, and on the east by the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. Bull Run is one of its natural boundaries and its many historical markers recall great events at Shiloh, Spotsylvania, and Manassas. The Eighth includes the horse towns of Upperville and Middleburg, where the heirs and assigns of such as the late Andrew Mellon ride to hounds. President Kennedy is building a retreat among the fox hunters, whose reaction to his interloping is determined indifference.

IMMIGRANTS

The district's biggest metropolitan sprawls are Charlottesville (29,427 by the 1960 census) and Fredericksburg (13,639). The state legislature had the foresight after the 1950 census to detach Arlington, Fairfax, and the city of Alexandria from the Eighth and make a new Congressional district of them. Even then, alien Washingtonians were invading these closest Virginia communities with their ideas and their problems. Since then, the immigrants have taken over. They demand better schools, better public services, and so have become troublemakers even in Richmond. Moreover, they are politically unreliable. They send Joel Broyhill, a Republican, to Congress. True, he is a sort of Harry Byrd Republican and therefore not too objectionable to the natives. But it still isn't the same as having a solid Byrd Democrat in the delegation.

Divorcement from the northern territory cost the old district Mount Vernon and several other Revolutionary shrines. But it was worth that cost. Among other benefits, it got Congressman Smith out of harm's way. It gave him what is probably the safest district in the nation. He is so in tune with his constituents that they don't even have to vote for him to retain his services. His reelection every two years is a formality. In 1962, he was unopposed, as usual, and polled 20,931 votes. There was no need for any of the rest of the district's 357,461 people to go to the bother and expense of paying their poll taxes.

RIGHT AND DUTY

It is a cozy arrangement both for Smith and his constituents. Not only does he give them what they want, which is mainly to be left alone, but he has tried, more or less successfully in recent times, to give the rest of the country the same thing. It is no skin off the nose of an Eighth District resident, whose schools and other services may not be very good, if the rest of the country is forced to abide the same inadequacies. Anyway, didn't Jefferson, who used to live in Charlottesville himself, declare that government best that governs least? Why shouldn't the 20,931 Smith voters have their man in there seeing to it that 188 million Americans get the least government, too, whether they want more or not?

Until two years ago, when his powers were curtailed, Smith got away with the presumption that it was his right and duty to tell the House what legislation it might consider. Because the full membership couldn't be trusted to resist the pressures applied to it to pass "unsound" legislation, so the argument went, Smith would do it for them. He had the courage to resist the pressures. It took a long time for his colleagues to ask: on Smith, what pressures? For him, what need courage?

Last week, by keeping the membership of the Rules Committee at fifteen, and Smith's power thus limited, the House decided that what he and his district want, right as it may be to them, is not necessarily what the country wants and needs.

retary, Robert L. McManus, strode stony-faced into the third-floor Capitol press room to distribute a one-page, mimeographed Rockefeller statement: "I have today received letters . . . from L. Judson Morhouse by which he has resigned, effective immediately, as member of the State Thruway Authority and as a member of the Lake George Park Commission."

Only eleven days before, jovial Jud Morhouse, the Ticonderoga, N.Y., lawyer who was responsible for selling the untried, liberal Rockefeller to GOP leaders as their candidate for governor in 1958, had stepped down as Republican state chairman. But he had retained his $17,000-a-year Thruway vice chairmanship and his unpaid, prestigious commissionership, saying he was leaving party work "to devote more time to the practice of law and to my family." Why the new resignations?

About an hour later, the reason was clear. Morhouse entered Manhattan's Criminal Court Building where Democratic District Attorney Frank S. Hogan and a grand jury have been probing influence-peddling and corruption in the State Liquor Authority. There, in a three-minute appearance, Morhouse declined to waive immunity from prosecution for his testimony. Had he still been a state officer, he would have been ousted immediately from his posts under state law, a fate suffered by another Rockefeller GOP appointee, Martin C. Epstein, removed as SLA chairman in November as a result of Hogan's investigation (NEWSWEEK Dec. 10).

A small chill went through the Rockefeller organization which is warming up for a crack at the Presidency in 1964, but the governor refused to comment. Morhouse said wearily: "Who can say what you did in eight years? But I can say emphatically that I never interceded improvidently."

UPI

Morhouse: 'Who can say . . .?'

Arkansas Gazette
VEP Miss. Resist
d., Jan. 23, 1963. • 3A

Eastland Home Cited in Suit On Voter Bias

© New York Times News Service

Washington, Jan. 22.—The Justice Department sued today to end voting discrimination against Negroes in Sunflower County, Miss., the home of Senator James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.).

The action, announced here, was brought in the federal district court at Oxford, Miss. It named as defendants Decil C. Campbell, County clerk and voting registrar, and the state of Mississippi.

Among Negro leaders, Sunflower has been called "the worst county in the worst state." It is a rural area of rich cotton land. The Justice Department said only 114 of the County's 13,524 Negroes of voting age were registered. By contrast, it said, more than half the 8,785 voting-age whites were on the voting books.

Negro groups began a voting drive last summer in Ruleville, five miles north of Eastland's home. But it has got nowhere.

The suit charged that Campbell had refused to register Negroes with the same qualifications as registered whites and had unreasonably delayed processing Negro applications. It asked the court to enjoin the discriminatory practices.

As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Eastland is extremely important to the Justice Department. He has virtual life-and-death power over its legislative proposals and passes on all judicial nominations.

Eastland, when informed of the suit, said.

"There is no foundation in fact for the allegations in the bill of complaint."

Robert F. Kennedy, since he became attorney general two years ago, has brought 11 voting cases in Mississippi. Miss. Resist

Ark. Gaz 1-26-63

Racists Say Restraint Is Sometimes Cowardly

Jackson, Miss., Jan. 25 (UPI). —The Citizens Councils said yesterday it deplored racial violence but "there is a point beyond which even the most judicious restraint becomes cowardice."

Speaking in an editorial in its official magazine, the segregationist organization said the best way to prevent violence is to prevent integration.

The editorial took issue with "moderates" who advised peaceful acceptance of integration at the University of Mississippi.

I thought you might be interested. Ernest Bromley

WB
JM
RB

OPERATION FREEDOM

c/o Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin
932 DAYTON STREET
CINCINNATI 14, OHIO

Chairman: Rev. Clarence Nelson
Co-chairman: Miriam Nicholas

Sec'y: Rev. L. Richard Hudson
Treas.: Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin

Corr. Sec'y: Ernest Bromley
Coordinator: Jack McKart

file min. Board

RECEIVED
JAN 29 1963

NOTICE TO OPERATION FREEDOM BOARD
Next meeting - February 2
at 10 a.m.
617 E. Mitchell Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio

Date - January 26, 1963
From - Ernest Bromley, Corr. Sec'y
Subject - Letters from Jack McKart, Coordinator, who is currently in West Tennessee and Mississippi

January 18. I have spent the past few days in Haywood and Fayette counties and below have summarized what I found during this time. Am in Somerville now.

I informed the Civic and Welfare League in each county to go ahead and begin to accept loan applications. Also told them that the interest will probably be raised to 6%. It is a good idea to raise the interest from 2% to about 6% because some people are now able to get bank loans and the rate of interest here is 8 to 10% on the first thousand dollars, and 6% on amounts above this. But the people who can, get loans from Operation Freedom because of the lower interest rate and this is causing some friction among the people.

The three tents on Mr. Nixon's land in Haywood County are now vacant. The three families are now relocated on land elsewhere in Haywood County. Odell Sanders wants to know what the Civic and Welfare League should do with these three tents now. (There are 3 tents with wooden platforms and 2 extra wooden platforms.) The tents have been vacant since last week , and I forgot to mention this on the phone on Sunday night to Rev. McCrackin.... [Since writing this, Jack has made arrangements in Mississippi for transporting at least two of these tents by truck to that area where they are much needed. Haywood County OF committee has agreed to this being done. EB]

There is a possibility that Haywood County will get a food processing plant and the local people will have to supply 10% of the money. (It will be about a ½ million dollar plant so they would have to raise 50,000 dollars.) Odell Sanders wants to know if OF can help arrange a tour for him to try and raise this money. It would probably be good for you to get more details directly from him on this.

The situation in both counties is still very bad - the pressure is still being applied but not openly. There will have to be some long-range solutions soon because emergency, short-term assistance helps, but it is only temporary. Art Emery has done a lot of work on long range plans. He almost has a vegetable producer's co-op set up in Haywood County. He and his family are really wonderful people. They are making many sacrifices to help the people in both counties here.... Eric Weinberger's work is coming along well - they are receiving about 5 or 6 tote bag orders per day.

Had a get-together with some of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League people and I mentioned Mississippi and asked the people if, from their experience of the past few years, they had any ideas about what to do in Mississippi. No one had any immediate ideas, but they had ideas about their own county. They want their own businesses (shoe store, grocery, cleaners, drugstore, etc.) and feel that this sort of thing would be long range help - which it would be. They are also beginning to explore the idea of co-ops through Art Emery.

Some of the people in Haywood County want to get together with me on my way back to Ohio from Mississippi - so I will be stopping there on my way back. Today I am going into Memphis and then into Mississippi.

January 21, Cleveland, Miss. On Mr. Joe McDonald's loan request, the amount needed is: insurance on truck, $32; taxes on house $63; and repairs on truck $42.51. This gives a total of $137.51. Mr. McDonald has been having quite a bit of trouble with his truck, and when he buys new parts for it or has it repaired, the white garage owners charge him more. Just this morning his drive shaft fell off as he was going down the highway south of Indianola. The two telephone calls and the gasoline expense on Mr. Amzie Moore's attempted trip to the January 5 Operation Freedom meeting came to $10.20. [This amount has been refunded to Amzie Moore. The above total has been sent to Joe McDonald. EB]

Following is an application for a loan which has been approved by the local group here: Rev. Jeff Surney and family, Cleveland, Miss. Rev. Surney attempted to register three times. At the time he made these attempts he was sharecropping and living on the land of a white landowner (Harry Clark) at Doddsville, Miss. In Aug. 1962, shortly after his third attempt, a white man (J.E. Oliver) who is a friend of his landlord came to him and said something to the effect that, If you don't take your name off we are going to put pressure on you. Rev. Surney answered: I won't unless I have violated a law. Oliver said: Don't tell anyone I said you violated a law. You should have waited on trying to register until we took you to register. Mr. Clark will be out here if you don't change your mind. Rev. Surney said: Well, if I haven't violated a law, I'm not going to. Mr. Oliver said: Well, Clark will be out tomorrow to tell you to move.

The following day, Rev. Surney's landlord (Clark) took him for an automobile ride and told him that the best thing for him to do was to move immediately. Since moving from this place, Rev. Surney has moved three times and is now living in Cleveland. He is a Baptist minister who had four churches, but he lost these churches through pressure on the congregation by landlords. Rev. Surney has 9 girls, 7 of which go to school. His wife is presently in a mental hospital, her mental condition having arisen in the past five months.

Rev. Surney has a monthly government pension of $163 for wounds received in the second world war, and he supplements this income with house painting. His present, immediate needs are: (1) $60 to pay doctor bills (2) either shoes and clothing or money to buy these for his daughters. He estimates the cost to be around $200.... [The $60 has been sent him, also an additional $100. EB]

Enclosed is a clipping from the Jan. 18, 1963 issue of the Clarksdale (Miss.) Press Register showing the listing of names of people who have applied to register. Those checked are persons Aaron Henry personally knows. This listing of names is known as the "morality test" and is run for a two week period. If anyone contacts the circuit clerk and says he questions the character of a person listed, the person whose character has been questioned must then defend this charge or he is not permitted to register. Also enclosed is this listing which appeared in the Jan. 17 issue of Cleveland's paper, The Bolivar Commercial. Have also enclosed an article on voter registration which appeared in The Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.). This article sums up much of the information concerning voter registration down here. [Jack refers to this paper as "Hodding Carter's paper," and calls it "the only decent one in the whole state." The article is entitled "Long, Long Road Leads To Registration of Voters In Mississippi" and is by Bob Carpenter. This gives in some detail the run-around which registration applicants are given in Washington County, in which the city of Greenville is located. It quotes the circuit clerk, C. E. Cocke, on the literacy test, constitution test, and morality test. When a person fails to pass any of these tests he is told to wait a year. "We can't have them coming back every other day," the clerk is quoted. EB]

Some notes of interest: (1) It is estimated that at least 80 % of the cotton in the delta was machine picked this year. I am going to check this figure through various sources in the next few days to see if it is accurate. (2) In 1962 the Miss. State Legislature made available to counties throughout the state, funds to purchase police dogs. (3) In Leland, Miss. a 67 year old woman registered and then said that she had been waiting for something like this all of her life.....

When I came to Mississippi this time, I brought with me one of the forms that the Civic and Welfare Leagues in Tennessee use to screen loan applicants; and the people here feel that they will probably use this form since they do not have one of their own yet. I will try to be at the February 2 meeting of Operation Freedom in Cincinnati because there are many things that I can present that will probably be of interest.

January 23, Cleveland, Miss. Enclosed you will find a copy of the form which the local groups will use in screening applicants for loans from Operation Freedom. As you will notice, this form is the same as the one used by the Haywood and Fayette County Civic and Welfare Leagues except for some questions which Aaron Henry has added. /The form is a legal sheet headed: "Approved By Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations (Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee)" with a blank line for the name of the county. The questionnaire asks name and address, number in family, age of youngest child at home, age of oldest child at home, how many acres do you farm?, Do you own your farm?, its value?, do you rent?, do you sharecrop?, value of your equipment?, your present indebtedness? Then it asks How much will you need this year for: supplies ___, mortgage___, equipment___, living until harvest___, other___? Then the question is asked: Do you think you can get a regular bank loan? Also: How long have you lived in this county?, How long have you been on the farm where you are now?, Are you a registered voter?, What church are you a member of, or pastor of?, Do you believe that Negroes are entitled to all the freedoms America affords all its other citizens?, Are you willing to identify yourself more with the Freedom Movement? EB/

Is this form acceptable to OF? Also enclosed you will find a copy of a news release which Charles Cobb, SNCC field representative, sent out from here today:

> Cleveland, Miss., Jan. 23, 1963. Paul Dean, a high school senior at East Side High School was arrested at about 9:30 last night and charged with talking to a white woman. Dean lives at 404 Pearl Street. Police reportedly called Dean's mother shortly after 9 p.m. and asked if Leon was there. She said that no Leon lived there. Police arrived in a few minutes and arrested Dean. According to Dean, no formal charge, beyond that of talking to a white woman on the telephone, was made.
>
> At the police station Dean was made to talk into a tape recorder and into a telephone, while the woman who made the complaint listened. She identified Dean's voice as the voice she was supposed to have heard on the telephone. No mention was made of what Dean was supposed to have said on the telephone.
>
> Amzie Moore of Cleveland called a telephone operator here in Cleveland and asked if it was possible to trace local calls. He was told that it couldn't be done, since the calls do not come through the switchboard.
>
> Dean was released this morning around 8 a.m.. He says that he will have to pay a fine of $13. He also said the police told him that this case was not over yet. Dean has not been told the charge against him; but it is believed to be using the telephone for obscene purposes, or in an obscene manner. The state legislature has recently passed a law against using the telephone obscenely, and it carries a penalty of 5 years. It is rumored that this law was passed for the purpose of getting Negroes in the same or similar situation that Dean is now in.
>
> Several Negroes in this area report having received a series of threatening telephone calls.

I spoke with Paul Dean this morning after he was released. He was a bit shaken by the whole experience. Fortunately, the police did not pysically mistreat him. Dean

said that they were fairly nice to him. In the late 1940s a Negro in Cleveland was arrested on a similar charge (he, too, had spoken with a white person on a telephone) and it ended up with him being killed - shot in the chest a few times by the police. Last Saturday night a drunken Negro man in Clarksdale was beaten by the police and hospitalized after he had been arrested in a cafe. (This incident about the Clarksdale man is not for publication.) Also, about two weeks ago the body of a 24 year old Negro man was found near Canton, Miss. The body was mutilated and apparently the man had been lynched. This sort of incident, including lynchings, are almost everyday occurrences in Mississippi.

Also enclosed are some newspaper clippings. Note that Aaron Henry had an indictment droped against him and that the indictment against the two Michigan students has been dropped. In that same article you will see underlined: "Walter Jones, violating real estate laws." I spoke with Mr. Jones on both of my trips here. It seems that about three years ago friends of his moved to Syracuse, N. Y., and asked him to rent their farm out for them. He did rent the farm out. This summer his lawyer informed him that this was illegal for an unlicensed person to do; so he then stopped doing it. Up to the time that his lawyer informed him of this he did not know that he was violating any law. So now the district attorney in Clarksdale had him indicted on this. No real estate brokers in Clarksdale have said anything on this. Mr. Jones successfully registered a few years ago, and has had a lot of trouble since then (but every Negro down here always has trouble; this is no exaggeration) and it appears that the district attorney will do all he can to have Mr. Jones convicted.

More information on the morality test: if you aren't permitted to register by the circuit clerk, you do not know whether or not it was because of the morality test because the decision as to who registers is completely in the hands of the circuit clerk; and he usually never says why you can't register.

I watched the people for a while yesterday passing out clothing and food in Clarksdale. There was a pregnant woman there who has 3 children (aged 8, 5, 2) and her husband has deserted her. She has no income, does not get welfare or commodities and the only way she and her family have been able to eat lately is that her neighbors have given her food. She has not even tried to get welfare, and she hasn't tried to register. There is almost an attitude of "What's the use?" expressed by her. And this just goes to show one of the effects that this system has had on people. She and her children have only one bed to sleep on.

I visited the Coahoma County hospital in Clarksdale. This 3-storey hospital (built about 1955) is segregated, of course, as everything is in this state. The first floor is for Negroes, and the other two for whites. Operating room and such things are shared. There are separate entrances and lobbies. Only the first floor has Negro nurses. Many of the Negro patients are given attention because there are these Negro nurses. The meals are different for Negroes and whites; and recently a Negro minister had trouble getting the diet in the hospital that his doctor had prescribed for him. If you telephone this hospital for information on a Negro patient and you use a title of respect (such as Mr. or Mrs. or Rev.) the hospital switchboard operator will not put your call through.

The two local groups (headed by Aaron Henry and Amzie Moore) now understand pretty well what Operation Freedom is trying to do in the way of loans. Actually processing loan applications is and will be a slow affair, for these groups have so much else to do. I have found that it takes time to gather information, take photos, travel, etc. There is so much here that needs to be done; it would literally take thousands of people to do it all.

It was too cold to take outside photos today. Sitting in one farm shack today I had to keep my coat on. Nothing has been done yet about the tents at Brownsville, Tenn. I will do that tomorrow. I was in LeFlore County today. Will send information on that in a day or two.

END

REPORT ON MISSISSIPPI

BY THE MISSISSIPPI ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JANUARY 1963

Mississippi Free Press Jan. 1963

Justice Dept. Voter Suits Are Fought In Many State Counties

Miss. Resist

FORREST COUNTY

The U. S. Supreme Court Monday rejected Mississippi's appeal to overrule a court order permitting the Justice Department to inspect Forrest County voter records.

The court order was issued by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans based on the 1960 Civil Rights Act.

Attorneys for Forrest County Circuit Clerk Theron Lynd January 3 asked the Circuit Court to clear Lynd of contempt charges filed by the Justice Department under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Ask Jail For Lynd

In the first action of this kind, the Justice Department asked the court to jail Lynd for 45 days and to direct him to register 43 Negroes "illegally denied registration."

In November, the Supreme Court refused to review a Circuit Court order telling Lynd to register Negro applicants without discrimination. Thus the non-discrimination order continued to stand.

The Court of Appeals ruled to permit inspection of the voter records July 11 when it reversed District Judge Harold Cox's January decision that the case was dead.

The Justice Department told the Supreme Court that it had already inspected some of the Forrest County records, but de-

(Continued on Page 3)

Miss. Resist

2-2-63

Lawyer Held At Jackson

Miss. Rev. B. Kem P-A p. 2

JACKSON, Feb. 1 (AP)—Police tonight arrested William L. Higgs, 28-year-old civil rights attorney, on charges of contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

Detective Chief M. B. Pierce said Higgs was taken into custody after a 16-year-old white boy signed an affidavit accusing Higgs of unnatural sexual acts.

Higgs, a white attorney, has handled several civil rights cases and has been counsel for the State Civil Rights Advisory Committee. He was one of five lawyers for James Meredith. Higgs also intiated campaigns for the first two Negro congressional candidates in the state since reconstruction. Both lost last year.

Earlier today, Higgs filed Federal court action here seeking an order to direct University of Mississippi registrar Robert Ellis to admit Dewey Greene, 22, another Negro, under terms of the Meredith desegregation order, and to ask that Ellis be held in contempt of court for refusing Greene admission.

Bond was set at $500 on the misdemeanor. Pierce said the trial was set tentatively for Feb. 11 before Hinds County Judge Russell Moore, who heard the "Freedom Rider" cases last year on appeal.

The youth was turned over to juvenile authorities. Police identified him only as a runaway "from a Northern state."

Two policemen arrested Higgs at the office of the Mississippi Free Press, a weekly newspaper published by civil rights advocates.

Higgs was named last week as the winner of the 1963 Florida Lasker Civil Liberties Award by the administrators in New York. He was scheduled to receive the $1000 award at a dinner in New York Feb. 12.

3- Miss. Report

2/2/63

Miss. Free Press

RTB file Miss. Resist

Saturday, February 2, 1963

Tallahatchie County Told To Stop Poll Tax Discrimination

The U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans has issued an order to end discrimination against Negroes seeking to pay poll taxes in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi.

The order by the 5th Circuit Court reversed the ruling of federal district Judge Claude Clayton who said that the injunction was not necessary. Clayson called efforts by Negroes to pay their poll taxes "superficial at best."

However, the appeals court said that affidavits, which Clayton refused to admit, showed that Negroes had been denied the right to pay poll taxes for years. Mrs. Birdie Keglar of Charleston said that she had attempted to pay the taxes "to the sheriff's office since about 1951, but they have never allowed me to pay it."

Sheriff Elliot Dogan has ruled that Negroes wishing to pay poll taxes must see him personally. The court ruled that this constituted discrimination because few, if any, whites were required to see the sheriff.

There are about 6,400 Negroes and 5,000 whites of voting age in Tallahatchie County. Until this year, no Negroes were ever registered to vote there.

The Court of Appeals overruled Clayton's decision that an emergency did not exist to warrent the injunction. It said that when the injunction was first requested the final day for paying the poll tax, February 1, 1962, was approaching. In ordering Clayton to issue a preliminary injunction at once, the appeals court said that the February 1, 1963 deadline was about to be reached.

Attorneys for Mississippi had said that the Negroes who tried to pay poll taxes hadn't registered or attempted to register to vote. However, the higher court said that the federal voting law applies to the entire voting process.

WAB
RTB
JMY
SSV
JL

file Miss Resist.

FEB 5 1963

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

THE PAYING OF POLL TAXES WENT AT A FAST CLIP THE LAST TWO WEEKS OF FEBRUARY, SLIGHTLY LESS THAN IN 1962; HOWEVER, WE ARE STILL HANDICAPPED BY THE PERSONELL OF THE SHERIFFS OFFICE REFUSING TO PERMIT NEGROES TO PAY POLL TAXES FOR OTHER NEGROES, WHILE THERE IS NO RESTRICTION ON WHITES PAYING POLL TAXES FOR OTHER WHITES. THE OBSERVATION OF WHITES PAYING POLL TAXES FOR OTHER NEGROES IS SUPPORTED BY AFFADAVITES; WHICH WILL RESOLVE THIS MATTER LEGALLY IN THE NEAR FURURE. IT IS OUR CONTENTION THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY LEGAL TO PAY POLL TAXES FOR ANOTHER PERSON JUST AS ANYONE MAY SEND ANOTHER PERSON TO PAY HIS PROPERTY TAX. IF WE ARE WRONG WE APOLOGIZE, BUT FROM WHERE WE SIT NOW, WE FEEL WE ARE BEING DISCRIMMINATED AGAINST AND WILL SEEK OUR DAY IN COURT.

THE DECISION NOT TO PROCEED WITH PETITION TO DESEGREGATE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN CLARKSDALE AND COAHOMA COUNTY AT THIS TIME WAS BASED UPON THE ACADEMIC ATTAINMENT OF THE MAJORITY OF THE TWENTY STUDENTS INVOLVED. OUR SUGGESTION TO THEM AND OTHERS IS TO STUDY HARD THIS SEMESTER, GET YOUR GRADES TO "G" AND "S", THEN YOU CAN COUNT ON THE SUPPORT OF THE NAACP ALL THE WAY. AT THIS BEGINNING POINT IT IS ABSLOUTELY NECESSARY THAT STUDENTS WITH THE HIGHEST ACADEMIC ATTAINMENT BECOME INVOLVED. SORRY TO THOSE WHO WERE DISSAPPOINTED, BUT WE HOPE AND FEEL THAT YOU UNDERSTAND.

DISCRIMMINATION AT THE LOCAL GREYHOUND BUS STATION HAS BEEN CHARGED IN SEVERAL AFFADAVITS LAST WEEK. THESE CHARGES ARE BEING INVESTIGATED BY THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE GREYHOUND COMPANY ITSELF. IF AT ANYTIME YOU ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO USE ANY TICKET WINDOW, WAITING ROOM, REST ROOM, CAFE OR ANY FACILITY IN THE GREYHOUND BUS STATION OR THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD, BE SURE TO FILL OUT AN AFFADAVIT AND FILE IT WITH THE LOCAL BRANCH OF THE NAACP, WE WILL SEND IT ON WHERE GOOD RESULTS ARE GUARANTEED.

READ CAREFULLY

THE DECISION NOT TO INCLUDE FRED'S DOLLAR STORE IN THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT AT THIS TIME WAS MADE BY THE MEMBERS ASSEMBLED AT THE MEETING LAST WEDNESDAY NIGHT.. THE "FRIENDS" FOR NOT BOYCOTTING FRED'S DOLLAR STORE WON 246 to 234, VERY CLOSE INDEED. THIS WAS A MOTION TO TABLE THE MOTION MADE TO INCLUDE FRED'S DOLLAR STORE. THE MOTION CAN BE TAKEN FROM THE TABLE ANYTIME THE BACKERS OF THE DECISION TO BOYCOTT FRED'S DOLLAR STORE FEEL THEY HAVE ENOUGH STRENGTH TO WIN. IN THE MEANTIME IF I WERE THE MANAGER OF FRED'S DOLLAR STORE I WOULD USE THIS TIME THAT I HAVE TO BE SURE THAT NEGROES WHO SHOP IN THE STORE ARE TREATED COURTEOUSLY AND THAT NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED AND ABOVE THE MENIEL LEVEL.

IN THE MEANTIME THE BOYCOTT AGAINST ALL THE MERCHANTS DOWNTOWN STILL GOES ON. THE FOLLOWING MERCHANTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED AS THE MOST UNFAIR SO PLEASE DO NOT TRADE WITH THEM UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, THEY ARE:

J. C. PENNY COMPANY 204 YAZOO, CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI

F. W. WOOLWORTH COMPANY, 207 YAZOO, CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI

GRABERS, 221 YAZOO, CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI

JO ANN SHOP 226 YAZOO AVENUE, CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI

MY SH OP, 270 YAZOO, CLARKSDALE, MISSISSIPPI

IF AND WHEN YOU ARE IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI PLEASE SUPPORT THE JACKSON BOYCOTT, DON'T SHOP ON CAPITOL STREET IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI.

4- Miss Resistance

2/6/63

RTB Miss. Atlanta Const. 2-6-63 p. 13

Mississippi Votes To Reapportion

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Mississippi voters Tuesday overwhelmingly approved changes in the number of legislators each county can elect—the first reapportionment in 73 years.

Reversing the trend against the cities that has held for decades, voters gave a five-and one half to one edge to the constitutional amendment.

With about 80 per cent of the vote unofficially tabulated, only five counties rejected the amendment.

The vote late Tuesday with 1,350 of 1,859 precincts reported was: for 82,409; against 14,449.

PRIMARY POLITICKING

The new apportionment completely changes the political setup for many of Mississippi's lawmakers. And, the change comes only days before politicking begins for the early summer Democratic and Republican primaries for most state offices.

Politicians had sought the reapportionment for several decades. Recently a Gulf coast group went to the courts in quest of the shift of seating, which they said would end rural domination of politics.

The political change is very evident. For example, Hinds County would have nine representatives and Marshal County only one with Benton County. Now Marshall has three representatives and Hinds three and one half.

BARNETT ELATED

Gov. Ross Barnett said he was "highly elated" over the amendment approval.

"This is a step in the right direction where the legislators and the people decide issues," he added.

Barnett said, as he did before, he would definitely call a special session Feb. 25 to set up seats in the House, allowing candidates to run from separate districts where counties elect more than one legislator.

Previously, Barnett warned the Legislature would not attempt to draw up a new apportionment if turned down in this election.

UP TO COURTS

"It will probably be up to the courts to make a decision," the governor said then.

The amendment sets up a 122-member House and a 52-member Senate.

Voters last November turned down a reapportionment plan calling for an 82-member Senate and 140-member House by a margin of 3 to 2.

At present, the Legislature has a 140-member House and 49-member Senate.

2/12/63

file Miss. Resist. B'ham P-H 2-12-63 p. 14

ary 12, 1963

Reporter Fined $100

GREENWOOD, Miss., Feb. 11 (UPI)—Jet Magazine reporter Lawrence Still of Chicago was fined $100 today after being convicted on a charge of driving while intoxicated.

However, he appealed the city court conviction to LeFlore County Court and posted $500 appeal bond.

The sentence was passed by City Judge Ormond Kimbrough following trial here. Still was represented by Negro Atty. R. Jess Brown of Jackson.

Still was arrested and jailed on the drunken driving charge Thursday. He was released a short time later on his own recognizance.

Still was here to cover the distribution of food collected in Chicago for Negroes in LeFlore and Sunflower Counties.

It was erroneously reported that Still's release last Thursday was obtained by Fred Witty, a local white attorney. Witty said he conferred with the Negro, but did not take his case.

B'ham World 2-7-63 p. 3

Sheriff Must Take Poll Tax From Negroes

file Miss. Resist.

NEW ORLEANS — (UPI) — The U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled recently the sheriff of Tallahatchie County, Miss., had to accept poll tax payments from Negroes.

At the request of the U. S. Justice Department, the court reversed a decision by U. S. District Judge Claude Clayton of Tupelo, Miss., who refused to issue an order directing sherrif Ellet Dogan to accept Negro poll tax payments.

Government attorneys claimed Negroes were forced to meet tougher requirements than whites in Tallahatchie County. Clayton had contended Negro efforts to pay the tax were superficial and did not "carry the hallmark of bona fide efforts."

The appeals court directed Judge Clayton to issue the order requested by the federal attorneys.

Mississippi state law requires that poll taxes be paid by Feb. 1, two years prior to voting in an election. The government sought authority for Negroes to pay taxes for 1962, 1963 and 1964.

The three judges sitting on the panel that rendered Saturday's decision were circuit judges Richard T. Rives of Montgomery, Ala., and John Minor Wisdom of New Orleans and District Judge William Bootle, of Macon, Ga.

file Miss. Resist.

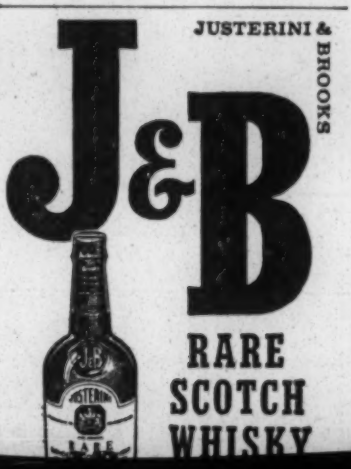
First GOP Is Elected To Mississippi's Assembly

MERIDIAN, Miss. (AP)—Lewis L. McAllister became the first Republican elected to the Mississippi General Assembly since Reconstruction days Tuesday.

McAllister, 30, an accountant, polled 3,086 votes in a runoff to 2,298 for his Democratic opponent, Dennis Goldman, 26, an attorney, in a race for the House of Representatives from Lauderdale County.

McAllister and Goldman, one of three Democrats seeking the post, ran first and second in the Feb. 5 election. The election was called to choose a successor to former Rep. Natie Caraway who resigned when he moved to Jackson to join a law firm.

"This is an indication of a trend toward a two-party state and a two-party South," said McAllister, who described himself as a Goldwater Republican.



Rep. Diggs Asks Food Inquiry

file Miss. Resist.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27 (UPI) — Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., (D.-Mich.), asked three cabinet members today to investigate reports that Negroes in two Mississippi counties cannot get surplus food because they tried to register for voting.

Diggs requested government action in telegrams to Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman, and Anthony J. Celebrezze, secretary of Health Education and Welfare.

The Michigan congressman said he had received enough evidence "to establish probable cause" that Negroes in Leflore County were being blacklisted.

Diggs said Tallahatchie has also discontinued its non-public assistance Federal food program.

B'ham P-H
p. 8A 2-28-63

Greenwood Commonwealth 5-9-63

Mississippi In Brief—

Welfare Head Says Integration Workers Use Pease Corps Gimick

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — State Welfare Commissioner Fred Ross says three Negro integration workers at Greenville, Miss., represented themselves as "a part of the domestic peace corps."

He said Friday he asked the FBI to investigate their claims.

Ross said the report came to him from the Washington County welfare office at Greenville after the three Negroes had inquired about the commodity distribution program.

He identified the three as James Foreman of Atlanta, Charles Cobb of Springfield, Mass., and Jess Harris of Jackson.

They are members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which has been conducting Negro voter registration campaigns in Mississippi.

At Washington, a government spokesman said the domestic peace corps was still only a study group, that it has no official staff, and has nobody in the field.

* * *

E. Wiggins, former superintendent of the state penitentiary, died here Saturday.

The Sunflower County native served at Parchman for 12 years under the administration of Govs. Tom Bailey, Fielding Wright and Hugh White.

Wiggins died at the University Hospital where he had been treated following a lengthy illness. Survivors include his widow, two sons, a daughter, three grandchildren and a sister.

5-16-63

Greenwood Commonwealth

Montgomery Clerk Won't Show Records

The Montgomery County Circuit Clerk was requested this week to turn over to Federal Bureau of Investigation agents copies of voter registration records.

Mrs. Grady Nail, the clerk, said she received a letter on Tuesday from Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, Civil Rights division. The letter was handed carried to the clerk by two GBI agents.

Mrs. Nail told the agents that she was denying their request and would not turn the records over to them.

5-16-63

Greenwood Commonwealth 6-1-63

Negro Shot To Death, Probe On

TCHULA -- A 20-year-old Negro was shot and killed here yesterday afternoon and local and county authorities said 'we are still investigating."

County authorities said a statement would be made later this afternoon.

The victim was Willie Joel Lovett, a Tchula Hardware Co. employee. He was apparently shot near his home in the Coxtown section about 6:30 p.m.

A complaint filed with the U. S. Department of Justice said that Lovett was killed by a "local law enforcement officer,' and two federal Bureau of Investigation agents from Jackson were sent here to investigate.

Also investigating were Holmes County Chief Deputy Sheriff Andrew P. Smith and Tchula Town Marshal W. O. Moore. Moore declined to say who fired the gun that killed Lovett 'at this time." He refused to give any details of the incident except to say that 'Lovett was blind, crazy drunk.'

He said the Negro wasn't armed "as far as I know."

Both Moore and Smith said they hadn't talked to the FBI agents early this afternoon.

"They're still in the vicinity," Smith said.

Miss violence

6-18-63

THE NEW YORK TIMES

United Press International Telephoto

ESCORT FOR MURDERED NEGRO LEADER: Washington Negroes follow the hearse carrying body of Medgar W. Evers from Union Station in the capital to funeral home.

JACKSON NEGROES SUSPEND PROTEST

Justice Department Seeks Accord During Respite

By HEDRICK SMITH
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 17—Civil rights leaders suspended demonstrations today to allow tempers to cool in this city's racial crisis, following the violence of last Saturday.

The Justice Department, meanwhile, was reported working behind the scenes to produce some agreement that would satisfy Negroes sufficiently to delay further demonstrations.

One source expressed "guarded optimism" about the possibility of breakthrough, as a result of efforts by John Doar, a Justice Department civil rights attorney.

However, the source indicated that expected concessions from the city and from white business leaders would fall considerably short of the demands listed by Negro leaders last month.

Urges Moratorium

One local Negro leader, the Rev. S. L. Whitney, who was in Washington today for a conference with President Kennedy, telephoned associates here to urge a moratorium on demonstrations, to see if some settlement could be reached.

Adult Negro leaders were more receptive to the proposal than the younger Negroes who have been the actual participants in sit-ins and mass marches.

Willie B. Ludden, 25-year-old Southeastern regional youth field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, discounted the likelihood of an early agreement.

"We've sacrificed too much to accept anything less than what we asked for," he said. "It is definite that we're going to continue demonstrations, but on what scale or at what time is being decided now."

Mr. Ludden said he expected mass demonstrations to resume tomorrow.

Other sources said the Negro community was growing weary of the month-old civil rights struggle, in which there have been more than 900 arrests.

U. S. Acts to Block New Trial Of Six Negroes in Mississippi

By E. W. KENWORTHY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 17 — The Federal Government brought suit today to halt the further prosecution of six Negro voter registration workers who were arrested in Winona, Miss., after using bus station facilities there.

A civil complaint was filed in Federal District Court in Oxford, Miss.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in announcing the action, charged Winona officials with making "baseless arrests" to discourage the six Negroes and others of their race from using the station's facilities.

The suit also seeks a permanent injunction against any similar conduct in the future by Winona officials.

There have been reports of police brutality in connection with the arrests, which occurred on June 9. Although the suit made no mention of such brutality, the Justice Department said the F. B. I. had these allegations "under active investigation."

The Negroes—one man and five women—were part of a group on its way by bus from Charleston, S. C., to Greenwood, Miss. The bus made a 20-minute rest stop in Winona.

After using the toilet facilities, five of the Negroes sat down at the lunch counter. Police Chief Thomas Herrod ordered them outside.

One of the Negroes, it was reported, protested that denial of the station facilities was against the law.

The Attorney General said that despite the fact that the Negroes "left and were standing peacably outside the terminal," they were arrested by Chief Herrod.

Soon afterward, Earl W. Patridge, county sheriff, arrested a Negro woman who had gone off the bus to see what was happening.

The six were jailed and two days later were convicted in City Police Court of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

The six were subsequently released on $100 appeal bonds. In order for an appeal to be carried to the state circuit court, a new trial would be required. It is this prosecution that the Justice Department seeks to block.

Mr. Kennedy said that the prosecution constituted "an unlawful and unconstitutional interference" with interstate commerce and the regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission promulgated in November, 1961. These forbid racial discrimination on buses and terminal facilities used in interstate commerce.

He also said the suit followed an unsuccessful effort by the Justice Department to persuade Winona officials to drop the prosecution voluntarily.

Early in 1962, Mayor Martin C. Billingsley of Winona assured the Justice Department that the city would not interfere with the I. C. C. regulations.

Mayor Billingsley sat as Police Justice on June 11 and convicted the Negroes.

The Negroes, all from Mississippi, are James West, Fannie Hamer, Annell Ponder, June Johnson, Rosemary Freeman and Euvester Simpson.

Miss. Resistance

Suit Dismissed

WASHINGTON (AP)—A federal judge has dismissed a suit which sought to force the Justice Department to act against Mississippi officials who interfere with Negro voter registration efforts.

The suit, filed in federal district court in Washington, by seven Negroes and one white attorney who claimed they had been harassed and threatened, named Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover as defendants.

Judge Luther Youngdahl dismissed the suit Tuesday on grounds that:

1. The courts must leave discretion to the Justice Department whether to act in civil rights cases "by means of prosecution, injunction, varying forms of persuasion or other types of action."

2. The suit failed to name any Mississippi officials against whom prosecution or arrest should be started.

4-3-63

* * *

Miss. Pentagram

Greenwood Commonwealth

Gas Grenade Tossed By Four Youths Here

7-8-63

Three white men and a 17 year-old youth were fined $100 and senced to 30 days today on a charge of disorderly conduct stemming from the throwing of a gas grenade at a Negro cafe Sunday night.

Judge O. L. Kimbrough heard each of four plead guilty to the charge. He said the 30 days sentence given to each would be suspended if the parents would make good on the cost of goods and damages done at the cafe.

One of the men, Chester C. Bond of Itta Bena, was told by the judge he would have to serve the 30 day sentence "because of his attitude."

Police chief Curtis Lary identified the men as Chester G. Bond, 20, of Itta Bena, Robert Lamar Anderson Jr., 19 , of San Antonio, Texas, who is visiting relatives in Moorhead and Fred M. Cook Jr., 18 of Moorhead. The fourth person is a 17-year-old youth from Itta Bena whose name was not released by the police.

Lary said the incident happened about 11 p.m. last night at Freeman Curry's place on Avenue G. The gas grenade was thrown from the car as it passed the cafe and landed on the sidewalk spewing gas.

"It did not land in the cafe, nor was anyone hurt," Lary said.

There were several Negroes in the cafe at the time and several on the street. When officers arrived they were given a description of the car bearing a Texas tag.

Within a short time the car was stopped on Main Street by the police and a Highway Patrol car. There were two men in the car when it was stopped, Lary said. When they searched the car they found on the front seat a pin that belonged in the gas grenade.

The two later admitted throwing the gas and implicated two others, the chief stated.

"They told us they were fooling around with the pin and happened to pull it out," Lary said. "When they found they couldn't get the pin back into the grenade they threw it."

Lary said the owner of the cafe Freeman Curry, has not in any way been involved in demonstrations here in the past.

"It appears they just threw the gas, not knowing where it was going."

The chief said he had not been able to find out where the men had obtained the gas. He said gas grenades are hard to come by and the police intend to question the men further to locate the source of the gas.

Miss. Resistance

U.S. Accuses 5 Law Men Of Brutality

Justice Dept. Accuses Officers In Mississippi

WASHINGTON—(UPI) — The Justice Department Monday accused five men, including the sheriff and police chief of Winona, Miss., of beating and kicking five Negro prisoners in violation of federal civil rights law.

Atlanta Daily World 9-10-63

Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said the charges were made in a seven-point criminal information filed in a federal court in Oxford, Miss.

Named as defendants were:

Earle Wayne Patridge, sheriff of Montgomery County, Miss., which includes Winona; Thomas J. Herod Jr., Winona chief of police; William Surrell, a Winona policeman; John L. Basinger, a state highway patrolmen, and Charles Thomas Perkins, a former state patrolman.

The five men were charged with beating—or directing other prisoners in the Montgomery County Jail to beat—five prisoners including three women, arrested in connection with a sit-in demonstration at a Winona bus terminal restaurant.

Kennedy said one count charged the five defendants with conspiring to deprive the Negroes of their constitutional rights and another six counts charged specific beatings.

The five also were accused of forcing five of the Negroes to sign statements against their will. The information charged that the defendants violated a federal law banning any action by law enforcement officers to deprive any one of his constitutional rights.

Maximum penalty for each of the five defendants would be seven years in prison and a $7,000 fine if they were convicted of all charges against them.

Pink
Miss. Resistance

Injunction Issued In Clarksdale

CLARKSDALE, Miss. (AP) — Representatives of the National Council of Churches today faced a temporary injunction here against demonstrations in connection with a civil rights crusade.

City officials late Monday rejected a request for a meeting to discuss civil rights issues.

Mayor W. S. Kincade told the representatives "you propose in the event that we do not agree with you on the manner in which the affairs of Clarksdale should be handled" demonstrations would occur.

The mayor said officials were "not adverse to meeting and discussing racial problems" with local leaders or those "who might have some contribution to offer to a solution of the problems, but neither you nor any of your associates fall into any one of these categories."

Application for the court order was made before Chancery Judge William Bizzell of nearby Cleveland. Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Monday night he had been served notice of the injunction.

Henry said the injunction named him and Dr. Martin Luther King, the integration leader who is due in this Mississippi Delta city today.

City authorities said about a dozen persons were named, including several ministers representing the National Council of Churches who are here in connection with the civil rights crusade. Names of the individuals involved bere not available.

King is scheduled to address a Negro rally tonight.

Thomas Gaither of the Congress of Racial Equality said last week he expected King's appearance might touch off demonstrations.

The National Council of Churches, in a recent statement of policy, said it looked with favor on demonstrations for civil rights.

Henry said attorneys would study the injunction today and if they considered it binding "we will honor it until we can have it dissolved."

Greenwood Commonwealth 7-9-63

Miss Resistance

Suit Filed Today Against Winona

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Justice Department filed suit today aimed at desegregating a bus terminal in Winona, Miss., and halting further prosecution of six Negroes arrested at the terminal June 9.

Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy said a civil complaint was filed in U.S. District Court in Oxford, Miss.

Prosecution of the five women and one man, the department said, is an unlawful and unconstitutional interference with interstate commerce and regulations forbidding racial discrimination.

Named as defendants were the city of Winona, Mayor Martin C. Billingsley, Police Chief Thomas Herrod, and Montgomery County Sheriff Earl Patridge.

The suit asked the court to forbid the defendants to interfere in any way with Negroes' use of the terminal.

The six Negroes were convicted June 11 and released on $100 bond.

The department said the suit was filed after government efforts to obtain voluntary action failed.

It gave this account of the case.

The six Negroes were in Winona on a brief rest stop during a bus journey to Greenwood, Miss. from Charleston, S.C. five entered the terminal restaurant, but were ordered to leave by Police Chief Herrod.

They left and were standing outside the terminal when Herrod arrested them. Immediately afterwards Sheriff Patridge arrested the sixth Negro who had not entered the restaurant.

The department said Mayor Billingsley gave the department assurances in 1962 that Win na would not interfere with regulations forbidding racial discrimination in interstate commerce.

The department said Mayor Billingsley gave the department as would not interfere with regulations forbidding racial discrimination in interstate commerce.

A Justice Department spokesman said the FBI is investigating brutality in connection with the Winona arrests.

The six Negroes are James West. Fannie Hamer, Annell Ponder, June Johnson, Rosemary Freeman, and Euvester Simpson.

6-17-63

Herald Tribune

Miss. Resistance

Registrars Must Show Vote Records

WASHINGTON (AP)—Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black has declined to delay a lower court order that seven Mississippi county voter registrars must open their decords for federal inspection.

He refused Friday to hold up a 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruling of July 3 that the registrars should make their records available to the Justice Department.

Justice Black said the order was applicable under the 1960 Civil Rights Act.

The counties involved are Adams, Jefferson, Jones, Lamar, Madion, Noxubee and Wilkinson.

In a brief ruling Black said the records for federal inspection. available to the attorney general under the 1960 Civil Rights Act.

The registrars, Black said, contend that this act violates the Fifth Amendment requirement of due process and its guarantee against compelled self-incrimination.

They also contend, he said, that the act violates the sixth amendment's assurances "that one accused of crime must be confronted by the witnesses against him and must enjoy the right to trial by jury."

The registrars contend that if they are compelled to produce the records now the case will become moot and they will be deprived of an opportunity to have their constitutional claims determined by a court.

On the other hand, Black continued, the U.S. Solicitor General in opposing the stay denied that there is any substantial basis for any of the constitutional challenges.

The solicitor general, Black said, points out that a statewide primary is to be held in Mississippi Aug. 6 and that if the appeal court ruling were to be stayed the results might be "a wrongful state refusal based solely on race to permit many qualified voters to vote in the primary."

Black said he agreed with the solicitor general that under the circumstances the constitutional questions raised by the registrars are not sufficiently substantial "to justify my upsetting the order of the court of appeals.

'That order does not require movants (the registdars) to testify before any office official, or agency, but only requires them to make available to the attorney general or his representative, under fair and reasonable conditions, records of which movants are not the owners but are only custodians for the state or its agencies.' Black said.

He added that the court has uniformly held that a person who is a mere custodian of records cannot invoke the Fourth or Fifth Amendments to resist an order directing that they produce such records.

The county registrars involved include:

R. Appleton Owen, Jefferson County; Leonard B. Caves, Jones County; J. E. McDavid, Noxubee; A. V. David Jr., Adams; R. Whitaker, Wilkinson; Mrs. John Mikell, Marion, and Talmidge S. Saucier, Lamar.

Greenwood Commonwealth 7-28-62

Miss. Resistance

WB ✓
JM ✓
RTB ✓

AUG 23 1963

507 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi
August 21, 1963

Mr. WIley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a report sent to Atty. Robert Owens of the Justice Department concerning a possible violation of the court order of July 15, 1963.

Carl Johnson
Staff
Forrest County Voter
Registration Headquarters

Pink - Mississippi Resistance

507 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi
August 21, 1963

Atty. Robert Owens
United States Department of Justice
Civil Rights Division
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Owens:

Enclosed you will find descriptions of what happened when two black citizens of Hattiesburg went to the Circuit Clerk's Office.

Both Mrs. Ariel Barnes and Mrs. N. E. Hall filled out applications for registration on the 17th of July, 1963. They were told, after the thirty three days waiting period, that their applications for registration were "incomplete."

Our understanding of the court order issued by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals against Theron C. Lynd on the 15th of July, 1963 is that the registrar should cease rejecting the applications of Negro applicants on the grounds that they have made an error or omission on their forms; and that if there were any deficiencies on their applications, the applicant should be notified of the deficiency at the time the applicant fills out the application.

Would you advise us as to whether or not this action by Registrar Lynd's Office is a violation of the court order, and if so, take appropriate action.

In the struggle,

Carl, Johnson
Forrest County Voter
Registration Headquarters

On the 17th of July, 1963, Mrs. Ariel Barnes, of 222 Union Street, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, went to the office of Theron C. Lynd, registrar and circuit clerk of Forrest County, to fill out an application for registration. When Mrs. Barnes had filled out the form, Registrar Lynd signed it and took it. Mrs. Barnes then left the office.

Mrs. Barnes returned to the office after the specified waiting period of thirty three days on the 19th of August, 1963. She was told by one of Lynd's assistants that her form was "incomplete." Mrs. Barnes then asked what was incomplete. The assistant told her that she was not allowed to say what was incomplete, but she did say that Mrs. Barnes could make another application. Mrs. Barnes then left the office.

On the 17th of July, 1963, Mrs. H. E. Hall, of 216 Union Street, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, went to the office of Theron C. Lynd, county registrar and circuit clerk of Forrest County, to fill out an application for registration. When Mrs. Hall had filled out the form, Registrar Lynd signed and folded it. Mrs. Hall then left the office.

Mrs. Hall returned to the office after the specified waiting period of thirty three days on the 20th of August, 1963. She was told by one of Lynd's assistants that her form was "incomplete." Mrs. Hall then left the office.

Negro Girls Shot by Sniper

Atla. Const. 9-1-62 p. 14

RULEVILE, Miss. (UPI) — two teen-aged Negro girls who have been active in voter registration campaign in Sunflower County were wounded by shotgun pellets fired through the window of a home Monday night.

The girls were identified by Mayor C. M. Darr as Vivian Hilley and Marylene Burke, both of Cleveland, Miss.

Darr said city and county officers were investigating the incident, and that he had personally asked the FBI to look into the matter.

Miss Reist

9-11-62 (about 9-10 Shooting in

Shot into 3 houses Rulesville

Joe McDonald
most fellows
Hanging

Simons

Tucker - next to church

Marylene ~~Burk~~ Burkes

Vivien Hilley
(Grand daughter of Simon)

Marylene - took 22 slug
out of skull - no injury
to brain.

Vivien Hilley in Cleveland
Hosp - leg - buck~~shot~~
took 45 out of Tuckers
house -

Didn's Charge Cobb
with anything

Mayor Said Robi did
shooting

Said Mac x Sisson

x

Rev. Stacey - J.D. Stacey -
Williams Chapel - Baptist.

Had to drive around.

Mac 909 E. Reden St.

Sisson - N. Denison St.

Tucker - Byron St.

Girls there because
Sisson going to take
to School this morning

Cobb arrested last nite while going to hospital to check on condition of girls. Arrested in Rulerville but released this morn — 9-10 — because, Mayor said — they had no evidence. Not charged with anything but Mayor said he thought Cobb & others had done shooting so they could use as cause celebre for money-raising.

Where Right to Vote Could Work Wonders

Ark. Gazette 2-28

NO SUSTAINABLE argument can be raised against the fact finding of the Civil Rights Commission in its report that voting suits, filed by the Justice Department, have failed to provide "prompt and adequate" remedy for the disfranchisement of Negroes.

After five years of Justice's litigation it is still necessary to look only to Mississippi where most of the Negro population, constituting more than 40 per cent of the whole, is systematically deprived of the right to vote. The principal device used in Mississippi is the literacy test, which, if theoretically justifiable, is patently unconstitutional in its application by Mississippi officialdom.

In perspective, and in fairness to the South, it is necessary to note that, outside of Mississippi, the deprivation of voting rights is a diminishing evil. In a number of Southern states it cannot be considered a major problem. Certainly it isn't in Arkansas, or Florida, or Tennessee, or North Carolina. Georgia, too, is apparently rather clean on the voting count. The need for remedies arises principally from two or three states.

Alabama is probably the second worst offender but, in any case, Mississippi all by itself offers justification for stringent and forceful measures in Congress.

* * *

THREE MEASURES are proposed by the Civil Rights Commission, on voting, and the greatest controversy attaches to a proposal that states disfranchising Negroes should have their representation in the lower House of Congress reduced accordingly. Such a provision is in the Constitution already but it has not been implemented. Whatever the practical merits of the plan, the issues are largely academic because of the adequacy of two other measures endorsed by the Commission and incorporated in the President's civil rights bill.

These two measures haven't gotten much public attention lately, as the right to vote has moved out of the limelight. What they would do is, in effect, to eliminate Mississippi's abominable practice of testing "literacy" and to set up federal voting registrars who would register Negroes on application when they were discriminated against, pending a court determination.

Congress should enact these two measures and the administration should then put them into effect, using *whatever steps are necessary*. Mississippi has built, as we have observed previously, what is close to a sovereign police state within the United States. Mississippi's police power is arrayed against both the ideals of equality and against the national Constitution. The power of the state government is supported by the extra-legal force of the White Citizens Councils, which cor-

Mississippi Resistance

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★ ★ ★

ATTENTION to voting rights has been a bit out of fashion recently, but it remains fundamental to the whole drive for equal rights and opportunity. This is true especially in Mississippi where a thoroughgoing enfranchisement of Negroes would give them such strength in the elections that the other reforms might come more swiftly than anywhere else in the South. Mississippi is the most intransigent in refusing to make its peace with law and justice, yet with the establishment of the voting right Mississippi could undergo a startling transformation. Little progress, conversely, is likely in that state until the voting right is undergirded with the forceful provisions advanced in the President's civil rights bill.

Mississippi Resistance

Greenwood Commonwealth 1/7/64

Rider Cases

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—The Mississippi Supreme Court studied today appeals of convicted "Freedom Riders," including the case of James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racal Equality.

Opposing attorneys argued the breach of peace charges Monday which had been filed against the more than 300 freedom riders who came into Jackson during 1961 to test segregation in transportation facilities.

The defense contended the arresting officers exceeded their authority when they arrested the demonstrators.

Negro attorney R. Jess Brown of Jackson told the state high court the seven riders whose cases came before the court on appeal were behaving properly.

Also included in the seven cases Monday, besides Farmer, 44, whose group sponsored the Freedom Riders, was Peter M. Ackerberg of New York, 24, who is white.

Bob Nichols of Jackson, a city prosecutor who represented the state, said the breach of peace statute could be used when a breach of peace seemed imminent.

"There is a limit on the authority of an officer, he is not arresting officer, judge and jury," Brown said.

To be valid a breach of peace conviction must involve a crowd in a place of business, a disorder or impending disorder, and an order to move being disobeyed, Nichols said.

Each of the seven cases, Nichols said, met the test.

The Jackson attorney also said the appeals were prepared by a New York law group which planned to go into federal court if the defendants lost in the State Supreme Court.

Miss. Resistance

Hattiesburg Courthouse Is Picketed

HATTIESBURG, Miss. (AP) —Negroes began a mass effort to register as voters at this south Mississippi city today.

About 40 pickets—white people and Negroes—marched outside the two-story red brick court house in a light rain while the Negroes went into the voter registrars office.

There were no signs of trouble.

A crowd of about 100 persons stood across the street, watching quietly.

There was one arrest late in the morning. Police arrested Robert Moses, an official of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, on a charge of breach of the peace. Officers said they told Moses to move on and he didn't do it.

As the crowd grew, many of the stores in the area around the court house closed their doors to business, and police late in the morning blocked off a two-block section of Main Street to traffic.

Police were much in evidencc. Officers mingled with the crowd of onlookers. Other officers stood along the curb of the sidewalk where the pickets marched.

Inside, Theron Lynd, the voter registrar who only a few months ago was held in criminal contempt of a federal court on charges of racial discrmination, received the line of Negroes.

Each of the Negroes received an application and a pencil.

Lynd and his deputies handled the Negro applicants four and five at a time.

The pickets on the sidewalk outside the court house carried placards. One read: 'Freedom Day — January 22." Another said: "Let My People Vote."

Hattiesburg, the seat of Forrest County, is a city of about 35,000 population — the business center of south Mississippi.

No figures were available on the number of Negroes on the registration rolls.

Lynd is circuit clerk and, as such, doubles as voter registrar in Mississipis system of qualifying voters.

Voter applicants are required to pass tests demonstrating such things as literacy and ability to understand a portion of the Constitution.

Federal courts issued an injunction some time ago ordering Lynd not to discriminate against Negroes trying to register as voters.

Lynd later was cited — and convicted — for criminal contempt by the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, which declared he had violated the court's orders.

At the same time, the court directed Lynd to register 42 Negroes. The court declared them qualified.

Lynd told newsmen he already had registered the 42 who came in with the backing of the federal court.

In addition, he said, his office has processed a number of applications — from both Negroes and whites — and that there has been the usual number of rejections — again, both Negroes and whites.

Greenwood Commonwealth
1/22/64
Miss. Resistance

No Clues Found In Mississippi Murder Issue

LIBERTY, Miss. — (ANP) — Sheriff Daniel Jones said here last week he had failed to find "a single clue" in the shotgun slaying of a Negro who had seen a white man shoot another Negro active in a voter registration drive.

"I've interviewed a lot of people but haven't come up with a thing yet" the sheriff said.

The body of Louis Allen, 44, was found early Saturday morning, Feb. 1 by his teenage son. He was dead from three shotgun blasts, two in his head. The sheriff said several neighbors heard the shots but "thought nothing of it." He said Allen was killed as he stepped from his log truck to open a gate 150 yards from his house. The sheriff estimated the shots were fired from 30 yards away.

"I've known Allen for years" the sheriff said. "He was not involved in any civil rights activities."

Allen was a witness in the fatal shooting of Herbert Lee, a 52-year-old farmer gunned down outside a Liberty cotton gin in 1961. Lee was one of several Negroes active in a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) vote drive. Allen later admitted to SNCC workers he had been forced to lie at a coroner's jury investigating the slaying which set free E. H. Hurst, a white man, then a member of the State Legislature. SNCC has asked the United States Department of Justice to investigate the murder.

Ltl. Hall
2-23-64

Miss. Resistance

Mississippi In Brief – Greenwood Commonwealth 1-27-64

Miss. Resistance

Negroes Picket Courthouse In Hattiesburg In Rain

HATTIESBURG, Miss. AP)—Negroes began a second week of a voter registration drive here today while some 40 pickets walked around the courthouse in a misting rain.

Police were on hand. There were no incidents.

Last week, 134 Nroes filled out registration forms in the Forrest County courthouse between th start of demonstrations Wednesday and the noon closing of the courthouse Saturday.

Civil rights leaders here have said their aim is to emphasize the need for voting privileges for Negroes.

Some 40 to 50 ministers, who came here from various parts of the nation to participate in the demonstrations, reportedly have gone home. About a dozen more have arrived.

* * *

Greenwood Commonwealth

Police Arrest White Minister In Hattiesburg Demonstration

1-28-64

HATTIESBURG, Miss. (AP)—Police arrested a white minister taking part in a Negro voter demonstration today and charged him with assault and battery an interfering with a policeman.

The arrest came a day after officers had arrested a Negro civil rights leader, also in the vote drive, and charged him with contributing to the delinquency of a 13-year-old Negro girl.

Police said the girl skipped school. They found her in a demonstration outside the courthouse.

Negroes have been conducting a registration drive since last Saturday in Forrest County. Over 150 Negroes have taken tests so far.

Arrested were:

—Rev. Roy George Smith, 29, Boulder, Colo. He is affiliated with the disciples of Christ and United Churches of Christ.

—Lawrence Guyot Jr., 24, Hattiesburg, area field secretary for the student non-violent coordinating committee. SNCC is one of the groups sponsoring the vote drive.

Officers said Rev. Smith pushed and shoved Sgt. Alfred Creel while police were trying to erect a barricade in front of the courthouse to permit people to enter.

Bond was set at $125. Smith did not immediately post it and was confined to the city jail.

Authorities said Guyot was arrested late Monday. An investigation disclosed the girl left for school early Tuesday and did not return home until she was found Friday by her mother and a youth counselor in the demonstration, authorities said.

Prosecutors said the child had not gone to school during that time and had been living in "makeshift quarters" without knowledge or consent of her mother.

Guyot's arraignment, originally scheduled Tuesday, was postponed until Wednesday after Guyot said he had not yet gotten a lawyer.

Bond was set at $1,000. It was not posted.

Miss. Resistance

1-29-64

Down The Middle

BILOXI, Miss. (AP)—Wilbur Ward, George County clerk of court and registrar of voters, said in federal court Tuesday he would "afford equal treatment to everyone regardless of race or color" in vote registration matts.

Ward, called as an adverse witness, was one of 44 to testify in the two-day trial.

He and the state of Mississippi were co-defendants in the case in which the federal government alleged discrimination on account of race.

The suit originally named Eldred W. Green, who was succeeded as court clerk and voter registrar by Ward on Jan. 6. U.S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox last week signed an order substituting Ward as defendant.

Judge Cox gave attorneys 15 days in which to submit written briefs.

Miss Recs

Helmeted Police Guard Canton, Mississippi As Negroes Become Voters

Atl. World 2-29-64

County With 72 Per Cent Negro Population Tense

CANTON, Miss. — (UPI) — Reinforced units of police, some armed with shotguns and wearing blue helmet liners, maintained a cautious guard Friday while about 250 Negroes staged an orderly voter registration march on the local courthouse.

The Negroes marched singlefile from a church, and when they arrived at the Madison County Courthouse they were permitted to file through the building one by one. They were handed voter registration forms inside the building.

Police at the state capitol at Jackson, 20 miles to the south, stood ready to move into Canton upon request, but Canton police—backed up by sheriff's deputies and auxilliary officers—kept the situation under control.

A spokesman for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which sponsored the march, estimated there were fewer than 300 Negroes registered in Madison County, whose population of 32,904 is about 72 per cent Negro.

Police halted some of the marchers and ordered them to keep 30-yard intervals to keep from interfering with traffic. Then the marchers, who walked quietly and carried no signs, were permitted to continue.

Miss Resistance

AH. News
3-1-64

Mississippi Cities May Assist Others With Demonstrators

JACKSON, Miss. — (UPI) The way was cleared Wednesday for the cities of Jackson and nearby Canton to pool their police power in dealing with a mass racial demonstration threatened in Canton Friday.

A bill rushed to completion in the Mississippi legislature and immediately signed into law by Gov. Paul B. Johnson gave municipalities authority to enter into such "mutual assistance pacts."

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-line vehicle designed especially before riot control.

Mayor Allen Thompson made clear Wednesday that these facilities will be available to Canton upon request.

Canton is located about 20 miles north of Jackson. It has a population of about 10,000 and is situated in a farming area that has a heavy Negro population.

The Congress of Racial Equality CORE announced last week that Negroes would march en masse on the Madison County courthouse Friday in an attempt to register to vote.

CORE spokesman Ed Hollander amplied this Wednesday, saying about 200 persons are expected to participate in the march.

Hollander also disclosed the march would be "observed" by Norman Thomas, who ran for the presidency four time on the Socialist ticket, and 15 ministers. He said it would form at two churches Friday morning and then step off into the downtown section.

FAITHFUL MEMBERS

NEW ATHENS, Ill. — A tiny brick church, known as the Little Zion Methodist Church has a total membership of 2.

- Miss Resistance

Greenwood Commonwealth 3/5/64

Government Files Canton Vote Case

Justice Says 'Undue Delay' In Registering

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Justice Department charged today officials of Madison County, Miss., are unduly delaying, discouraging and denying Negro attempts at voter registration.

The department sought a court order to prevent county registrar L. F. Campbell from continuing what it called his practice of processing Negro registrants on a one-at-a-time basis.

The civil voting suit, filed in the U.S. District Court at Jackson, names as defendants Campbell and the state of Mississippi.

Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said the complaint asks the court to forbid the continuation of discriminatinatory registration and voting practices.

He said affidavits of a department lawyer and of Negro applicants state that Campbell, by processing Negroes one at a time, had forced several Negroes to stand in line while only seven a day are processed. This, the affidavits state, occurred last Friday and Saturday outside the county courthouse in Canton.

In the past, the suit says, Campbell has not applied the same one-at-a-time requirement to white applicants, and has registered as many as 49 white persons a day.

The department said that, of 10,366 adult Negroes in the county, only 152 are registered, while more than 5,000 of the 5,622 adult white persons are registered.

The complaint further charges that Negro applicants have been forced to meet stricter standards than white applicants, and have been discouraged from attempting to register or have been denied registration even though they are qualified.

The court set a hearing for Saturday at 9:30 a.m. on a request for a temporary restraining order forbidding Campbell to continue the practices with which he is charged.

Miss Resistance

WBV
BW
RTB
JDR
BW

MAR 5 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Mississippi Resistance Pride

BIGGEST CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION IN MISSISSIPPI

Canton, Miss., March 2--Risking loss of jobs or other economic reprisals from a recently revived chapter of the White Citizens Councils, 350 prospective Negro voters marched to the Madison County courthouse in February 28 in the biggest civil rights demonstration to take place in Mississippi.

The day had been designated as Freedom Day by the Committee of Federated Organizations, a Mississippi joint group of civil rights organizations including CORE and SNCC. The demonstration climaxed a voter registration drive coordinated by Dave Dennis, who is a CORE field secretary and also assistant director of COFO.

The first 150 of the prospective voters marched in a body from Freedom House, the CORE-initiated community center here. The remaining 250, arriving from out-of-town by mule, horsecart and on foot, were halted by a barricade of city police but were permitted to proceed to the courthouse two-by-two. They swelled the original group and stood peacefully outside the courthouse throughout the day.

Police auxiliaries in blue helmets mounted a shotgun guard along the line of march, while sheriffs and deputies from Madison as well as surrounding counties patrolled the streets in white prowl cars. However, there was no violence and only one arrest, a Negro youth on probation for a case involving leaflet distribution.

Only 6 of the 350 prospective registrants got inside the courthouse to take the registration test. A seventh took the test next day, when some 50 applicants lined-up in front of the courthouse.

L.F. Campbell, the registrar, remains mum on registration statistics. But according to a U.S. Justice Department suit, in 1962, only 1.1% of the county's Negroes were registered as against 97% of the whites. Negroes constitute 72% of the county's population.

Groundwork for the Freedom Day demonstration was laid by staff of CORE field secretaries and Task Force workers. Daily street meetings and nightly mass meetings had been held in Madison and throughout the county. During the week of January 20-27, 17 leaders of the voter registration drive were arrested on various charges.

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Microfilm Code No.
Med Care & Welfare
SERS Library

HOUSTON POST
Sec. 1-1
Date MAR 8 1964
#1

Delta in Distress

sissippi Negroes Are Being 'Hungried' Out

By LONNIE HUDKINS and O. D. WILSON

Houston churches have been asked to send food and clothing to Mississippi Delta area Negroes who claim they are victims of a plan to deliberately starve them out of the state.

The Negroes claim some of their people are literally starving because they can't find jobs and can't get welfare help.

They claim the head of the Mississippi State Welfare Deparment has set a policy to force them to leave the state.

HOW MUCH of this is true? The Houston Post sent a team of reporters to Mississippi to find out.

We found out that much of what the Negroes claim appears to be true. Some of their words seem to be exaggerated.

They are not being starved out. A better way to put it is that they are being "hungried" out of their state. We talked to many Negroes who were hungry but not to the starvation point.

State Welfare Director Fred A. Ross of Jackson told us he feels the federal government—if it wants to do something constructive—"should rehabilitate the Negroes and relocate them to other parts of the country."

IT IS HIS agency that administers the distribution of federal surplus commodities.

Negroes who are out of work and in need say they get enough commodities to last them only two weeks if their families are moderate in size. Large families complain that the commodities doled out to them are used up in about a week.

What do they do when the commodities run out?

"We makes do the best way we can," one Negro man told us. He said he goes many days on one meal a day and feels fortunate when he can have two meals a day.

"I have skipped a few days," he said.

The man said he had never tried to register to vote or applied for state relief money.

"What's the use?" he said.

THE MAN, a tractor driver on a cotton plantation, is just one of thousands of victims of a feudal system that still exists in Mississippi.

"When I work, I get $5 a day," he said.

By a day, he explained that he meant 10 to 12 hours of work. That would mean that he gets 40 to 50 cents an hour.

But his problem doesn't stop there. He stays in debt most of the year to his "boss man" and the "company store." By the time he is through paying back the charges against him by the boss man and the store, he is ready to start the cycle all over again.

HE LIVES in a small shanty with his wife and two children. The roof leaks. Cardboard and tin cover places in windows where glass used to be. A Houston slum house would look like a palace to him. For this, he pays back the boss man $360 a year. This includes utilities.

After he pays back all the charges against him, he may clear a couple of hundred dollars a year to spend on his family.

This man is one of the more fortunate Negroes in the fertile Mississippi Delta. He has a job when the weather permits.

AND YET, HE "does without." His basic problem is economic poverty. He doesn't want to leave Mississippi.

"I'm not trained to do anything but drive a tractor," he said. "I don't want to leave here. I never get enough ahead to go anyway. If I went somewhere else, I would just be in trouble there."

The man said all he wanted to do was stay home and be able to make a living.

But to weather the current economic storm, he, and Negroes like him, are asking the churches of Houston and other cities to just send them some food and clothing. They are not asking for money.

NEXT: "Relocate the Negro."

Miss. Resist.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

HOUSTON POST

Sec. 1-1

Date: MAR 9 1964

#2

DELTA IN DISTRESS

Welfare Boss Wants Big Part of Negroes Relocated

By LONNIE HUDKINS
and O. D. WILSON

The man who heads the Mississippi Welfare Department wants 800,000 of the state's Negroes relocated to other parts of the nation.

Fred A. Ross of Jackson, commissioner of Mississippi's State Department of Public Welfare, told us, "There is every reason why the U.S. government should establish a rehabilitation and resettlement commission for colored people being displaced."

BY DISPLACED, Ross explained he meant people who have been forced out of work by automation and mechanization, the big economic problem that has created misery for a big portion of Mississippi's 915,000 Negroes.

Another problem tied in with the Mississippi Negroes' economic woes is that of his wanting to vote.

Ross, whose agency administers the distribution of federal surplus commodities to the needy people of his state, told us, "It does no good for the politicians to shed crocodile tears about the plight of the Negroes and then be blinded to the economic facts."

HE MAINTAINS that there are simply too many Negroes in the state for the number of jobs available to them in Mississippi. He further says that the majority of the state's Negroes are not trained to do any type of work except agricultural labor or menial tasks such as sweeping floors or mowing lawns.

"It is going to be a problem forever until they are relocated," he said. "We'll never solve this problem just by doling out money."

Ross, a sheriff and a state senator before he became director of the welfare department, said, "Up in the Eastern section of the country they are more advanced economically. They have the lion's share of industrial development."

He suggested cities like Detroit and New York and the state of Pennsylvania as good places to relocate Negroes from Mississippi.

"THE FEDERAL government should relocate them to a section of the country where they can earn their own living," he said.

Ross said, "More than half of the colored population is concentrated in 13 Southern States while the national average is 10.5 per cent."

When asked what he thought Mississippi's proportion of Negro population should be, Ross replied, "It's 42 per cent now but shouldn't be over 10.5 per cent."

He said "no one state can possibly solve the problem itself."

Negroes who live in Misssippi's rich Delta area claim that Ross is trying to starve them into leaving the state. They claim he does this by limiting aid and commodities given to them.

"IT'S NOT Christian to let him (meaning the Negro people) starve or his children, either," Ross said.

We found no actual starvation among Negroes in the Delta but we did find many who live with hunger as a daily part of their lives.

A Negro who lives in Bolivar County on a prosperous plantation just a few miles east of the Mississippi River told us, "I get commodities once a month. I can tote it." His family is small — only four people.

The Negro meant by "tote" that he could carry out his month's supply of food given to him at the commodity warehouse in Cleveland, Miss. His commodities did not include butter or sugar. He gets only three tins of meat to last a month.

TO REALLY find out about the plight of the Negroes, we went to a number of Negro plantation shanties to find out what the people had for their meals.

A meal to a destitute Negro in the Delta area can mean many things. We visited one shanty in which nine children and three adults lived. A Negro woman was busy preparing the one meal of the day. It was the Sunday meal.

"We are eating turnip greens today," she said. "I could do without myself, but the children . . ."

The woman told us she had five children who were of school age. She said two of them missed school quite a bit because they didn't have shoes.

Negroes like her are among the thousands in Mississippi who are seeking food and clothing from churches in Houston and other cities in order to just maintain a status quo in their battle against poverty.

NEXT: To Vote or Eat?

Miss. Desist.

Microfilm Code No.
Suff - Miss
SERS Library

HOUSTON POST
Sec. 1-1
Date: MAR 10 1964
#3

Delta in Distress

Negroes Who Ask To Vote Sometimes Fired and Evicted

By LONNIE HUDKINS
and O. D. WILSON

There are thousands of Mississippi Negroes who are not voting. They are concerned about hunger pangs.

But there are others — a minority within the ranks of Mississippi's 915,000 Negro population — who do want the right to vote. They believe that voting is the only way they can get economic improvements for their race.

"The only hope we have is to get the power of the ballot," said Amzie Moore, 51-year-old post office janitor and a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leader in Cleveland, Miss.

MOORE, an Air Force veteran of World War II, claims that fear among the whites that the Negroes would vote in blocks is coupled directly to the economic poverty among his race in the state, particularly in the Delta area in which he lives.

And he cites instances in which economic pressure has been applied to Negroes who registered or tried to register to vote.

We found that such pressures were indeed invoked on some Negroes who tried to register and that they were fired from their jobs.

Moore is one of the Negro leaders who has asked churches in Houston and other cities to provide food and clothing to some 2,000 Delta families he claims to be near starvation.

HE BLAMES their plight on mechanization and automation in eliminating their jobs and bare subsistence rations to force them to leave the state. He says this is tied in with fear of the Negro vote potential, particularly in counties like Bolivar, Sunflower and LeFlore, where the Negroes far outnumber whites.

We found cases in which Negroes were fired and forced to move from their plantation shanties because they had applied for voting registration. In one instance the "boss man" was waiting at the shanty of a Negro when he returned from town to apply for registration.

Moore claims the registrar or someone in the registrar's office obviously called the Negro's employer before he even got home.

But it's only a matter of a few days until the white community learns who the "troublemakers" are because under House Bill 822 that was passed by the Mississippi Legislature in 1962 any person who applies for registration is named in a legal notice in the newspaper.

"TAKE ME, for example," Moore relates. "They've done everything to me but shoot me. They got me fired from my post office job. (He got it back.) They fixed it so I couldn't get any credit."

But Moore is sticking by his guns.

"As citizens of this state, they (the Negro people) should be allowed to register and vote. They deserve the right to have an equal opportunity to make a living," he said.

Moore said the Negroes need

Miss Result

an equal opportunity to make a living," he said.

Moore said the Negroes need food and clothing to keep up the economic fight. "They're putting on terrific economic pressure to get you to leave or stop voter registration work," he said.

The Negro leader said that many of the Negroes — and some whites — are existing only because of the federal government commodities. But he claims the commodities have become a weapon of the white power structure because they are distributed under the administration of a man avowed in the belief that Mississippi's Negroes should be relocated to other states.

"PEOPLE TALK about Negroes as if they are some kind of commodity," Moore said.

Moore said that when a new industry moves into the area or the state, the Negroes are offered only janitorial or lawn care jobs. "We sweep," he said.

It is Moore's contention that the only way the Negro will get more federal surplus food doled out to him when he needs it, or training to be capable of handling a job other than sweeping a floor in industry, is through the ballot.

Moore said that less than 500 of the 13,000 or more Negroes over 21 in Bolivar County have applied for registration to vote.

"Many of them never go back to find out if they passed the test to vote because they are intimidated out of it," he said.

In Mississippi, a person — black or white — who applies for registration must pass a literacy test by copying a section of the state constitution. He must then interpret that section.

THE PERSON applying for registration also must write his understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under the constitutional form of government.

It is the circuit clerk who decides if an applicant has satisfactorily completed the registration test.

The circuit clerk in Cleveland for Bolivar County, Miss, is Mrs Walter Lewis.

"We make no comments to any reporter," she said about voter registration. We later learned that in Cleveland, a town of 10,149, only about 100 of its Negroes are allowed to vote.

NEXT: The White Mississippian.

Where To Send Parcels Of Food, Clothing for Needy

Persons wishing to contribute food or clothing to needy Negroes in the Mississippi Delta region should mail their parcels to either Amzie Moore, 614 Chrisman, Cleveland, Miss, or Mrs Fannie Lou Hamer, in care of I. Johnson, 820 Quiver, Ruleville, Miss.

The Negroes are not asking for money. Their main needs are canned goods and clothing and shoes for children.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

HOUSTON POST

Sec. 1 - 1

Date: MAR 11 1964

#4

Delta in Distress

No Negroes Starving in His County, Says Publisher

By LONNIE HUDKINS and O. D. WILSON

"I don't know of any Negro who has ever starved to death in Bolivar County," said Clifton L. Langford, editor and publisher of the Bolivar Commercial in Cleveland, Miss.

"We just wouldn't let it happen," he said.

"There's plenty of work here for Negroes, but a lot of them just don't want to work. They can mow lawns."

HE CRITICIZED the federal surplus commodities program and was suspicious of the motives of churches in other states that send food and clothing into this area to be distributed among the many Negroes who say they are going hungry in what they claim is a deliberate effort to starve them out of the area.

"That's just propaganda," said Deputy Sheriff Ben A. Bogy. "It's a downright lie. I do not know of anybody going hungry."

State Welfare Comimssioner Fred A. Ross said that 80 per cent of the aid to dependent children is distributed among Negroes, who comprise 42 per cent of the population.

"Ninety per cent of the property is owned by white people," Ross said, "and the whites pay 85 cents of every tax dollar."

YET, HE said, there are 8,000 more Negro children in grades 1 through 12 than whites, with the result that the Negroes are getting the lion's share while paying only 15 per cent of the cost.

"All they do is dish out some more tripe about rights. Instead of shedding large crocodile tears, needling, sitting in and sitting out, the government should give some thought to relocating the Negro," Ross said.

"The ideal American objective would be to provide an opportunity for them to earn a living," he said. "We'd be foolish to train them when we don't have the industry to put them in."

Amzie Moore, the Negro leader, feels differently. "If President Johnson really wants to declare war on poverty in the United States, he can fire the opening shots here in Mississippi."

UNTIL SUCH aid is forthcoming, Moore has asked churches in Houston and other parts of the nation to send food and clothing to the area.

The Negro population in Mississippi, both in numbers and in percentage of total population, has been declining.

In the 1930 census, the Negroes had 50.2 per cent of the population with 1,009,718. By the 1950 census the figures were 986,494 and 45.3 per cent. The latest census, in 1960, showed 915,743 Negroes for 42 per cent of the population.

Though the figures suggest that Negroes are leaving the state, Mrs Fannie Lou Hamer mer of Ruleville, in Sunflower County, said: "We're not going to leave." She distributes clothing to the most needy and food when she has it available.

MRS HAMER was fired from her job as a plantation worker the same day she applied for a voter registration. That was Aug 31, 1962.

Since then, she said, she has been shot at and beaten, and she said that she and her husband are frequently questioned by police.

Nevertheless, Mrs Hamer said, she has no hatred for the whites or any plans to leave. "What could we do if we left?" she asked. "All we want to do is stay here and be treated as decent human beings. We deserve the right to have equal opportunities to make a living and should be allowed to register to vote.

"The people who hate us are not only destroying us but are destroying themselves," she said.

ANOTHER Negro woman in Ruleville, Mrs Ruby Davis, said she tried to register to vote in August of 1962. She said her husband, Leonard, was fired from his job as a city trash worker as a result. He later was rehired.

Still another Negro leader, John Bradford, said he has been hit in the face with vegetables by passing white motorists and called dirty names. He predicted that in a few years, "There won't be any Negroes here but the very, very old and the very, very young."

It is too early to tell whether the Negroes appeal to churches, both white and Negro, in other parts of the country will be successful.

"Why shouldn't it be successful" Moore asked. "We send CARE pckages overseas, and there's a real nced right here."

END OF SERIES

Miss. Cops Raid Freedom Office, Nab 8

CANTON, Miss. -
Civil rights leaders said their "freedom office" here was raided by police and eight workers arrested.

Lois Chafee, representing the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) said city police came to the 'Freedom House" to inquire about a boycott of schools by Negro children. When a leader of the civil rights group was not present, officers laced the eight workers on the scene under arrest, Miss Chafee said.

City police were contacted about the incident and would neither confirm nor deny the arrests.

A CORE spokesman said the school boycott was first carried out Monday by students "sympathizing" with the current voter registration campaign. Many students stayed home again when they were asked to produce excuses telling where they were Monday, the spokesman said.

Col. Times 3/17/64, p. 1.

Cofo

City Racial Target On March 25?

Greenwood Commw. 3/12/64 COFO

Greenwood may have a repeat performance of racial demonstrations here later this month according to two integration leaders.

The talk of the demonstrations came after a meeting last night in Jackson of the Council of Federated Organizations.

Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP told a press conference after the meeting, 'our voter registration drive will extend into every county and we plan major activities in 27 towns."

Henry named as the "centers of activity," Holly Springs, Corinth, Batesville, Clarksdale, Cleveland, Greenwood, Indianola, Greenville, Starkville, Columbus, Yazoo City, Carthage, Canton, Vicksburg, Meridian, Jackson, Brookhaven, Natchez, McComb, Laurel, Hattiesburg, Picayune, Pascagoula, Biloxi and Gulfport.

Robert Moses, Negro, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee said demonstrations held recently in Hattiesburg and Canton were" preparations for the summer activity," and another was scheduled for Greenwood March 25.

Since last summer the Greenwood police department has made extensive plans for handling racial demonstrations similar to the type held here in the spring of 1963.

The auxiliary police force has undergone intensive training and is today recognized as one of the finest in the South.

The police have also equipped an old school bus for use in riot control and this vehicle is now ready for use whenever the occasion should come up. The bus is kept in ready at all times parked across the street from the police department.

It was just last month that the city and county finished trying the appeal cases of some 61 Negroes arrested in Itta Bena and Greenwood on disturbing the peace charges stemming out of the demonstrations here last year.

The convictions were all upheld by the County Court and the cases have now been appealed to the Circuit Court.

Miss. Resistance

A41. World
3-19-64

Police Fail To Dampen Mississippi Vote Drive

CANTON, Miss. — Negro citizens of this community and Madison County, by their persistence, have demonstrated that they will not let a recalcitrant voter registration clerk or police intimidation keep them from attempting to register to vote.

When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in cooperation with other civil rights groups, launched the 1964 voter registration drive Friday, Feb. 28, called "Freedom Day," more than 260 people showed up at the courthouse. Only seven were permitted inside, however, to make application and to take the test.

Every day since, groups of Negro citizens have appeared at the registrar's office to wait patiently for their turn. In spite of the fact that only four people have been placed on the ballot rolls, they continue to come. Here, for example, is what happened on Feb. 28:

L. F. Campbell, the circuit clerk and voter registrar, would allow only one applicant at a time to enter his office. Once inside, the prospective voter was administered a complex constitutional interpretation test that the state started when Negroes began pressing for the right to vote.

WAIT PATIENTLY BY

Outside other Negroes waited patiently in single file and were joined by still more. All had been led to the courthouse by Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary and the Rev. B. Elton Cox of High Point, N. C., a CORE representative. Two by two, they proceeded from the Holiness Church seven and one-half blocks away.

And while they waited, sheriff's deptuties, augmented by police auxiliaries in blue helmets and makeshift uniforms, armed with nightsticks, revolvers and a variety of shot guns and rifles, patrolled the area.

Along the route which the Negroes took from the church to the courthouse, sheriffs and deputies from Madison and surrounding counties wearing 10-gallon hats raced back and forth in white cars with as many as three radio antennae.

One of the sheriff's deputies paced up and down the line of prospective Negro voters. He wore a black leather jacket, black slacks and black western boots. An automatic carbine swung from his left hand and a wooden club dangled from his belt. A bone-handled revolver rode loosely in a holster on his left hip.

When several of the police officers were witnessed telling the Negro citizens to go home and not to bother to vote, by Charles Evers and Rev. J. W. Anderson, Canton NAACP branch president, Mr. Evers telephoned the NAACP national office in New York City.

Gloster B. Current, director of branches, in turn called NAACP Washington Bureau chief, Clarence Mitchell. reported the incident to the U. S. Justic Department.

It was not long after that a Justice offical came up and identified himself to Charles Evers.

Miss Resistance

Atlanta Daily World 3/22/64

Mississippi Summer Project Launched

JACKSON, Mississippi—"At least least 2,000" full-time civil rights workers will conduct voter registration and political education programs in Mississippi this summer, according to civil rights worker Robert Moses.

The announcement of the "Mississippi Summer Project" came from a day-long conference of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) here March 15. COFO is a coalition of national and local civil rights groups working in Mississippi.

COFO leaders said the "Freedom Summer" plans included recruiting 1,000 white and Negro college students to man "Freedom Schools," Community Centers and to work on a voter registration drive. The group will also run two Negroes for Congress in the state's 2nd and 5th Congressional Districts.

CHALLENGE

COFO Chairman Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state NAACP head, said Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville would oppose Representative Jamie Whitten of Charleston in the 2nd District and Reverend John Cameron of Hattiesburg would oppose Representative William Colmer of Pascagoula in the 5th District. The two Negro candidates will also run in a "Freedom Primary" corresponding with the state's Democratic primary, COFO workers said.

If both lose, they plan to challenge the seating of the winning candidates. "We intend to challenge whether the country will permit people to be elected from districts where Negroes are not allowed to vote," COFO Program Director Moses said.

Moses, who has headed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) vote drive here since 1961, and Dave Dennis of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) will head up the summer drive.

Moses and Dennis said the summer campaign would include:

—FREEDOM SCHOOLS that will give youth and adults political education as well as courses common to a high school curriculum;

—COMMUNITY CENTERS that will provide recreational facilities, instruction in pre-natal care, nutrition, job retraining, arts and craft classes, organized sports and libraries;

—FREEDOM REGISTRATION that will register 400,000 Negroes on mock polling lists to "pprove Negroes in Mississippi will register to vote if they are allowed to."

—FREEDOM ELECTION held during the state's Democratic primary on June 2 to indicate Mississippi Negroes are not satisfied with present candidates;

—Challenging the seating of Mississippi Congressmen on the floor of the House of Representatives on the basis that many Negroes are denied the right to vote in the state;

—VOTER REGISTRATION drives that will attempt to register an added 25,000 Negroes;

—EMERGENCY RELIEF AND WELFARE AID for Negroes who face job losses or eviction because of their participation in the vote drive.

Moses said the Freedom Schools, in addition to giving students a chance to learn subjects poorly taught in Mississippi's Negro schools, would teach the "politics of Mississippi" and would begin to build a core of educated leadership in the state.

Negroes Planning March Despite City Warnings

GREENWOOD, Miss. (AP)—Negroes plan to march on the courthouse today — despite warnings from city officials—to renew a voter registration campaign which spawned violence when it first started just one year ago.

Three burlap-draped crosses burned Tuesday night in this city of 23,000, located in the heart of the cotton-growing Mississippi delta. Negroes outnumber whites nearly 2-1 in the area.

Mayor Charles E. Sampson called on Greenwood residents to stay away from any areas where demonstrations might occur.

"Demonstrators thrive on attention," said Sampson. "If they don't get it, they will soon leave us alone."

He said police would not permit any marches or organized formations on city streets and sidewalks.

Police, using a trained dog, dispersed civil rights demonstrators marching on the Leflore County court house several times last March.

The cross burnings were the first such in at least 10 years, police said. One cross—about five feet tall—flared on the courthouse lawn. Police watched it burn out.

Another was set along a busy street in a predominantly white residential area and the third near the headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Sampson said he was surprised at the new developments. He said over 2,000 Negroes had applied for voter registration in the past year. In 1963, the federal government estimated there were 470 registered Negro voters in the county.

The renewed vote registration drive was called by the Council of Federated Organizations, representing all major civil rights groups in the state. COFO said it plans similar drives in some 20 other Mississippi cities.

Selma Times-Journ., 3/25/64

Mississippi Resistance

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 25, 1964 Greenwood Commonwealth FIVE CENTS

'Voter' Pickets Circle Long Block

30 To 40 Negroes Go To Clerk's Office; Rain Dwindles Crowd

Pickets continued their march around the courthouse at noon today as voter registration workers stepped up their campaign here.

This was the first time pickets had been used here and at the height of the demonstration this morning more than 100 Negro and white pickets circled the building.

Leading the pickets was state NAACP president Aaron Henry of Clarksdale. Henry was among the first group of 12 that appeared at the courthouse square shortly after 9 a.m. This number steadily grew until it reached a peak of more than 100.

Homemade signs were carried by almost all of the pickets and some out of town white ministers marched while reading the Bible.

There were no incidents as the pickets started their walking and during a rain shower the number started to dwindle.

About 35-40 persons went into the courthouse to register.

Police chief Curtis Lary, carrying his famous bull-horn, kept a watchful eye on the pickets as they made their trek around the building and curiosity seekers were moved along by the police.

The whole affair this morning appeared to be the quietest demonstration held here since the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee started its drive more than a year ago.

A large number of white men and women appeared in the pickets lines and many of the people brought to the courthouse to register were brought in cars bearing out of state tags.

When Mrs. Martha Lamb, circuit clerk closed her office at noon the pickets continued their march around the building, apparently they planned to continue on through the noon hour.

The pickets began showing up at the courthouse about 9:15 a.m. About a dozen began marching in front of the courthouse at first before their ranks were swelled by others leaving the meeting at the Negro Elks Rest.

Attendance at the Elks Rest was two bus loads and 15 car loads of Negroes from the Itta Bena area.

At one point in the morning police ordered a milling crowd of teenagers at the Elks Rest to disperse. They complied after officers told them that they could proceed to the court in groups of fours.

Several white ministers, who identified themselves as Presbyterian were with the Negroes. Some carried signs in the picket lines, others "acted as observers."

At 10:45 a.m. Greenwood was taking the "demonstration" in stride. No arrests had been made and no crowds were gathering to watch the pickets.

A group of about 40 Negroes, most of them past middle aged, led the way into the office of circuit clerk, Mrs. Martha Lamb, to apply for registration to vote. Mrs. Lamb, keeping her office open for all other business, was accepting the applicants two at a time. As each pair entered to take the registration test they were seated as separate tables.

Police forces in the city included all of the city's regular department, the auxiliary police force and sheriff's deputies standing by at the courthouse itself.

The quiet early morning followed a night in which three five-foot crosses were burned in the city. City fire department teams extinguished one cross, constructed of two-by-fours, which blazed on the courthouse lawn and one in the north section of town about 11 p.m.

On the south side of town at Avenue N and Stone Streets another cross was ablaze about 11:30 p.m. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee led a group of about 70 teenagers to the site where they sang songs around it for some minutes before extinguishing it and taking it to headquarters.

At 11 a.m. today's demonstration seemed pretty much a rerun of those Greenwood went through last summer. The only crowds gathering were newsmen taking pictures and federal investigators taking pictures.

✦ ✦ ✦

Pickets Thrive On Violence, Says Official

Greenwood Police Commissioner B. A. "Buff" Hammond today said he felt that the demonstrations had gone about as well for the city as could be expected.

Hammond heads police activities during the racial demonstrations.

Hammond said that police policy during the demonstrations is aimed at cheating the demonstrators of "what they thrive on."

"We had several choices to make, all of them bad," Hammond said.

"But we are doing our best not to give them the things they need on which to thrive," he continued. "They can't live without incidents, violence and turmoil. We will keep Greenwood a safe place to live. The things that are happening in Jacksonville don't appeal to this city."

Under the circumstances, Greenwood appeared a normal city this morning, with traffic moving past the courthouse and only small crowds of curious watching developments.

Observers felt that this series of demonstrations could be a repeat of last year's when they fizzled out for lack of interest after several days.

✦ ✦ ✦

Miss Resistance

Selma Times-Jour
3/5/64

Miss. Patrol Plan In Legislature

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Gov. Paul Johnson's plan to enlarge the Mississippi Highway Patrol and give it police powers during civil rights crisis has been offered to the legslature.

The measure was introduced Thursday by House Speaker Walter Sillers and 32 other representatives.

The bill would increase the patrol's strength from 275 to 475 troopers giving it general police powers that could be exercised only when the governor proclaimed an emergency existed.

Th proclamation would be issued when a sheriff or mayor asked aid or when the governor felt terrorism riots or intimidation would povoke violence that local forces would not be able to handle.

Miss. Resistance

The Afro-American 3/28/64 Cofo

Mother seeks Miss. seat in Congress

By WILLIAM WORTHY

JACKSON, Miss. — A 43-year-old Ruleville, Miss. housewife and mother qualified Friday to oppose Rep. James Whitten in the June 2 Democratic primary in the Second Congressional District.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer paid the $200 filing fee in order to run against the segregationist incumbent in the heart of the Mississippi Delta where 66 per cent of the population is colored.

Ten thousand dollars have been included in the campaign to cover costs of anticipated police harassment of the candidate and her supporters.

The figure, for bail bond fees and fines, is based on the experience last autumn with Mississippi's freedom vote. Dr. Aaron Henry, NAACP state president, polled 80,000 votes for governor from colored persons unable to vote in the official balloting.

Another unofficial freedom vote is being planned for the day of the June primary, in expectation of widespread intimidation of colored voters who seek to exercise their franchise.

Unlike Dr. Henry, who did not qualify for a place on the ballot, Mrs. Hamer's name will be printed next to that of her ultra-conservative opponent. The freedom vote will be held in churches and other locations in colored communities.

No official figures are available on the number of colored registered voters. The Second Congressional District includes Sunflower county, home of Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"This is the roughest terrtory in the world outside of South Africa," a SNCC member remarked.

"It is fantastic," he continued, "to be planning a candidacy when a primary consideration is whether the candidate will get killed."

Mrs. Hamer has been active in voter registration campaigns since 1961. After 18 year as a tenant on a plantation, she was ordered off the land by the owner in 1962 after she had registered.

The new candidate was one of six persons severely beaten by police in Winona, Miss. after an attempt to eat at the local bus station.

Five policemen who were indicated by a Federal grand jury on brutality charges were later acquitted.

Mrs. Hamer was scheduled Friday night, to address mass meeting in her hometown, situated in Sunflower County.

She began to campaign in Greenwood on Monday, two days before the March 25 freedom day demonstrations there.

Her campaign workers have announced they will keep the Justice Department and members of Congress informed of her itinerary.

"Whether Mrs. Hamer's campaign receives nationwide publicity and Federal protection may be a matter of life and death for her and other." the AFRO was advised.

Charles McLaurin of Ruleville will serve as Mrs. Hamer's campaign manager. Mr. McLaurin is onthe staff of Cofo (The Council of Federated Organizations), a statewide united front of SNCC, CORE, NAACP and other civil rights groups.

In February, 1962, Claude Sitton, roving Southern correspondent for the New York Times, reported that Rep. Whitten helped to kill a Delta-Wide Program of the Area Redevelopment Administration to train tractor drivers.

It is understood that the cotton planters oppopsed the program as a Federal "incursion" that would lead later to a minimum wage and an eight-hour day for agricultural laborers.

The program also met planter opposition because, under Federal rules, the training clases would have been racially integrated. Aside from direct civil rights issues, Mrs. Hamer will attack what she terms an "alliance" between Mississippi Congressmen and the plantation owners.

Miss. Cofo

Pickets Won't Follow Order

Grwd. Comm., 3/31/64 VEP

Fourteen Jailed When They Defy Police Area Restriction

The police arrested fourteen pickets at the courthouse today when they refused to obey police chief Curtis Lary.

The pickets arrived at the courthouse in five cars shortly after 11 a.m. They immediately set up their line, walking back and forth in front of the courthouse.

Chief Lary approached the pickets and told each they were perfectly free to picket at the courthouse, but they would be restricted to picketing on Cotton Street only.

The first to refuse the chief's order was Richard Frey, a 27-year old white man who has been working with the SNCC group here since last fall.

The police bus was called to the front of the building and Frey was placed inside when he refused to obey. This procedure continued until the police had arrested 14.

A second white man, Anthony Gaenslin, 22, of San Antonio, Texas, was also arrested. Gaenslin has been working here with the SNCC group for several weeks.

There were eight Negro men in all and four Negro women in the group. They were all charged with disorderly conduct.

Police Commissioner B. A. Hammond warned the pickets last night that they would be restricted to Cotton Street. Shortly before 4:30 p.m. yesterday he had chief Lary talk with Frey and tell him that they were free to picket, but would be restricted to Cotton Street.

After the arrests today Hammond said, "for four days we stood by and allowed them to stage their alledged protest. They were monopolizing the sidewalk and the main entrance to the courthouse.

"The police were receiving one call after another asking if it were safe for them to go to the courthouse.

"Within a 20 minute period Monday afternoon, three colored farmers declined to go to some agricultural office located in the courthouse. People whose drivers licenses were expiring today, and those who wanted to file for homestead exemption were afraid to cross the line.

"Authorities even restrict the area and number of pickets around the White House, and we feel we have a perfect right to restrict the area in which they picket the Leflore County Courthouse."

This morning, as the pickets arrived at the courthouse, it was apparent they had no intention of following the orders of Lary. Four newsmen at the courthouse from Atlanta said Frey had told them last night that the situation here had reached a crisis, but wouldn't elaborate.

The arrest of the pickets today is the first since the picketing started here last Wednesday. At that time some 100 pickets, including a number of white ministers, marched in front of the building in a slow downpour of rain.

The ministers stayed in the line the entire day and then returned briefly for the second day, but left around noon. Since then the number of pickets at the courthouse had been declining until today.

The Negroes were evidently ready for their arrest today as one of them, a 17- year-old boy, had his shaving kit with him.

Those arrested today include Frey who is from Pennsylvania, Gaenslin who later told police he was from Malboro, New Jersey, both white and Negroes Fred Harris 17 of Greenwood, James Brown 21 of Itta Bena, Mathews Hughes, 20, of Greenwood, Alvin Packer, 26, of Hattiesburg, Will Henry Rogers, 17, of Greenwood, Willie Peacock, 27, from Tallahachie County, Robert Bass, 22, of Jackson, Willis Wright, 24, of Greenwood, Flora George, 17, and her sister Laura George, 21, both of Greenwood, Dorothy Higgins, 21, of Greenwood and Alberta Stewart, 26, of Greenwood.

Bond was set at $500 each for those arrested, and six of the men were transferred to the county jail this afternoon.

Miss Resistance

4-5-64

Miss. Increases State Patrol Force

Atl. Daily Staff, 4-5-64

sec. 2, p. 3

JACKSON, Miss. — (UPI) — The Mississippi House voted Thursday to increase the highway patrol by 200 men and give it emergency police powers to deal with racial violence.

The bill goes to the senate Monday. It will have strong administration backing, and chances of passage were regarded as good.

The measure would provide Gov. Paul Johnson with a trained mobile force to send into local communities to aid law enforcement officers keep the peace in racial crises

The powers could be used only on request of local authorities or when it appeared to the governor that local officers would not, or could not, prevent violence

Miss Priest

4-8-64

(Greenwood Commonwealth 5/8/64

Negroes Plan More Picketing On Thursday

The Student Non- Violent Coordinating Committee plans a second "Freedom Day" here tomorrow with picketing slated in an area which police have declared off limits.

Sam Block, SNCC field secretary, said a number of out of state ministers, both white and Negro, are expected to take part in the picketing at the county courthouse.

The pickets have been restricted by the police to the west side of the courthouse.

Two weeks ago 14 pickets were arrested by the police when they refused to bey the orders of Police Chief Curtis Lary and move to the west side of the building. Their case was scheduled for trial last Friday, but was delayed when they refused to obey ing the U.S. District Court to take jurisdiction over the case. Judge Claude Clayton has not ruled on the matter.

The picketing tomorrow is expected to be followed by a second day of picketing at the courthouse on Friday.

Miss Resistance

Greenwood Commonwealth

Police Jail 17 Pickets Who Refuse Orders

Mass Resistance

Chief Lary Gives Them Choice; Children Placed Back In School

Seventeen pickets, including five white ministers were arrested in front of the county courthouse shortly before noon today when they refused to obey police Chief Curtis Lary.

The pickets had been restricted to an area on the west side of the courthouse and up to midway on Market Street. After they had been picketing in this area for almost 30 minutes Chief Lary told them individually that the number of pickets would be restricted to ten and that they must be of voting age and a resident of Leflore County.

The first to refuse were the white ministers when asked to leave the line. Each picket was given a choice by the chief before being placed under arrest. Over four of the pickets left the line and said they wanted to go home and were allowed to do so.

Those arrested were charged with unlawful picketing and refusing to obey the orders of the chief of police.

Governor Paul Johnson last night signed the new state law prohibiting picketing public buildings, but city prosecutor Gray Evans declined to say whether those arrested would be tried under the new law. No trial date has been set.

The picketing started at the courthouse shortly after 10 a.m. when a car load of Negro and white ministers arrived. They immediately started walking back and forth in front of the building in an area that they had been told was off limits. This group was joined by several more car loads until the number of pickets reached 24.

Among the early pickets were five children, all appearing to be under 15 years of age. City prosecutor Evans, acting for Youth Counselor Charles Deaton, had the police remove the children and bring them inside the courthouse.

Inside the building Evans talked with the children and told them they were breaking a law and should be in school. One of the parents was picketing outside and she was brought in to talk with Evans. He then sent all of the children back to school and advised the parents that if the children returned to picket again he would place charges against them.

The picketing continued along the front of the courthouse and up Fulton Street. As the number of spectators watching the pickets grew, police commissioner B. A. Hammond issued an order restricting them to an area along the west side of the buidling and half way up the front walk in front of the building.

The pickets, led by a white minister, moved into the area set aside for them and continued their walking for almost an hour.

It was then that chief Lary moved in and told them they would have to cut the number down to 10 and they must be of voting age and a resident

and $100 each for the others.

Those arrested this morning at the courthouse were Rev. Eldon Irving, 29, of Warren, Ohio; Rev. J. Phillip Park, 31, of Warren, Ohio; Rev. James J. Robinson, Negro 37 of Pittsburg, Pa.; Rev. Johnston E. Patrick, 46 of Pittsburg; Rev. J. D. Thomas, Negro 33 of Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Luke Thorosian, 34, of Pittsburg.; Rev. William Henry Anderson, Jr., 42, of Pittsburg.; Rev. Vern Joseph Rossman, 37 of Indianapolis, Indiana.

Others arrested were Negroes Ellis Jackson, 22 of Greenwood, John Mathews 33, of Greenwood Ida Holland, 20, Greenwood; Mary Lane 34, Greenwood; Sara Ann Watkins, 17, Greenwood; Mose Harper, 66 of Itta Bena. Joe Lewis Stigler, 19, Greenwood; Geneva House 32, Greenwood and Catherine Simpson, 19 of Greenwood.

Who Refuse Orders

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Accompanying the pickets and advising them were two white attorneys. Jack Pratt of New York, attorney for the National Council of Churches, told Chief Lary when he issued his order that he was violating the constitutional rights of the people under the first amendment to the Constitution.

Lary then signaled for the paddy wagon which was parked nearby and as the pickets refused to move on they were placed under arrest.

Later at the police station Pratt said he would possibly petition a federal district court to take jurisdiction of the cases under the Civil Rights Act of 1958.

This would be the same steps taken by 14 pickets arrested here two weeks ago. This morning U. S. District Judge Claude Clayton in Aberdeen issued a writ of habeas Corpus on these people setting bond at $200 each for the out- of state white men and $100 each for the others.

Those arrested this morning at the courthouse were Rev. Eldon Irving, 29, of Warren, Ohio; Rev. J. Phillip Park, 31, of Warren, Ohio; Rev. James J. Robinson, Negro 37 of Pittsburg, Pa.; Rev. Johnston E. Patrick, 46 of Pittsburg; Rev. J. D. Thomas, Negro 33 of Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Luke Thorosian, 34, of Pittsburg.; Rev. William Henry Anderson, Jr., 42, of Pittsburg.; Rev. Vern Joseph Rossman, 37 of Indianapolis, Indiana.

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Mass Resistance

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CHATTANOOGA TIMES

p.22

Date: APR 10 1964

MISSISSIPPI CITY JAILS, FREES 17

No. Reason Given for Move in Greenwood—Vote Drive Resumes

GREENWOOD, Miss. (UPI)—Police late Thursday freed 17 pickets arrested earlier in the day in a resumed Negro voter registration drive.

No reason was given for the release. City Prosecuting Attorney Gray Evans also dropped charges of unlawful picketing and refusing to obey the order of Police Chief Curtis Lary.

Six white Northern ministers were among the 17 pickets.

Police took five Negro children out of the picket line, contacted their parents and returned them to school. The parents were told they would be arrested if the children returned to the picket line.

Chief Lary told each picket individually: "You may continue picketing but you will be limited to 10 pickets of voting age and from Leflore county." There were 21 pickets in the line before the arrests were made.

The picketing was the first in three weeks. In the earlier voter registration drive demonstration 14 persons were arrested.

Two white lawyers were advising the marchers. One of them was John Pratt of New York City, attorney for the National Council of Churches' Commission on Race and Religion. The name of the other attorney was not available.

The white ministers arrested were: the Rev. Eldon Irving, 29, of Warren, Ohio; the Rev. J. Philip, Park, 31, of Warren, Ohio; the Rev. Johnston E. Patrick, 46, of Pittsburgh; the Rev. Luke Thorosian, 34, of Pittsburgh; the Rev. William Henry Anderson Jr., 42, of Pittsburgh; the Rev. Vern Joseph Rossman, 37, of Indianapolis.

Miss Resistance

Voter worker gets shiner in Miss. jail

JACKSON, Miss.—(UPI) — A Federal judge refused an attorney's request that he personally examine a blond civil rights workers allegedly beaten in jail Monday night.

The attorney, George W. Crockett Jr. of Detroit, said Peter Stoner suffered a black eye and other injuries in the alleged incident.

Local officials said Stoner suffered the injuries in a scuffle with another prisoner.

Stoner, who is from Pennsylvania, is serving time at the Forrest County Prison Farm following his arrest during a voter registration drive at Hattiesburg in February.

U. S. District Judge Sidney Mize Tuesday denied a writ of habeas corpus for Stoner's release from custody. He ruled that the defendant had not exhausted all remedies available in state courts.

Immediately after denial of the writ, Crockett informed the court of the alleged beating.

"My client informs me he was severely beaten in jail Monday night," said Crockett.

Crockett then asked that the judge issue an injunction order against Forrest County authorities to protect Stoner from such "cruel treatment."

* * *

CROCKETT ALSO requested that Mize view Stoner, locked in a jail cell down the hall from the courtroom, to see "welts and the black eye."

Mize refused and came to the defense of Forrest County Sheriff W. G. Gray. He said, "I know the sheriff, and a more honorable gentleman cannot be found anywhere. He would not permit any such cruel treatment of a prisoner unless the prisoner required some restraint."

"If a prisoner obeys all rules, I know he will not be harmed," Mize said.

MIZE INSTRUCTED Crockett to notify the FBI if he felt Stoner's civil rights had been violated.

"All you have to do is notify them (FBI) and they will have a bunch of agents here to investigate."

The judge instructed Sheriff Gray to look into the matter to determine "if there has been any such treatment."

William S. Wells, assistant state attorney general, told Mize the alleged beating occurred last night in the Hinds County Jail where Stoner had been lodged to await hearing proceedings.

The Afro-American 5-2/64

Miss Resist

Miss Resistance

Journal & Guide, 5-9-64

Speaks In Raleigh

Mrs. Evers Sees Progress In Mississippi

RALEIGH — (UPI) — The North Carolina Conference of NAACP branches was told here Sunday that some progress was made in Mississippi in race relations during the past year.

Mrs. Myrtle Evers, widow of the slain NAACP field secretary, Medgar Evers, was the featured speaker at the freedom day event.

SHE TOLD the group of some 2,500 that despite the progress, problems of a double society remained for Mississippi Negroes.

She said "Negroes are determined to go forth and play their part in the struggle for human rights, and

(See MISS., P. 2)

Mrs. Evers Sees Progress In Mississippi

(Continued from Page 1)

the fear of being hurt or of dying is diminishing daily."

THE SPEAKER said that unity among Negroes has increased since her husband was killed by a sniper's bullet. She stated that selective buying and the ballot are being used primarily in the civil rights struggle in her state.

"Negroes are urged not to buy from stores that refuse to use courtesy titles in addressing Negro customers or which do not hire qualified Negroes," she said.

"We have also set up a system of registration schools operating six days per week to teach Negroes how to register and vote in Mississippi."

THE REV. C. W. Ward of Raleigh, state NAACP voter registration chairman, said a goal of 50,000 had been set for registration during the next month.

Also on hand for the program was the state NAACP conference president, Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte.

Miss. Resistance

Reign Of Terror In Mississippi Reported

Atl. Daily World
5-21-64

NATCHEZ, Miss. — The director of the Mississippi project for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) testified May 6 that 5 Negroes had been killed in southeast Mississippi in recent months, and called for investigation Justice.

Robert Moses, 28, told a meeting of the State Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission that no one had been arrested or indicted for the mysterious slayings.

Moses reported the shotgun killing of 44-year-old Louis Allen in Liberty, Mississippi last January 31. Allen was a witness at the 1961 murder of 52-year-old Negro Herbert Lee, who was gunned down outside a Liberty cotton gin by a member of the Mississippi state legislature. Allen later admitted to SNCC workers he had been forced to lie at a Coroner's jury investigation into the slaying which set free E. H. Hurst.

Both Lee and Allen had been active in a SNCC vote drive.

Moses said four Negroes had been killed in neighboring Wilkinson county since the August, 1963, March on Washington.

Archie C. Curtis, 60, a Natchez undertaker, testified he and another Negro had been stripped and beaten by hooded men on a desolate road outside the city on February 15, 1964. Curtis said he was lured to the spot by an unidentified caller who told him a woman was dying of a heart attack. He told the committee the beating stemmed from his participation in a vote drive.

A Negro was forced to strip and was soaked in motor oil before being beaten in Amite County, near Liberty, on Feb. 1, 1964, Moses said. Another Negro was shot and killed in Tallahatchie County by policemen on Feb. 13, 1964.

Other witnesses told of cross burnings, threatening phone calls, and economic reprisals for taking part in civil rights and vote activity. Moses called for a 'thorough investigation by the Justice Department." Moses and other SNCC staff have issued pleas to that agency numerous times since beginning their vote campaign in 1961.

HAMPTON ROTC TO

Miss Resists

Mississippi Klan recruits white men 'to save nation'

Afro Amer. 5-23-64

JACKSON, Miss.— (UPI) —The Ku Klux Klan, all but inactive in Mississippi for years, claims a state membership of 91,003, it was revealed last week.

The Klan has reportedly been engaged in extensive recruiting in many sections of the state in recent months. A series of cross burnings have been reported in south Mississippi.

KKK literature was shown to newsmen by a state official who asked that he not be identified by name or agency.

The literature said the Klan was enlisting only "sober, intelligent, courageous, Christian, American white men. . .who are militantly determined, God willing, to save their lives, and the life of this nation. . ."

It said the Klan excluded "Jews, because they reject Christ," and Roman Catholics "because they bow to a Roman dictator," and also "Turks, Mongols, Tarters, Orientals (and) Negroes."

"Get out your Bible and pray. You will hear from us," the literature said.

The literature urged every "Christian, American Anglo-Saxon" to join "to defend our Constitutional Republic by every means at their command."

The literature said "the administration of our national government is now under the actual control of atheists who are Bolsheviks by nature.

"As dedicated agents of satan, they are absolutely determined to destroy Christian civilizatoin and all Christians," the pamphlets said. "We have nothing dishonorable to hide, but we must remain secret, for the protection of our lives and families."

Among a list of "20 reasons why you should, if qualified, join" was: "Because it is clear now that it Communiism is to be defeated in America, it will be done in the South and primarily in Mississippi.

Othere reasons included:

"Because it is a very secret organization and no one will know that you are a member.

"Because it is a working organization which not only talks, but acts."

Miss Resist.

Voter Drive: One Injured, 55 Arrested

Pine Bluff Commercial
5-30-64

CANTON, Mississippi (AP) — Police say a Negro who cursed them was knocked unconscious and at least 55 persons were arrested yesterday during voter registration demonstrations.

McKinley Hamilton, 24, of Madison County, was treated at a hospital. A hospital spokesman said he was not seriously injured. Hamilton was later taken to the Madison County jail.

The Council of Federated Organizations, a civil rights group, said among those arrested were four ministers representing the National Council of Churches.

Police refused to tell newsmen the names of those arrested. Officers said they were charged with parading without a permit and failing to obey police.

Although police broke up marches, they allowed Negroes to go singly and in pairs to the courthouse to register. A civil rights spokesman said 42 Negroes completed the voter registration tests.

Miss. Racist.

Berm. Phila, 6-3-64

Miss. Police Reportedly Continuing Harrassment

JACKSON, Miss. — "Civil rights workers in Mississippi face arrest almost daily on charges ranging from 'running a stop sign" and 'public drunkeness' to 'carrying books calculated to incite people to overthrow the government", according to John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

During an intensive mock political campaign across the state last fall workers from SNCC estimated that police made over 60 arrests for traffic violations alone during a 21 day period. "Over 100 incidents of official harrassment" were recorded during November, 1963, when an integrated slate ran in a mock election for the state's two top offices.

Civil rights workers here have charged police are stepping up arrests as the summer approaches. As examples, they cite:

The overnight jailing in Holly Springs of four workers from the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) for "investigation;"

The arrest of seven COFO workers in Belzoni on May 14. Police said they were arrested "to prevent riots" because the group was integrated;

The arrest in Oxford of six COFO workers May 5. They were charged with "suspicion of carrying materials which advocate the overthrow of the government" when police found college textbooks in a trailer behind their car;

The arrest in Jackson on May 24 of a white COFO worker, Dick Jewett, 20, of New York city. Jewett was charged with "vagrancy" and "public drunkeness;"

The arrest of two University of Pennsylvania Law School students, Alan Lerner and Charles Woll, and SNCC worker Hunter More in Jackson May 25. The three, all white, were charged with "being fugitives;"

The arrest May 25 of COFO worker Emily Shrader, 20, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, on "vagrancy" and "public drunkeness" charges;

The arrest that evening, three times, by Pennsylvania law student Woll on three different traffic counts;

SNCC workers expect such arrests to increase when 1,000 summer workers arrive in Mississippi July 1 to begin work on a COFO-sponsored "Summer Project."

Miss Resistance

Gazette 6/11/64

Labor Mississippi Hope On Rights, Leader Says

HAMDEN, Ct. (AP)—A Mississippi labor leader said Tuesday that the labor movement was the "only responsible group" that could effectively change the civil rights picture in his state.

Claude Ramsay, president of the Mississippi State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, said, however, that "organized labor cannot reach its political goals until greater strides are made in granting Negro Mississippians the right to vote."

Ramsey spoke at a human rights conference sponsored by the Connecticut State Labor Council.

Miss Resistance

The Price of Strife

Race Turmoil Threatens To Stifle Mississippi's Economic Development

Tensions Blamed for Slump In Plant Building, Tourism; Boycotts Pose New Peril

State Opens Ad Counterattack

Econ Pressures

By FRANK MORGAN 2-2-65
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JACKSON, Miss.—Mississippi is feeling the impact of racial strife where it hurts—in the pocketbook.

A few weeks ago a northeast Mississippi industrial development scout wrote Work Wear Corp. of Cleveland hopefully inquiring whether the uniform manufacturer, which already has two plants in the state, was considering further expansion. "If so," the letter said, "we invite you to take a look at our part of Mississippi."

The answer was quick in coming. "We won't consider expanding in Mississippi until the state and its people join the Union again," wrote A. L. Rosenthal, Work Wear president. The executive explains his harsh reply was prompted by Mississippi's racial strife and the lack of "visible evidence" that the state is trying to correct the problem.

While Mr. Rosenthal's attitude in itself may not represent a major setback for Mississippi's economy, there's growing evidence that acts of racial violence and discrimination are having a deepening impact on the state's business climate. In the past six months alone, at least a dozen companies that were considering Mississippi as a site for new plants have decided to build elsewhere, and it's widely believed racial tension was a primary consideration in the decisions.

Tourism Hurt

Racial turmoil appears to be affecting the economy here in other ways, too. Businessmen in Mississippi's Gulf Coast resorts report tourism has dropped since the murder of three civil rights workers last summer near Philadelphia, Miss. Some companies also say it's becoming more difficult to attract skilled workers from other states, particularly the North.

The impact is so pronounced that none other than Gov. Paul B. Johnson, who rode into office on a segregationist platform, concedes that "the racial trouble has hurt us economically."

So far most of Mississippi's troubles stem from decisions by individual travelers or companies to avoid possible problems by staying away, rather than a result of any organized effort to damage the state. But now an organized threat is emerging.

Over the nation, local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are launching boycotts against products manufactured in Mississippi. Already on the list are products made at the Mississippi plants of such companies as Armstrong Rubber Co., Burlington Industries, Inc., and D. H. Baldwin Co., the piano and organ maker. Two other civil rights groups, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, say they will soon begin similar "selective buying" campaigns.

On the Sidelines

The rights organizations say they hope to draw Mississippi's business leaders from the sideline position they have generally taken on the race question into the middle of the fray, where they might act as a moderating influence.

Although it might be debated how effective such boycotts would be—it's difficult to see, for example, how a consumer is to know where multi-plant companies manufacture a particular product—the mere threat of economic warfare is causing jitters among Mississippi's businessmen. Some already have had a taste of what can happen from informal boycotts by out-of-the-state buyers. "We lost at least $250,000 in sales last year because of people refusing to buy Mississippi-made products," declares Joseph C. Bancroft, president of Croft Metal Products, Inc., an aluminum extruder and fabricator in McComb.

Textile makers have felt the pinch, too. Yankee Distributors, Inc., Flint, Mich., has advised several Mississippi mills that it is discontinuing the purchase of Mississippi goods until racial terrorism in the state abates. The retailing chain says it has been buying about $250,000 worth of textile goods annually for sale in its 18 stores.

A New Address

Such pressures even prompted one manufacturer of household goods in southern Mississippi to move its shipping operations across the state line into Louisiana. Explains the company's sales manager: "Mail-order houses just don't like to show an f.o.b. point in Mississippi."

But the impact of racial tensions in Mississippi is most evident in the state's efforts to lure new industry. Last year only $37 million was spent on new plants in the state, a 28% drop from 1963. Mississippi industry hunters generally attempt to brush off the decline, attributing it to the "cyclical" nature of industrial development. But Arkansas and Louisiana, with whom Mississippi competes directly for new industry, showed big gains in new plant investment last year.

"I know of six fairly good-sized companies omitting Mississippi for plant sites in recent months because of the situation down there," says a New York management consultant who specializes in selecting plant locations for his clients. "Companies just don't want to go into that type of atmosphere."

Last November a McComb, Miss., newspaper editorialized that "15 industrial prospects in the past three or four months made it clear they were afraid of the McComb atmosphere of (racial) strife and disorder." The town of 12,000 population in southwest Mississippi was the site of 17 racial bombings during 1964.

Florida Jalousies, Inc., an aluminum window and door maker based in West Palm Beach, Fla., decided against building a plant in Laurel, Miss., the day after the town's newspaper office was dynamited last spring. A company spokesman says the timing of its decision was "just a coincidence"; a Laurel

Please Turn to Page 10, Column 3

The Price of Strife: Race Turmoil Threatens Mississippi's Economy

Continued From First Page

civic leader, however, says that until the blast occurred the town was "convinced the company was definitely coming in."

Greenville, a town in the northwest Delta which is generally regarded as one of the more racially moderate communities in the state, has also had difficulty recently in enticing new industry. From 1959 through 1962 Greenville attracted one new plant a year, but none have located there since. One "solid prospect" lined up for the town by an outside consulting firm decided it didn't want to locate in Mississippi and went elsewhere, according to a Greenville business leader.

CORE Launches Campaign

Marvin Rich, national community relations director for the Congress of Racial Equality in New York City, says that "in the past three or four months we have been talking to companies that were going to locate plants in Mississippi; at least one has definitely decided not to go into the state." Mr. Rich declines to identify this company or any others that his group has contacted. He says CORE "gets the leads on these companies through friends we have in banking and plant consultation." CORE and other civil rights groups also are urging investment houses not to bid on Mississippi bonds.

Mississippians who depend on tourist dollars make clear they are unhappy about the impact of racial tension on their business. "From the way the press pictures us, you'd think a person needed to put on armor when he crossed the Mississippi line," bitterly complains a Gulfport businessman. Taxable sales in Biloxi and Gulfport, the two major tourism centers on the Mississippi Gulf, were down $2.8 million, or about 3%, last year from 1963. Jack Stanford of Gulfport, president of the Gulf Coast Motel Association, says business of some smaller motels dropped 50% during the year but insists that "bigger and newer" tourist facilities on the Gulf "did better in 1964 than in 1963."

State Travel Director Ned O'Brien estimates that visitors' spending throughout Mississippi fell 10% to 15%, or between $40 million and $60 million, in 1964, indicating that many tourists who normally would have traveled through Mississippi took other routes.

Mississippians are trying hard to improve the state's image among outsiders, and the state is coming up with some new lures for industry. A state-financed advertisement running currently in six national publications implores readers to "meet the Mississippi you haven't heard about." The ad pictures such scenes as bathing beauties on Gulf Coast beaches, ante-bellum homes and Jackson's modern downtown business district. Gov. Johnson is personally overseeing planning of new advertising strategy that would extol Mississippi's recreational and industrial advantages—and hopefully counteract its civil rights problems.

Legislature Acts

The state legislature also has appropriated $5.5 million to match Federal funds for technical training courses in public schools—the first time the state has allocated funds for the teaching of industrial skills. "For 75 years the Negroes have been an economic millstone around our neck because they, and the white Mississippian, haven't been trained in the skills needed for industrialization," says Gov. Johnson.

In other moves, the state has set up a Marketing council to seek new domestic and foreign markets for the state's agricultural and manufactured products. Corporate and personal income taxes are being reduced in another bid for industry. But this could be offset by a possible rise in sales tax rates, currently 3½%, because of a dwindling general fund surplus and increased government spending.

Businessmen show signs of responding to the challenge, too. A number of the state's leading business executives have been meeting in recent days in an effort to bring about change in what one calls "the image of lawlessness and oppression that outsiders have of Mississippi." The possible outcome: A statement to be circulated state-wide which would condemn racial extremism and violence and pledge businessmen's efforts to help improve the state's racial climate. Some 100,000 signatures would be sought.

NAACP Pickets Big Board Asking Mississippi Boycott

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—Pickets from a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People marched in front of the New York Stock Exchange in lower Manhattan in an appeal for a boycott of products manufactured in Mississippi.

About a dozen members of the NAACP's Greenwich Village chapter picketed the exchange to protest the Big Board's listing of stocks of a number of companies they said sell products stemming from Mississippi. A spokesman for the group said the names of the companies had been obtained from a survey prepared by an NAACP field crew operating in Mississippi.

The spokesman declared: "These companies have production facilities in Mississippi, they are enjoying immense profits from that segregated state and in effect are helping to bolster a system of segregation." He termed the demonstration the initial phase in a national campaign to dissuade people from buying products grown or made in Mississippi.

The picketing follows efforts by the NAACP and other civil rights groups to persuade banks, investment concerns and other investors not to bid on securities issued by the State of Mississippi.

DID NOT FIND ON ORDINANCE BOOK
MINUTE BOOK 14, PAGES 465 and 466
SEPTEMBER 13, 1954

AN ORDINANCE REQUIRING THE ISSUANCE OF A PERMIT FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF HANDBILLS, POSTERS, DODGERS, PAPER CUPS, AND OTHER LIKE OBJECTS WITHIN THE CITY OF INDIANOLA, MISSISSIPPI

WHEREAS, the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Indianola have determined from past experience that the distribution of handbills, posterd (sic), dodgers, paper cups, and like objects on the streets, sidewalks and public places of the City of Indianola does cause the streets and sidewalks to be littered and unsightly, and some (sic) cause the sewer mains and culverts to become clogged and unsanitary, thereby creating an unsanitary condition which is detrimental to the good health of the community; and

WHEREAS, a large part of the handbills, posters, dodgers, paper cups, etc., distributed on the streets are immediately thrown upon the streets, thereby rendering them unsafe to the traveling public and cause a public nuisance on the streets; and

WHEREAS, the dumping by the public distribution on the streets of said handbills, posters, dodgers, paper cups, etc., would create civil liability on the City of Indianola:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT ORDAINED BY THE MAYOR AND BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF INDIANOLA, MISSISSIPPI:

SECTION 1. For the protection of the public health, social welfare, public liability, and the protection of the public in general, it shall be unlawful for any person or group of persons to distribute or cause to be distributed, by any means or in any manner

[illegible] or like objects, in any [illegible] to be [illegible] public place, street, sidewalk, alley, or highway, within the City of Indianola, Mississippi, without obtaining a permit therefor.

SECTION 2. That any person or persons desiring to distribute or cause to be distributed by any means, or in any manner, handbills, posters, dodgers, paper cups,

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or like objects, shall make application to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Indianola for a permit so to do. That the applicant shall accompany his application with a copy of the handbills, dodgers, posters, or paper cups. That at said hearing the Mayor and Board of Aldermen shall determine what bond shall be required of the distributors for the cleaning up of said sidewalks or streets, and the removal of debris caused by said distribution and to indemnify the City of Indianola from any and all claims of damages that may be caused by the throwing of said handbills, dodgers, posters or paper cups upon the sidewalks and streets of the City. That in making the determination for the permit and bond the Mayor and Board of Aldermen shall take into consideration the size and volume of the posters, handbills, dodgers, paper cups or like objects, and upon what kind of paper the said handbills, posters, dodgers, paper cups, or like objects are made of, and the number of said handbills, posters, dodgers, paper cups or like objects to be distributed, and the number of people that would be adversely affected thereby, and any and all

other questions of fact to be determined, to determine the size of the bond to be required.

SECTION 3. That any one dissatisfied with the finding of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen shall have a right to appeal to the Circuit Court of Sunflower County, Mississippi, where said Court may hear and determine the application and make such order as should have been made by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen.

SECTION 4. That any person convicted of a violation hereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than Five Dollars, nor more than One Hundred Dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 5. That for cause this ordinance shall be in force and take effect from and after November 10, 1954.

T. M. PITTS
MAYOR

Judge Admits . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

county was "forced to do so."

Judge Suspended Suit

Methodist Minister Rev. W. G. Goff and Andrew Kendrick testified that they were denied registration just after they watched Ramsey register white Floyd B. Jones in Stonewall. When Ramsey stated that he had registered Jones in the Quitman office, Cox accused Rev. Goff and Kendrick of lying.

He stopped the suit and stated that he would hold Rev. Goff and Kendrick on $3,000 bond unless the Justice Department proved that their testimony was true.

TELEPHONE GLADSTONE 3-4628

115 HOWARD STREET

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI

STATES' RIGHTS RACIAL INTEGRITY

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS 1962

HORACE HARNED, JR
STARKVILLE
W B LUCAS
MACON
N E DACUS
TUPELO
F M VAUGHN
COLUMBUS
DENNIS M BAKER
BATESVILLE
JOHN C LAKE
GRENADA
MAURICE BLACK
CARROLLTON
GEORGE M YARBROUGH
RED BANKS
DONALD F CUNNING
MARIGOLD
WILBURN HOOKER
LEXINGTON
J A ELY, JR
SHAW
KENNETH WILLIAMS
CLARKSDALE
TOM P BRADY
BROOKHAVEN
ALBERT GARDNER
YAZOO CITY
LUCIEN GWIN
NATCHEZ
ELLIS W WRIGHT
JACKSON
W H JOHNSON, JR
DECATUR
JIM B COLLIER
MERIDIAN
H H HARPOLE
PHILADELPHIA
STANLEY MATTHEWS
CANTON
H L RANKIN, JR
COLUMBIA
C G CLARK
HATTIESBURG
JIM TRUE
GULFPORT
J E STOCKSTILL
PICAYUNE
R P PARISH — Pres. Bank of Greenwood
TREASURER
BANK OF GREENWOOD
GREENWOOD
ELLETT LAWRENCE
FINANCE CHAIRMAN
GREENWOOD
DAVE HAWKINS — V.P. Bank of Greenwood
CHAIRMAN
SPECIAL GIFTS COMMITTEE
INDIANOLA
ROBERT B PATTERSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
GREENWOOD
W J SIMMONS
ADMINISTRATOR
JACKSON

Dear Friend:

The predictions of our "extremists" are beginning to come true. The shadow of integration and negro political domination now looms over Mississippi. Our prediction is that we are going to be harassed from every angle possible during the next several years.

This writer has been in this movement since its beginning in May of 1954, and it hurts me to have to say that entirely too many Mississippians, particularly those of wealth and position, have not joined in the battle. Their property and personal safety is at stake just as is ours. In some ways, they are going to be hit a great deal harder than the ordinary citizen when and if negro political domination comes about in Mississippi. They are the ones who will bear the biggest part of any 100%, 200%, or more, tax increase. We see it already happening just north of us.

If you, as an individual, have not contributed your time, ingenuity, and financial support, we now appeal to you to do your part in helping your local organization and also the state and south wide groups in this struggle for survival.

Your local council needs membership. It needs the "banded intelligence of a free community" on its executive committee in its regular meetings. Your state association desperately needs your financial support on a regular sustained basis.

Every white Mississippian has a stake in the outcome of this political assault now being made against us. We hope that you will do your part.

Sincerely,

Ellett Lawrence
Finance Chairman

Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights.

IMPORTANT

We hate to write these "begging" letters, so we have worked out a plan to eliminate the letters, as well as local membership drives, for those who cooperate by contributing to the cause on a monthly basis. Your local dues will be remitted by the state office.

As you know, the funds are used to maintain and develop our state-wide program, which is even more important now in the face of increasing agitation for integration and negro political domination.

Your return of the enclosed draft authorization (at least $2.00 monthly, please) will help us in getting this plan started. Contributions are voluntary, of course, and may be terminated at your request.

ELLETT LAWRENCE, Finance Chairman

Mail To: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
Greenwood, Mississippi

Date_____

TO:_____(BANK)

_____(ADDRESS

You are, until further notice, hereby authorized to honor drafts on my account for $_____each month, in favor of

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
Greenwood, Miss.

Signed_____

_____

Board - U.S.F. & S.

x J. D. Baker

Jacob Blaustein — Pres. & chmn. Amer. Trading & Prod. Co. Inc. - Dir. Standard oil; American oil.

C. H. Buck

T. B. Butler — Trustee Johns Hopkins Univ.; Men. Fin. Comm. Catholic Univ. Trustee.

C. P. Crane

F. A. Davis

E. J. Gallagher, Jr.

C. B. Gillet

x W. J. Jeffrey

x E. W. Jenning, Jr.

H. S. Miles

S. P. Nelson

x H. F. Ogden

J. C. Persons - Chmn. 1st Natl. Bank, Birmingham — Mem. Adv. Bd. - Fed. Res. Bank - Wash. D.C.

x C. L. Phillips - Chmn Exec & Fin. Comm.

x W. E. Pullen

x J. S. Smith — V-P Mellon Natl Bank & Trust Co.

J. B. Wilson

x J. P. Wright, atty Baltimore — Joseph Purdon Wright Gen. Coun. & dir. - Baltimore Broadcasting Co. - trustee U of Baltimore

x H. J. Young - Atlanta

Mississippi Voter R[illegible] gistration Resistance

Sylvester Davis	-	working for city of Ruleville --	wife ~~sister~~ registered
Fred Hicks		working for city of Ruleville	mother registered
Sylvester Grey		working for city of Ruleville	sister registered

Joe Louis Holt
Marks, Mississippi
Quitman CountySeat jailed

Relatives: Charlie Johnson
Ira Johnson

A Mississippi Solution

Arkansas Gazette

The controversy over President Kennedy's Public Accommodations measure has served to obscure, at least for a time, other civil rights proposals that do rest on solid foundation in the Constitution. It is regrettable that so little of the attention centers on the rights to vote and be free of discrimination in public education.

It is in voting and in education that the real remedies against racial discrimination lie. Voting alone, so recently the focal point of administration concern, is one of the most effective of medicines that can be prescribed.

The special problem in Mississippi, where no one can really expect voluntary provisions to provide Negroes with accommodations and services, has its own special solution. More than 40 per cent of the population of Mississippi is colored. The Negroes are systematically disfranchised by the widespread abuse of a purported literacy test.

If the Kennedy bill for Negro voting is passed, a sixth-grade education will give automatic qualification for literacy. When the Mississippi Negroes gain their voting rights, the politics of the state must perforce undergo a profound change. A markedly different kind of state leadership will emerge when candidates come face to face with the enfranchisement of Negroes, who constitute nearly half the population.

Mississippi's discrimination is, admittedly, formidable. Yet a lot of problems in discrimination there would take care of themselves rather effectively upon the enforcement by the national government of one of the most elemental constitutional guarantees.

Mississippi

Miss. 'Freedom Summer' Campaign Also Planned As State Tightens Laws

ATLANTA, Ga.—Six Negroes in three Deep South states have qualified to run for Democratic Congressional nominations, as outgrowths of voter registration drives conducted by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Meanwhile the Council of Federated Organizations revealed that with the help of the State Legislature, Mississippi's police officers will be more than ready to deal with civil rights groups planning a "Mississippi Freedom Summer."

The summer drive, sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), involves 1,000 workers in programs of voter registration, Freedom Schools, Freedom Registration and Community Centers.

Gov. Paul Johnson has already signed into law five bills designed to halt demonstrations.

The five bills signed into law by Governor Johnson are:

House Bill 64—Authorizes cities to restrain movements of groups and individuals;

House Bill 546 — Prohibits the unlawful picketing of all public buildings, streets, sidewalks and other places belonging to the city, county and state;

Senate Bill 1517—Increases penalties that may be assessed by city courts;

Senate Bill 1526—Authorizes municipalities to "pool" personnel, manpower and equipment;

Senate Bill 1545 — Provides a maximum penalty of $500 and/or 6 months in jail for printing and circulating material promoting a boycott.

The State Sovereignty Commission—the official segregation watchdog—has suggested the use of other laws to halt anti-segregation protests. They are:

Section 2087-5 — Congregate and refuse to disperse when ordered by a police officer;

Section 2087-7 — Prohibits any person interfering with customers or operation of any business venture;

Section 2089-5—Disturb the peace or peace of others;

Section 2155-4—Make false statements to Federal authorities;

cagoula for the 5th District nomination.

A 74-year-old retired furniture dealer in Vicksburg, James M. Houston, will run against Representative John Bell Williams in the 3rd District.

All four Mississippi candidates plan to challenge the rights of their opponents to the nomination if they lose. According to government figures, about 400,000 Negroes are eligible to vote in Mississippi while only approximately 20,000 are registered voters.

In Alabama, Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton, 52, of Selma, qualified Feb. 29 to run for Congress against incumbent Kenneth Roberts of the 4th District in the Democratic primary May 5th. She will run under Alabama's "9 - 8" plan created when the state lost one representative's place because of population lags. Primaries and run-offs are held in each of the old nine districts and the nine winners face each other to eliminate the low man in a state-wide race.

Atty. C. B. King, 40, of Albany, Ga., filed to run for the state's 2nd District nomination on April 4. He faces a courtroom opponent, Maston O'Neal, solicitor general of the Albany Judicial Circuit.

Another Negro, A. C. Cofield, 55, of Halifax County, North Carolina, announced write-in candidacy for Congress in the May 30 primary.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is conducting voter registration drives as a supplement to each campaign.

Section 2155-4—Issue false complaints to Federal authorities;

Section 2292-5 — Obstruct by force or threats lawful arrest;

Section 2296-5 — Willful obstruction of public streets;

Section 2409-5 — Encourage any person to remain on premises of another when forbidden to do so.

The Sovereignty Commission has distributed copies of the old and new laws to state law enforcement officers.

COFO is composed of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Regarding the Negro "Deep South" candidates, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee states that three congressional seats in Mississippi are being sought by Negroes, and a Negro woman has qualified to run against Senator John C. Stennis (D.-Miss.) in the Democratic primary.

A Negro woman is running for Congress from Alabama, and a Negro lawyer will seek nomination in Georgia.

They are the first Negroes to seek Federal office from their states since Reconstruction.

SNCC has conducted voter registration drives in rural areas of the black belt South since 1961 and has encouraged Negroes to run for office.

Mrs. Victoria Gray, 37, of Hattiesburg, will run against Senator Stennis of Dekalb in the June 2 Mississippi Democratic primary.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, 47, of Ruleville, opened her campaign against 2nd District Representative Jamie Whitten the day she qualified, March 20. She will continue to speak throughout the Delta—the heart of Mississippi's cotton-growing area.

The Rev. John Erle Cameron, 31, also of Hattiesburg—scene of a concerted vote drive—will oppose Representative William Colmer of Pas-

Miss Resistance

Mississippi Resistance

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

MISSISSIPPI POLICE BEAT TWO YOUTHS

Canton, Miss., Feb. 6--Following a CORE voter registration meeting February 3rd at Pleasant Green Church, police picked up two Negro youths, took them to the jail and beat them mercilessly. The two are Arthur Harris and Will Galloway.

Both have filed affidavits with the U.S. Department of Justice and CORE is pressing the Department to act. Harris charges that after being taken inside the jail, police beat him with a rubber hose, broke a nightstick over his head, started to dry-shave him and finally shot him at close range with a gun containing blank cartridges. Galloway charges that he was pummeled by police behind the jail.

CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis pointed out that the brutality against the two youths was a continuation of police intimidation which has marked the voter registration drive.

Seventeen voter registration workers were arrested on various charges within the week of January 20-27. The largest group, including four CORE Task Force workers and six community leaders, recently were tried, found guilty and given sentences ranging from 30 days to eighteen months and heavy fines. Alma Bosley received the heaviest sentence. The four CORE Task Force workers got six months. The cases are being appealed, but the 10 were jailed-in for more than a week.

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These Photographs are of the Front of the Fourth Street Drug Store in Clarksdale, Miss, wrecked by vandals on the Night of September 16th. Bricks were hurled through the plate glass windows that clearly displayed NAACP and Voter Registration announcements. The store is owned and operated by Mr. and Mrs. Aaron E Henry. Mr. Henry is the president of the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP and also serves as president of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations the organization directing the Voter Registration Drive in Miss. with a grant supplied by the Voter Education of Atlanta, Ga. Thru Attorney Wiley A Branton. Mrs. Henry has recently been fired by the Coahoma County School board after working in the School System of Coahoma County for the past 10 years. The NAACP is still studying legal procedures best to take in her defense. After notifying the FBI and the County Authorities, of the vandalism Henry hung two more signs in the windows with this caption, "This act of a coward will not alter our drive for Freedom, Racial Hatred, is not the answer".

J. D Rayford

PRESCRIPTIONS
SODAS
DRINK
Coca-Cola
NAACP
Does this
Jobs!
WE'RE
TOO YOUNG
TO REGISTER...
...WHAT'S
YOUR
EXCUSE?
NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
PEACE CORPS
THERMOS
Money
Orders

FREE YEARBOOK
SHEAFFER'S
3 RING SPECIAL
$5.00
... register and vote
TIP-DIP PEN
SHEAFFER'S
FOOTBALL
DELTA CLASSIC
MISS. IND. COLLEGE
JACKSON ST. COLLEGE
SAT. SEPT. 15
COMMUNITY PARK
COLORED JUNIOR COLLEGE
Corp Center Park
Coca-Cola

CONTACT LIST - MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen
Inactive
R. Jackson
369-7821
EM 9-4950

Belzoni
Active
Mr. Shaw
26 Grant Street

Biloxi
Active
Dr. Gilbert Mason
873 Fayard
ID 2-2178 (Home)
ID 6-4636 (Office)

Canton
Active
859-9982
838 Lutz Street
Freedom House

Clarksdale
James Jones
4th Street Drug Store
MA 4-9167 MA 4-4006
Aaron Henry
MA 4-7913 (Store)
MA 4-6006
213 4th Street
Gordon Harris
479 Yazoo Street

Cleveland
Amzie Moore
614 Chrisman
VI 3-2504
Lois Rogers
Happy Land Cafe
843-9334

Donald White
Frank Smith
323 6th Ave. N.
328-7634
378-1737 (Mr. Carter)

Brookhaven
Dr. Lott
Inactive

Greenville
Hunter Morey
Carol Bolton
940 Sidney
335-2173

Greenwood
James Jones
Willie Peacock
708 Avenue N
GL 3-1282
Annelle Ponder
453-7871

Hattiesburg
Lawrence Guyot
507 Mobile St.
584-7670

Holly Springs
Leslie M. Lemore
Rust College
269- or 9109

Laurel
Inactive
C. C. Collins
428-0588 (Home)
428-8706 (Bus.)
60 E. 15th Street

McComb
Mac Arthur, Colton
702 Wall Street
684-9235
Public phone
Chicken Shack

Meridian
Matthew E. Saurez
250½ Fifth St.
485-9286
Jones Fifth St. Store
2407 Fifth St.
482-1742
Also: 485-9184, 485-9132

Natchez
George Greene
9 St. Catherine
445-5531

Port Gibson
Inactive
Mr. Alex Collins
716 Coffee St.
318 - phone

Ruleville
Charles McLaurin
909 Reden St.
756-4623
Mrs. Fannie L. Hamer
626 E. Lafayette St
756-4838

Starkville
D. L. Connor
123 NW Washington
323-3361 (office)
323-3203

Tupelo
Vaughn's Motel
842-6867
842-6871
842-0415

Milston
R. Hayes Hayes
5072

Gulfport
Dr. Dunn
UH 4-2531 (home)
UH 4-1344 (office)

~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible] (office)~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

Cofo

Vicksburg
Jesse Harris
Shirley Harris
636-1592 (office)
636-6138
Summers -
636-7091

Tchula
John Ball
Route 2, Box 56A
5989

West Point
John W. Jackson
1059 - Laundry

Tougaloo
Ed Kind
Switchboard
366-3425
366-7316
Casey, Helen, Doris

file

COFO

TO: Rev. Arthur Thomas, Mr. Robert Moses, Mr. Courtney Siceloff, and Mr. Wiley Branton

FROM: John Due

RE: Field Trip - Southwest Mississippi

This is a field report to the above interested parties about my trip to Southwest Mississippi on behalf of the National Council of Churches, a group assisting an organization existing in Mississippi, known as the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and its director, Mr. Robert Moses.

On April 28, 1964, I received a telephone call in the Voter Education Project Office of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia from Rev. Arthur Thomas of the National Council of Churches. He asked as to whether it might be possible for me to come to Mississippi. I was to assist Mr. Robert Moses in several counties in Southwest Mississippi to find witnesses or to procure affidavits. There was to be a hearing by the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, May 6, 1964. The Committee was to investigate interference with voter registration by intimidation and terror by the Klu Klux Klan and police officials.

I told Art that I would be vey happy to go and to assist in any manner I could be used, but I would have to have approval from Mr. Wiley Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. I would already be near there- I was to be in New Orleans later in the day and remain through the next Sunday. Mr. Branton gave us his approval, and we made plans that I would meet Bob Moses in Jackson, Mississippi on Monday.

Fortunately, I met Bob in New Orleans and it was decided that I cut short my stay in New Orleans because he had only Sunday to be with me in order to direct me as to people and the locale. So, Saturday afternoon, Robert Moses and I left New Orleans by train, arriving in McComb, Mississippi at about 6:00 PM.

On the train, Bob and I were in the last car; I guess it was a first-class coach--both of us sitting as we did prefer around a table. For the greater part of the trip, we were the only Negroes on the coach. It was a strange trip. I do not know about Bob, but since my trips into Mississippi, I have acquired a habit of "not-seeing" the white stranger who is in Mississippi. I would make a deliberate effort of assuring that there would be no eye-contact between us. This was a defensive mechanism to avoid hostility.

When we arrived at the McComb Train Station, a white taxi driver offered to pick us up. I thought this was somewhat funny in a town where there

have been cross-burnings, job-firings, etc., and we had just left the town--New Orleans--where white taxis will not take Negro passengers. We took a Negro taxi.

Bob Moses directed the cab driver to the home of Mr. Curtis Bryant. It was his place, a barber shop situated near his home, which was bombed, only just last Tuesday, April 26. It was now about dusk, and the shop was lighted and was still usable. Mr. Bryant was at the time cutting a boy's hair. Also, there were some of his local friends, including a Mr. Marshall. Mr. Bryant was glad to see Bob; they both knew each other from working together. Bob identified to them as to who I was--an attorney from Florida, presently working out of the Atlanta, Georgia Office. He informed them about he meeting of the Advisory Committee of the United States Civil Rights Commission to be held in Natchez. They were told that if they could testify about cross-burnings, police or state interference with attempts to register, or job-firings, people would appear before the Committee. We told them where they should go. The hearing was to be held in the Natchez Post Office Building. However, they were told that if they or anyone else could not appear, we would be willing to take their signed statements.

Because we had several places to go, I set up my portable typewriter for Bob to use, and I took my legal pad in order to take notes. At this time, at the ever-deepening darkness, I began to be aware of Mr. Bryant's nervousness. I was asking Mr. Bryant questions and wrote his answers, such that he is the president of the Pike County Branch NAACP, that he had been conducting voter registration clinics, and as an employee of the Illinois Central Railroad, he, along with a Mr. Willie Thompson, had filed affidavits with the President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunity about practices of racial discrimination by the railroad. He answered all the questions as he cut the boy's hair.

Mr. Bryant was concerned about both Bob and me not having eaten. Mr. Marshall volunteered to get us some food. As it was getting late, I asked about the people who Mr. Bryant knows who could give information to the Committee, whether they could meet us at a centralized point, such as the restaurant where we could eat, or could these people come to Mr. Bryant's house. Mr. Marshall, whose wife has "failed" 5 times in taking the test to become a qualified voter, said that "as far as I'm concerned, I'm not afraid, but I know my wife won't come here," (Mr. Bryant's home).

As I reflect now concerning this report, I realize that I was carelessly naive to believe that these people, being intimidated, would be eager to run to me to give me their statements. Bob had said that by appearing before the Committee, this would be another additional thing which

would encourage more federal intervention in the area. I said that the Federal Government, being in Washington, will only act if it has a base of valid evidence upon which to act, which means affidavits and witnesses.

Then it was beginning to get darker and darker. Mr. Marshall had already taken his leave to get Bob and me our dinners. Bob told me that he would have all day Sunday to show me around McComb, and we would just try to see as many people as we could at their homes. Someone came into the barber shop with a rifle to guard. Mr. Bryant then told Bob and me that we should come into the house in order to finish taking his and others statements, not only for his own safety but for our safety as well.

I shrugged my shoulders, feeling somewhat comfortable where I was, feeling confident that another attempt surely could not be made; they should KNOW already that Mr. Bryant has a guard now. But a new thought invaded my assumed air of "cockiness"--the thought that the whole system of segregation, etc. is absurd. Therefore, indeed murder and destruction could happen that night, although it, too, is absurd. When we left the barber shop, it was pitch-black, and Bryant led us into his home by the back door so that we would not present a good target by entering the front door. Even Bob looked a little nervous when a car, made indistinguishable by its bright lights, sped by the country road. Surely Bob Moses could not be afraid!

The kitchen was next to the back door and also near the back was a bedroom with a couch where several neighborhood children were sitting watching television, along with Mr. Bryant's son. I also met Mrs. Bryant. I became so involved in getting information from Mr. Bryant about his experiences that I failed to notice that the children, and even Mrs. Bryant had soon left, possibly at the end of the Jackie Gleason Show. They would be safe some place else.

I finished taking Mr. Bryant's statement--how on that fateful Tuesday night, he heard a loud "blast" while watching television. He went to the door, did not see anything and returned to watch television. He told me that "he did not know what the noise so close was." Yet, reflecting now, it is interesting that he returned to watch television, as if he were determined to enjoy life as he sees it, no matter what the loud noise was about, despite those things which would deny life. It took the neighborhood children screaming to his door to tell him that his barber shop was on fire. He called immediately the Police Department and the Justice Department and was able to stop the fire before it did significant damage to the barber shop. The Police Department came immediately and recovered a piece of pipe which they promised to send to New Orleans for expert investigation and analysis.

Mr. Bryant also gave us a statement about a cross being burned in front of his home in January along with about 14 other places one night in January, and how his wife and son have received unknown obscene telephone calls warning them to leave death or informing them of their imminent death. Klu Klux Klan materials were everywhere distributed among the Negro neighborhood.

Mr. Bryant gave me the names of several persons who could give me their statements or who may be able to appear before the Committee, such as Rev. Haynes, who received a telephone call after the bombing Wednesday Night that he would be next; Jack Micellis, who was forced to be fired from his job as a plumber by the Klu Klux Klan; Mr. Marshall's wife, who has been discriminated against in attempting to register to vote five times; a Mrs. Burgler, who was beaten without any cause by a Mr. Brown of the Public Housing Authority; and two Negro teachers, Miss Wilson and Miss Clark, who were sexually abused by the white superintendent; and Mr. Willie Thompson, who was recently fired from his job at the Illinois Central Railroad for the given cause of "insubordination," but in fact was fired because of his insisting that he is an "equal." (He was the other person who filed an affidavit with Mr. Bryant who is with the President's Committee of Equal Job Opportunity.)

Mr. Bryant called Rev. Haynes who lived a few blocks away and who came by. While Bob Moses typed out Mr. Bryant's statement, I proceeded to talk to Rev. Haynes. I identified myself and what we were trying to do. He kept saying repeatedly that he really did not know anything. I told him that it would be important if the Committee would get the slightest information and asked him whether he could give us a statement of any information he may have. Rev. Haynes was a young man in his 30's. Whether age has anything to do with a person's action, this man was afraid. He did give us a statement, which I wrote down in my legal pad. He told me how he was returning home that Tuesday night at about 8:30 when he first saw the fire and the blown out windows of Mr. Bryant's barber shop. He also told how the next day, about 6:30 PM, the phone rang, his little girl picked up the phone, and an unknown person on the phone picked up and said, "You are next" and then hung up. He was in a hurry, saying that he had to go to a barber shop and left. I asked him whether he would be available sometime Sunday morning so that we can get his statement notarized. He said No, that he would be out of town as early as 6:30 AM, going to pastor several churches. He then left. After we got his statement in form and typed, we realized that we needed Rev. Haynes' signature. We called his wife and she did not know what barber shop to which he would be. I was resigned to the fact that we had to just hold his statement.

At this time, I determined that it was necessary to ascertain the practicability of the use of Notary Publics statements so that they would be good as affidavits. I defined the practicability of the use of Notary Publics to mean as to whether any Notary Publics are available who would be friendly or at least neutral and would not disclose any information to local officials or local people who may be connected to the Klu Klux Klan. I then asked Mr. Bryant whether there were any Negro Notary Publics, feeling that under the above description, a Negro Notary Public would probably fit the above definition, rather than a white Notary Public. Mr. Bryant told me of two Negro Notary Publics in the area, but he was not confident that they would be willing to notarize any statements--they have never done so before. I called one, a Mr. John McCray, and introduced myself and what I wanted done. Mr. McCray said that his commission had expired. I called the other Negro Notary Public, Mr. Charles Westbrook, McComb Undertaker, and he said that he would be willing after that night.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Bob Moses and a SNCC worker, John O'Neal, had driven down to where we were from Jackson, Mississippi, and was involved in an accident which just damaged the car from the fault of the other driver. The police came to the scene to investigate and soon let her and John O'Neal go. The car is in Bob Moses' name. His wife was driving the car. So the police now knew that Bob Moses must be in town.

Bob Moses, who always seem calm, who speaks softly, who always seem imperturbable, now again seemed to be worried. I remembered that McComb, Pike County, Mississippi, was the first area Bob Moses came to, back in 1961, in order to carry on a voter registration drive. He was a Harvard graduate, a former teacher in the New York school system. He seemed to be so unpretentious, reserved, and even seemed to be more of an introvert rather than an outgoing "true believer," but all at once compelled to come to work for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in voter registration in Mississippi.

Here in Southwest Mississippi, I knew he had been jailed, had been beaten, and had suffered all the tribulations which any civil rights worker in Mississippi undergoes. He is well known to the community, both white and black. But this was the first time I ever was aware of his fear.

Bob and his wife hugged and talked to each other quietly. Eventually, I accompanied Bob in order to get his wife and John O'Neal some food at the nearest Negro restaurant. I called so that the food would be ready when we got there, so that the car would not be parked too long, and so that the enemy would not be attracted. A new awareness came upon me--an awareness that <u>this was war</u>.

Mr. Bryant let John O'Neal, Bob Moses and his wife, and me sleep at his home for the night. But this was reluctantly done, only because we could find no other place forums to stay for the night other than the Negro hotel, where one has to register in the name of Bob Moses. Everyone slept lightly except one, Mr. Bryant, who did not sleep at all. He stood guard until 4:30 before one od his friends relieved him.

But before we turned in that night, while we were out going to get the food, we had gone by Mr. Marshall's house to get Mrs. Justina Marshall's statement. It was after 10:00 PM, but he had said that they would still be up. We called, blew our horn, and knocked on the door, but it was only after quite a while that Mr. Marshall opened the door. They had not gone to bed. She is a young housewife. Mr. Thomas Marshall is an employee of the Illinois Central Railroad and is active in the local NAACP.

She was reluctant to give us a statement--her being afraid. Mr. Marshall helped us to encourage her to tell us what she knew. He made a point to say that he is personally not afraid. We said to her that the little information that she would give us may help to encourage the Federal Government to actively protect Negroes in Southwest Mississippi from official sanctioned or sponsored intimidation. She finally gave us a statement and promised to have her signature notarized the next day. Justina Marshall had been failed by the registrar five different times. It is hard to imagine a gentle young woman like Mrs. Marshall, a product of a system which teaches all Negroes their caste place, to go down to the registrar's office, at first accompanied by Mr. Bryant, but later only by another lady friend, to attempt to register.

The next morning, it was Sunday--and a beautiful day--cool, sweet, with the smell of moist grass and hay. Bob Moses and I got into his car (which was still in running condition) and drove into town. He left it at a place where a friend works in body repairs to see what could be done, at least stop the tire from rubbing the damaged fender. The friend said to Bob that he would have the car "fixed-up" for him, and we left his house walking to Mr. Willie Thompson's home.

Mr. Willie Thompson had a comfortable home with a small garden sufficient to raise vegetables for the dinner table. Bob introduced me to him and his family, explaining what we were doing. His daughter Carrol Thompson was busy in the kitchen. The Thompson's asked us whether we had anything to eat. With somewhat false modesty, I declined, saying "We have so much work to do." Immediately, I realized I was talking for Bob Moses, and so both of us were provided a hearty breakfast.

After getting back to work, Mr. Thompson told me that he had been fired for what was claimed to be "insubordination," but in fact had been fired

because he refused to do the work of two men in unloading a railroad car, especially since the railroadshad reported that he had a hernia condition. His immediate gang foreman then brought Mr. Thompson before the Second General Foreman, who agreed that Mr. Thompson does need help from another person, but before Mr. Thompson could proceed, the immediate gang foreman, Stringer, brought down from the front office the gang foreman, who cursed Mr. Thompson, and that same day was fired and had not been able to return to work. I found out from Mr. Thompson that he and his family have long been active in the civil rights cause. In 1961, his daughter, Carrol Thompson, and other girls went inside the still "white" side of the depot of the Illinois Central Railroad. Without any police protection, probably with police sanction, she and the other girls were chained. She testified in 1962 before the Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission.

It was clear that Mr. Willie Thompson's activities, such as being a co-signer with Mr. C.C. Bryant on an affidavit alleging discrimination at the Illinois Central Railroad, voter clinics, and his daughter's activities, have placed him as an "Uppity Nigger" due to being fired, etc, but he was reluctant to sign the statement. He argued that one of the foreman had told him that after things cooled down, he would be able to go back to work. He showed me his letter which he received from the Superintendent. He had had an administrative hearing where he had no representation, and that he had been dismissed finally. I explained to him that the information which I was seeking probably will not get him his job back. It is that the most beneficial use is to demonstrate before official United States bodies violations of civil rights. When I asked him the question, that since he was in the right in the very beginning, could he really believe that they are sincere in hiring him back, I said that he probably will have more to gain to his benefit of all if the statement is submitted as an affidavit or if he could make an appearance. Later, Mr. Bryant said that the foreman's statement that he would be hired back later is nothing but a trick in order to induce Mr. Thompson from inaction until he no longer had a right to appeal under the Union rules. Mr. Thompson agreed that he would sign the statement, have it notarized, and even try to go to Natchez for the hearing by the Committee. We found that there would be an NAACP meeting later that Sunday Afternoon; so we agreed to meet him there.

Bob Moses and I then left The Thompson's and walked for about 15 minutes until we came to a shoe repair store on a somewhat busy street next to a photograph store, owned and operated by white persons. He knew Bob. After we told him what he wanted, he closed his store and gave us his statement. He always had trouble, such as verbal abuse, etc. from the Klan type on the grounds that he was accused to be Bob Moses' father. However, he had been operating the shoe repair store for 19 years and serviced the shoes of the white rich man and the white business man. He

pointed to the shoes on the racks, which were Florsheim or other $25.00 type shoes. The recent intimidation he had received was the fact that a cross was burned in front of his store. He also stated his knowledge of crosses burned all over town that night in January. He also pointed something up which was quite interesting. The owner of the High Hat, a white restaurant, was shot and killed by a member of the Klu Klux Klan, the same person who had beaten Carrel Thompson with a chain three years ago; The owner was shot with the gun of the deputy sheriff to whomtthe killer was related, in the presence of the deputy. Mr. Earl Moses said that he would be glad to have his statements notarized. I said to him that we would try to do this sometime Sunday or Monday.

Bob and I then called a cab and went to Rosehill Church, where a cross had been burned recently, to find information about a Rev. Tobias who had been told by Sheriff Daniel Jones of Liberty and Amite County, to leave town. When we got to the church, the service had not ended. In fact, the sermon was just beginning. I was impressed with the social message content of the sermon, which was "Don't Fight the Sun Rise." The sermon pointed out that the way of life in Mississippi is ever-changing, and that the people must prepare to meet the new society. Bob and I stayed outdoors to finish typing the statements, etc. Soon, however, when the sermon was over, some of the deacons spotted Bob Moses and we were ushered in to say a few words to the congregation. The minister introduced Bob Moses first, telling them who he was and what he was doing "for them" at the risk of death, and that they should be thankful for it. Bob said a few words about the United States Civil Rights Commission, the Mississippi Advisory Committee, and the hearings the coming Wednesday. Bob, in turn, introduced me as an attorney from Atlanta, Georgia, and what I was doing. I gave a few remarks, telling them how outside the church, I heard the sermon and its topic and how it was so relevant to the problems they were facing. I told them that although the South is ever-changing, there remains an anachronism from the past, the Klan, and the hate of man who fear other man only because of race. I told them that different from the days of the horse-buggy and kerosene lantern, we have now a federal government in which there is concern about what is happening in Mississippi, but that it takes them, not Bob Moses and me, to act. I told them that to act is to give information, that the federal government cannot act without information. Yet at the same time, I did not promise them that giving us any information would cause any immediate changes in their condition, but only that this is the way and only way to do anything which could cause a change which would contribute to a change in their way of life of intimidation, segregation, and separation. I asked them that if any person had any information, to please see me after church.

Yet after the sermon, we met again the stone wall of fear; we found no one to give us any statements about the cross being burned in front of that very church, or about Mr. Tobias of Liberty, Amite County.

A little teen-age girl and her sisters did come to to me to give a statement about their father, Jake Micellis. Mr. Micellis for many years worked as a plumber with a Mr. Guyton, a white man who owned a plumbing business in McComb, Mississippi. Early in March, 1964, late at night, a man came to their door of their home and hollered "Jake." Mr. Micellis walked to the door and saw a white man who handed him a note; the white man then walked to a car filled with other white men and drove away rapidly. The note read: "Jake Micellis, your job with Guyton Plumber is over, (signed) Klu Klux Klan." The next day, Micellis went to work and learned that Mr. Guyton, his employer, had received at his home a similar note. They both went to the McComb Police Station, and the Chief advised them to get a gun to protect themselves. Two weeks later, late at night, a large object came crashing through the Micellis's picture glass window. Mr. Micellis immediately called the police, who recovered the object which was a brick with a note attached, reading KLU KLUX KLAN. The very next day after the incident, Mr. Micellis went to work and learned that the same thing had happened to Mr. Guyton. Mr. Guyton told Jake Micellis that he would work there no longer so that no one would be hurt. Micellis found no work in McComb and is presently in Laurel, able to visit his family only occasionally.

After taking their statement, I told them that we would get it typed and would come later to get them to sign this statement before a notary. It was now getting late, and about time for the NAACP meeting; so we got a cab back in the main part of town.

Sitting there in the meeting hall, I realized that the Bob Moses, James Forman's, Martin Luther King's, and James Farmer's are not the real heroes. It is the C. C. Bryant's in the South, who get a little lead of publicity when they are mysteriously bombed or shot, who are the real heroes. For the latter are truly alone and more likely to confront the fact of death forsaken by their friends, as was forsaken a Jew 1,964 years ago. Yet these same C. C. Bryant's remain loyal, although alone, to their cause and their NAACP. At the meeting, Mr. Bryant exhorted the members to take up tickets for the NAACP "T.V. Spectacular" which was to be held in Jackson, Mississippi, May 14, 1964.

After the NAACP meeting, Bob, his wife, and I went back to Mr. Bryant's house and waited for John O"Neal, the other SNCC worker, to pick up Bob Moses" car which was ready but hidden from view. The owner of the repair garage asked for this, because he has white trade who would be suspicious of a car with a license plate from Jackson, Mississippi, who probably would be aware in this somewhat small town of an accident last night of a car in the name of "Bob Moses."

Field Report - Southwest Mississippi

ADDENDUM: (follows page 9)

The NAACP meeting was held in a Negro masonic meeting hall on top of a Negro grocery store, the same store which Bob Moses and I tried earlier to get a statement from the owner or manager about the cross which recently burned in front of the store, but no one would say anything. About four or five men in their late 40's or early 50's stood about their parked cars, waiting for Mr. Bryant, the president of the local McComb NAACP. Driving by was a Mr. Stone who saw Bob. He stopped his car and was glad to see him. Mr. Stone once owned several cabs, and in 1961, used to help furnish transportation for Bob until he was forced to leave town. Stone has now settled in California, being in McComb to take care of some business.

Eventually Mr. Bryant arrived and the meeting began. It began with singing of "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms," which is hardly a Freedom Song. But in the hot stuffy room, coupled with my awareness of their experiences, made that song seemingly appropriate like the slave songs were appropriate. It seemed strange to see Bob Moses, a graduate of Harvard University, and his wife, a graduate of Chicago University, two people who some may describe as intellectuals, dressed in nondescript clothes, standing together and singing sincerely, softly, and sadly this old song.

I remembered how a few years ago some of my white friends and I, being self-appointed agnostics or atheists, would snicker and separate ourselves from the emotionalism in small Negro churches we were present in trying to influence into the movement. But that was in the days of abstract arguments. This day was a reality of life. While we stood up there singing that song, I finally realized that we were all alone--from society--from all that was outside that room. It was this fact that we were alone that we shared a common identity and were able to sing that song. Although others may marvel that so-called "intellectuals" with Northern middle class values for a background could sing with these people, it was not hard because in Southwest Mississippi, we all shared the only important background--we were all Negroes.

Although again Bob and I were introduced and we made our little talks, the most tearing thing odd of the meeting was Mr. Bryant pleading that the local branch of the NAACP provide him some protection to pay a person to guard his home, since volunteers are not reliable. It shocked me to find that his friend would not guard his place in shifts. The other members gave fine statements, and it was passed that Mr. Bryant's home would receive paid protection. Then Mr. Marshall made a statement which was really a cry, criticizing the local ministry for not supporting the civil rights struggle, who do not have in general any social message encouraging their church members to exercise their civil rights. It was now clear that in singing, there was unity, but that more often than not, each Negro is his own island.

Field Report - Southwest Mississippi

ADDENDUM: (follows page 9)

Crosses have been burned in front of Negro churches in the area, although they have not been active in the Civil Rights Struggle. Maybe the Klan reggnizes their potential. Also, it is apparent that the Klan's activity does work--the cross burnings, beatings, and job firings; instead of uniting the community, it separates it--each family--even members of a family turning inward, separate from the other. Maybe this is brought on from experiences flowing from slavery days that unity invited total destruction.

By now, we had several statements which were typed and ready to be signed and notarized. I had also a new statement from Mrs. Lizzie Thompson, the wife of Mr. Willie Thompson, which was "hear-say" but still relevant. In 1962, after Carrol testified before the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's Mississippi Advisory Committee about her beating, the labor foreman told her son, also employed with the Illinois Central Railroad: "We have a Klu Klux Klan and anyone who draws the shortest straw has to kill someone, and if Carrol doesn't watch out, she will find herself dead."

I planned to be in the next county, Amite, and other counties Monday; so I gave Willie Thompson $5.00 to get these McComb, Pike County, statements notarized and to see the persons we talked with in order to get a car load of persons to come to Natchez to appear before the Advisory Committee of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Bob, his wife, John O'Neal, and I said goodbye to Mr. Bryant and Mr. Thompson. Mr. Bryant again apologized for his wife and him not being able to be more hospitable under the circumstances which, to the contrary, was more than we expected. We stopped at a restaurant to eat supper and then went by side streets and alleys out of McComb, point to Liberty, Amite County.

Bob and his wife sat in front, and John O'Neal and I were in the back. During the 25 odd miles to Liberty, I shall not ever forget the light from the cars behind us as it reflected from his glasses as seen in the rear-view windows. We finally reached Liberty and drove farther a few more miles until we came to the farm of Mr. Westly.

Mr. Westly was one of the COFO contacts in Southwest Mississippi who had been very active in Aaron Henry's campaign for governor in Mississippi. Mr. Aaron Henry is President of COFO and the Mississippi Branches of the NAACP. Our main purpose in seeing Mr. Westly was to find out whether he or someone else would have a car and would be free to accompany me to see people in Amite County, Wilkinson County, and other surrounding counties.

Mr. Westly is a strong, wiry, and lean Negro in his early 40's. He owns jointly with his father and two other brothers a large farm, which he operates alone, except during the plowing and harvesting season, and that is why he could not be with me the next day to accompany me. This had been a very wet season and late Spring, and now it was dry. It was the first opportunity for him to plow for the planting of cotton and corn, and he must take every advantage of it. This would be the case for everyone in the county, Amite being a rural farm county. The use, too, of his car, would be very risky. The "whites" all knew Westly's car, and seeing a stranger--me--driving the car would surely put myself in jeopardy. They all knew that he had been busy in civil rights campaign of Aaron Henry; they all would therefore know I must have some "civil rights" purpose. I knew that I had to go to Jackson with Bob Moses and rent a Hertz car and return to the area.

Westly did take me to one brother who had had more contact with the "whites" in this area and may have information I could use. His brother lived in a small shack on the farm. By the time we got there, it was pitch black. Although Mr. Westly is a brave man, he was still cautious. When he drove to his brother's house, Mr. Westly told me to stay in the car and wait for him to see if he could talk to his brother. He called for his brother several times before the porch light came on, and his brother came out of the house. While sitting in the car, I remembered that when we had come to Westly's house, Bob had to call several times. It was obvious to me that Negroes just don't answer their doors at night unless they recognize the voice who is calling them, in Amite County. The shot-gunning of Herbert Lee and of Lewis Allen had made everyone cautious.

Mr. Westly and his brother began talking and before I knew it, I had fallen asleep. Mr. Westly eventually called me and I awakened, not aware of where I was for a few seconds. Mr. Westly's brother had no real firsthand knowledge except about Mr. Tobias, who, being a suspected president of the local NAACP, was told by Sheriff Daniel Jones to get out of the county. But being a farmer, he bought on credit and owed the local merchants alot of credit. When they found out what the sheriff had done, they were so angry that before Mr. Tobias and his family could move out, the sheriff came by and ordered him to stay. I asked whether we could see Mr. Tobias that same night. Westly's brother said that it would do no good anyway because Tobias denies now that this had ever occurred, he being so afraid. It seemed ironic that merchant creditors would protect a Negro from being run out of town but not from death. Their claims can be satisfied against the dead Negro's estate.

Mr. Tobias does have some relatives who live next to him, and they would have something to say, but it was obvious that Westly did not want to be going anywhere that night; but he did take me to see one of his share croppers. The story of Mr. Thomas Marshall was that in April, he and his family were tenant farmers on the property of Mr. Marshall, when one night he was aware of fire blazing in the bottom. He and his sons rushed to put out the fire and were busy fighting the blaze when Mr. Marshall's landlord drove up to see and then left. Soon he returned with the county fire department engines. He also had a shotgun. He was very angry and told the Marshall's to leave that same night, accusing them of starting the fire. The Marshall Family was able to borrow a pick-up truck from a neighbor, and not knowing where to go, came to Mr. Westly's farm. Mr. Westly has allowed them to stay at his place ever since.

At the time that night, I did not think that this was a civil rights case or even a Klu Klux Klan type activity. I did not think that this would be appropriate for a report before the Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Now, I realize this may have been a mistake because this incident dramatized the usual lot of the Negro who in Southwest Mississippi is in a hostile society without legal protection.

Mr. Westly and I returned to his home. Bob Moses and the others had remained there; he was to finish typing the remainder of the statements I had procured. I told Westly that I would return to his home after 6 PM, Monday Evening. He was to bring to me another brother who had been fired from his job in Liberty when he attempted to register to vote. We left the Westly's home and finally reached Jackson, Mississippi around 2 AM.

On Monday Morning, I went to the COFO office on Lynch Street, Jackson. It was important to find Jesse Morris, the COFO-office staffer, who was to be coming to Natchez, Mississippi to contact witnesses and to develop an itinerary. The hearing was to be held the coming Wednesday.

On Monday Morning, I went to the COFO office on Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Bob Moses, before his departure to Atlanta, Georgia, said that Jesse Morris, a COFO staffer, was going to Natchez and with him I could plan my itinerary in Southwest Mississippi before the hearing on Wednesday Morning. While waiting for Jesse Morris, Rev. Arthur Thomas of the National Council of Churches, the person at whose request I was in Mississippi, came to the office, but soon he left on his way to Canton, Mississippi in special work of seeking to reach poor whites in that area on the behalf of civil rights for all.

Came also Mr. Courtney Siceloff who introduced himself as regional representative of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. It was most fortunate that I was able to meet him, as he was the very one who was organizing the hearing by the Mississippi Advisory Committee in Natchez and who also was seeking witnesses who may testify at the hearing. I had already placed in my legal pad the names and addresses of contacts of COFO in Southwest Mississippi, plus places and persons involved in incidents that we were concerned with. Mr. Siceloff was going to be in Natchez Tuesday, so we compared notes and names of people and decided that we would meet there that day in Mr. Archie Curtis' Funeral Home. Mr. Jesse Morris Came, and since Mr. Siceloff and I would be in Natchez, it was decided that Jesse would not go. Instead, Miss Ann Bell, a COFO staffer who has researched Southwest Mississippi's intimidations, brutalities, and Klu Klux Klan activity, and whose home is in McComb, Mississippi, agreed to accompany me.

About 2 PM Monday, I finally picked up a Hertz Car, a fast 500 Galaxie Ford. Ordinarily, I preferred an unpretentious and cheaper compact, but since Ann and I were going back into Southwest Mississippi, I thought it was worth the expense. Only two years before, Bob Moses, Jim Travis, and Randolph Blackwell (the latter my fellow employee in Atlanta, Georgia) were in a car and were followed by a car-load of men who finally drew up to their side and shot into their car with automatic firing weapons. By some stroke of fate, no one was killed, but Jim Travis, the driver, suffered a serious wound in the neck. The Ford is hardly any real assurance against a similar type incident, but with its speed, it made me feel better.

Ema and I were finally on the road. As it was getting late, I decided against going to Port Gibson, Jefferson County, which is about 40 miles above Natchez, and decided to save the trip for Tuesday. Our plan was to drive straight South from Jackson to Brookhaven, Lincoln County, 60 miles away. We would see a contact there, a Dr. Lott, investigate cases of intimidation in that area, and then drive the next 40 miles or so until we reach Liberty, Amite County. We planned to spend the rest of the afternoon and evening in Amite County, looking for evidence and information and then go to McComb, Pike County, about 25 miles away from Liberty, Amite County, in order to sleep. I checking into a hotel and she staying with her mother.

When we reached Brookhaven, I had already called Dr. Lott and indicated my purpose. When we reached his office, he was very cordial in receiving us. He was a young Negro dentist in his early 30's. When I asked about cross burnings and other types of Klan activity, he pooh-poohed the very idea of it. When I asked about any kind of interference with voter registration, he answered that there is no kind of interference with registration whatsoever. He indicated here that the problem was Negro apathy, that any Negro who would attempt to register would be registered, if they would only pay their poll tax. He said that the last registration drive he ever knew about was the one conducted in 1952 by the Citizen's League, a group that is no longer functioning.

Ema and I glanced at each other, both of us thinking that it seemed incredulous that Lincoln County and Brookhaven were so free of the kind of intimidation that was present in the surrounding counties. I then asked him whether or not he heard about any cross-burnings and killings in any of the surrounding counties. Other than Pike and Amite Counties, which we were already aware of, he said that a patient of his, a Mary Clay, a girl from Beauregard, Mississippi, would be the only one intelligent enough to be able to tell me about the cross-burnings they have had in that area. He indicated that Beauregard is a Negro community, just off the road from where we had come, in Copiah County.

Mary Clay is a hair dresser and was working on a customer. She seemed to understand our purpose, etc., but she could only say that "she heard about cross burnings, but didn't see any." She would not give us any further help, but did direct us to her father-in-law home which was the biggest house of the group. When we drove up to Mr. Clay's house, they gladly invited us in and we were made to feel as if they had known Ema and me as long friends. Old Man Clay was now retired from the Illinois Central Railroad, and he has raised nine daughters and two sons, some of whom are college graduates. I marvelled that it was his wife who was so energetic and busy. Visiting them was an old friend and fellow worker of the Illinois Central Railroad by the name of Frank Glasp.

It was Mr. Glasp who gave me a signed statement that on April 24, 1964, a cross was burned at the railroad intersection leading into Beauregard, that crosses have been burned in the Negro quarters where we had just been, and that it was general knowledge that crosses have been burned all over Brookhaven near Negro businesses and housing projects. Mr. Glasp said that was especially true when in January many crosses were burned in Brookhaven the same time they were burned in McComb, Mississippi. Glasp also said that the cross at the railroad intersection was still there. Ema and I thanked everybody and drove off. Before I crossed the railroad track, I stopped the car, picked the charred cross, which broke when I picked it up. The biggest part was a 3 x 5, the cross being probably a 2 x 4. The cross was covered with half-burned rags, it being probable that not enough kerosene was thrown on it so that it could readily burn. A car was coming up, so I hurried, not caring for anyone to notice my interest in crosses.

In Beauregard, we found a Negro community of about 300 families, connected to the highway by a softly bending road which enters in the community after crossing a double railroad track, the Illinois Central Railroad. Just as soon as you cross the railroad track, there was a juncture road upon which were a general store and also upon which fronted several middle-class white-owned homes with spacious yards. I was then puzzled why Beauregard was called a Negro community. We doubled back towards the soft bending road and resumed it until shortly we came to the top of a hill. Upon the side of this hill were stretched 20 to 30 small houses, seemingly standing on stilts which were only patched up with weather boards, none with glass-paned windows, and all of them a funny weather-beaten reddish brown, the color of the earth upon which they stood.

There were emaciated dogs lying around, but it was the chickens that made the fuss as we approached. As we drove up into the housing section, Negroes peered out, half hidden in the darkness of the houses. We stopped at the first house and a young man, seemingly in his 20's, came to the door (the brave spokesman?). Ema Bell jumped out of the car. She had assumed the position of being "spokesman" before poor Negroes, feeling that she would know how to talk to them and put them at ease, she being, in a sense, "one of them." It was very hard for them to understand her or for her to understand them. There had been cross-burnings in the area but no one saw any. They were at least that smart They did tell us where the "Clays" lived, which was only a short distance away

The "Clays" were a settlement by themselves with about four houses grouped together. This area was altogether different from the area from where we had left. There was sufficient siding on the houses The dogs were still lazy, not even looking up when we drove up, but they were at least not skinny

Ema and I then stopped in Sesson, Copiah County, at the club or home of Mrs Mary Pendleton in front of which several crosses had been burned Several women, not relatives of Mrs. Pendleton, were sitting in chairs sunning themselves. Mrs Pendleton was not there but was due to return I decided that

it hardly would be worth seeking to obtain her statement. If this was a "club" it seemed probable that she illegally sold whisky as all other "clubs" do. I also thought it was quite possible that that was not the only thing around ther that was sold illegally. She would therefore hardly do any reporting to me about cross-burnings. So Emma and I left Wesson.

As we drove through Brookhaven, we contemplated the fact that Mr. Glasp told us that it was "general knowledge" that there were cross-burnings in Brookhaven, whereas Dr. Lott had "ppoh-poohed" the idea. We knew that if we could not get any information about this from Dr. Lott, our COFO contact, it would do little good to ask a stranger--we mmight ask the wrong person. We were soon through Brookhaven, and by 5 or 6 PM, we were in Liberty, Amite County.

The first thing we wanted to find out was how to find Rev. Tobias' relative, Mr. Cassius Tobias. He lived somewhere near Liberty on a farm. An in-law of his lived in Liberty right on the highway going out of Liberty. As I drove, Emma looked for the house of the "in-law." It was on the left, but we had to drive until the next junction about 75 yards away, turn around so that we could park in front of her house. As I turned around and parked the car in front of the house, I saw that we had been followed by a young white boy in a white 500 Galaxie, who also turned around where I had and then sped back into town and parked where we could be visibly seen. I suddenly remembered that my car had been stopping when idling. I then wondered whether my black 500 Galaxie was tuned enough to out-speed his. I don't know whether I was comforted by the thought that probably I could because his car would be over-loaded with white farmers later that night.

We received instructions on how to reach the Tobias Farm and soon left the "in-law." Going back into town to take the road to the Tobias Farm, we noticed that we were not followed. Emma said to me that Liberty, Amite County, is off the main roads, and out-of-county cars are exceptions there. The white boy was probably a deputy who followed us enough in order to take our Jackson license number in order to find out who I was.

The Tobias', cousins to Rev. Tobias, were very friendly and very glad to see Emma. They knew her and had spoken to her on the phone many times about our case. They composed a tightly-knot family, owned land, and for generations, worked their own land and the land of others for set wages. They were a militant family and seemed to pride themselves that they have not been run-off, and have stood-off whites who would seek to harm them They are harmed. They told me that "they"(whites) won't bother us because they know that we stick together and would have to deal with everyone of us." This unity began, they said, when their grandfather was burned up in gasoline by the Klu Klux Khan many years ago.

I heard again the story of Rev. Tobias, who was believed by the sheriff to be president of the county NAACP, and because of this, was told to leave town, but because he owed money, was then told not to leave town

Of the Tobias"s, the one who did the most talking was Miss Evelina Tobias, who was about 29 years old. I asked her whether she would come with us that evening to see other people in Amite County. She said Yes, and she also agreed that she would go to Natchez Wednesday Morning for the hearing. She could tell the Advisory Committee the Tobias story and other incidents involving the family, such as the occasion where they would purchase money orders at the U.S. Post Office, other white persons who she did not know or say at the post office would demand from her to tell them where the money orders were being sent and who gave her the money or when their white neighbors with whom they had almost been friends many years all at once shot up their roof without any reason They also have been told to leave.

Evelina Tobias knew where the homes of other Negroes who had been intimidated; so at dusk, we found the residence of Mr. Lucious Woodard. He lived off the highway a few miles from Liberty; it appeared to me to be exposed to rifle fire from the highway. In his yard were cars in different stages of repair. Woodard, a husky Negro in his late 30's, gladly received us and understood easily what we were attempting to do and proceeded to give us a signed statement.

Mr. Woodard, having had specialized training in Detroit, had been employed 10 years as a mechanic for his employer, a white businessman, Harvey Motor Company in Liberty; but on Sunday Morning, April 19, 1964, his employer, Mr. J. T. Walsh, came by his home and said to Mr. Woodard, "I can't use you anymore. It aint nothing you done. You ought to know why. I can't tell you anymore." The way Mr. Walsh said it to him made it clear that Walsh was scared, and that he was a member of either the KKK or the WCC, or some gang. Mr. Woodard then gave me the names of six other Negroes who had been fired under the same circumstances as he, such as Charlie Caulfied, who had been in charge of deliveries at the IGA Supermarket; Earnest Hamilton, a presser and who did cleaning at the Liberty Laundry Company; Cleveland Walker, a highly-visible general handyman at the Fairway Food Store; Howard Floyd, who worked at the Sinclair Service Station as a service attendant; a James Carter, who owned a shoe repair shop in the town of Liberty, but was run out and is presently in California; and a Jack White, who had also been working as a service attendant at the local Texaco Service Station. There is also a community opinion among the Negroes that this same Jack White was hired to kill Lewis Allen, and is presently being held in the Baton Rouge Jail to keep him from talking.

Mr. Woodard and Evelina discussed a brother O'Quinn who lived in Centreville, Wilkinson County, who was "run" out of town recently after being "whaled by the law."; that it was this same O'Quinn's father who was bush-wacked the same way as was done Lewis Allen recently, over five years ago. Mr. Woodard believed that Mrs. O'Quinn would be willing to tell us about her son and also about another mysterious killing a la Lewis Allen a few weeks ago of a Mr. Clifton Walker, who was also shotgunned at both sides of his face as he was entering his home near Woodville, Mississippi. There was speculation that the murder grew out of the controversy around the integrating of the shower room of the Natchez Paper Mill where the deceased Walker had worked. However, also a la Lewis Allen, it was the widow who was made the prime suspect by the

police. They also indicated to me the incident of an E. M. Jackson who was recently found dead in his car, supposedly from carbon monoxide poisoning, last Christmas, in Woodville, Mississippi. This was supposedly self-imposed despite the fact the man was severely beaten about the head.

With all these incidents in the neighboring county of Wilkinson, a county more than 70% Negro, it was clear that Tuesday Morning I should attempt to investigate and find people with personal experiences. For the rest of Monday Evening, it was decided that we see how many more affidavits, written statements, or persons who could appear before the Advisory Committee out of Amite County. We then left the Woodard's home, going to Mr. Westly's farm.

We had to go through Liberty in order to reach Mr. Westly's farm which was near a community called "Good Hope," 10 miles north of Liberty. It was now after 8:00, completely dark with lights producing little light. There was no discernible movement nor were people visible as we drove past the Courthouse through the town square. Evelina Tobias then pointed out a side road for us to take, for we did not want to return the same way we came in. The side road was enough only for one car, seemingly more like a tractor path. The rhythm and blues from a New Orleans station kept our spirits up, but I still thought I imagined that I saw a light reflect in the rear view mirror. After several minutes, we finally approached the state highway, and as soon as we neared the highway, bright lights from a car behind in the path from where we came blinded us, but only for a minute. After digging up some gravel, I accelerated the Ford at its utmost out of there, and in a short time, no lights were behind us. I felt very silly and began to wonder whether I was acting reasonable and becoming afraid too much.

We soon arrived at Mr. Westly's farm. He was chatting with a man who he had met earlier that day. His name was Frank Adam Robinson, who resides at Centreville, Wilkinson County. I talked with him while Mr. Westly went to get his brother, Roosevelt Lee, the one who was fired as soon as he attempted to register. Mr. Robinson is a self-employed junk man who works the several Southwest Mississippi counties. Although he could give no more information than that I already had procured in relation to the incidents in Pike, Amite, Wilkinson, and Franklin Counties, and it being all hear-say, I thought it may be useful to the Advisory Committee that he appear personally. He could indicate the atmosphere in these counties to the members of the committee. He agreed to go with us to Natchez Wednesday Morning. I told him that we would meet him there at the Westly Farm at about 8 AM.

Mr. Robinson, by his very own words, is typical of a growing number of Negroes, although to me a few in number, who in their early 50's are now willing to die. They have "Uncle Tomed" enough now that their children are out of school.

After a while, Mr. Westly returned without his brother, Roosevelt Lee. His brother did handwrite a statement which I took. It was now getting late, so we took our leave. As soon as we reached the highway to Liberty, I noticed we had a flat tire. I backed up into a driveway to a church, and with only the ceiling lights from the car, I was able to change the tire. The girls felt very uneasy in being seen inside the lighted car.

After the tire was changed, the drive back to Liberty to the home of Miss Evelina Tubins was uneventful. We dropped her off home and came back through Liberty to go to McComb where we were going to stay for the night. As we turned into the highway toward McComb, we saw eight to ten young white men standing around at a service station, this obviously being a place for the youth to hang around. Emma was uneasy. She told how she and Bob Moses, when they were working in voter registration in the county three years ago, would have to avoid being trapped by the Klan and had on occasions turned around in the highway to miss them. After we reached the "resume speed" sign, I relaxed and sped on towards McComb, Mississippi.

About 10 miles away from Liberty, we could see in front of us on the left side of the road a flashing red light. I was then approaching at 65 miles. At first I thought that just a state cop had stopped someone, and then I saw that someone was circling a flashlight in a large circle. A car approached me and passed me going in the opposite direction. So I had decided to go on through, having slowed down only to about 50 miles per hour. As I went through the area, a state cop who had the flash light jumped off the side of the highway as we went through. I then suspected that I might be in trouble and stayed at 50 miles per hour for a few hundred feet until I came through a curve and then I went back to 65 miles per hour. After a couple of minutes I noticed a car with even bright lights trailing me; so I let the engine brake down to 50. In a few minutes, red lights reflected in the rear view mirror. I marveled how calm both Emma and I were. As if a release of tension from trying to avoid the kind of situation, it had at last happened. I stopped the car on the side of the road and jumped out. Before I could turn to see him, the state trooper was there and ordered me to place my hands on top of the roof, and he searched me. He turned the flash inside the car and then into my eyes and cursed, asking why I tried to run him down. He was quite angry. I tried to explain to him that I could not see him on the highway until I was up to him, and I thought that his big circle was for me to go on like the other car. I started to apologize. It seemed a little out of place, but I said finally anyway that I was sorry. He answered that I bet I was sorry, saying that I was lucky that he did not shoot. He said that anybody who knocks him off the road is going to jail. He asked Emma whether she had a license. She said Yes. He told her then to follow us, he ordering me in his car.

He went back the scene where a prior accident had occurred, which he indicated was a terrible accident, in a tone of voice as if I was also responsible for it. I asked whether anybody got hurt in a soliciticus tone of voice. He said yes. My own survival instincts indicated that I must appear as a human being as much as possible, rather than as a "Nigger." I was concerned; being worrried about others took pressure off me from being worried about myself. While in the car, it was startling to hear on the police radio a description of Rev. Arthur Thomas, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York. He must have been picked up, I thought.

We got to the scene of the accident where another state cop was also present. My arresting officer ordered me out of the car and in a loud voice told me to stay in front of his car and lights, and warned me that if I moved, he was going to put a bullet in my head.

Eventually the wrecked cars were towed away and the trooper turned to me. He asked to see my driver's license and I showed him both my license and RRB's Credit Card for Hertz Car. He asked me where I was going in such a hurry, and I said that I was taking my girl friend home to her mother. He asked me what we had been doing in Liberty and whether we were coming from Baton Rouge. I said no, thinking that was too much of a lie which might be used to catch Emma on the same question. So I told the truth, as vague as possible, that we were just visiting some of her people in Liberty, coming from Jackson. He asked where I worked, and I said that I worked for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. He was curious about it and asked what the group did. This gave me an opportunity to expound for a few minutes that the purpose of the Southern Regional Council was concerned in the economic development of the South. I told him that we were particularly concerned about Amite County where there is a high percentage of poor whites and Negroes unemployed and underpaid, and that we were interested in remedying this.

He then called me "Reverend" and asked me jokingly whether I wanted to be under the jail or in the jail. I told him that I never had been in jail and would not know which would be the better. The trooper then became friendly and said that I would be released on cash bond, and proceeded to call the sheriff who would approve the appearance bonds. He grinned and said, "I know how it is--you in your big car with your girl--and not caring what was going on." I followed with my concern about her getting home, indicating that her mother would be quite angry in keeping her out past 11 PM. I asked the trooper what time it was and after 11 PM; so I sighed again.

Eventually the sheriff, David Jones, came with a few men. Emma was made to get out of the car and she stood next to me. I told her what I had said to the cop. With chagrin, I saw that Sheriff David Jones was quite interested in what was in the back seat of our car. There were my brief cases and NAACP Legal Defense Fund materials which I had gathered from my trip in New Orleans. Also in the front seat were my legal pads and statements from McComb, Pike County, and Liberty, Amite County. By a stroke of fortune, the Hertz key chain had broken, so only the ignition key was in that car. I had the trunk key in my pocket. Even now, I wonder how the sheriff and his friends would have reacted if he had found somewey toopen the trunk and saw the cross. What surpeised Emma was that the sheriff did not recognize her despite her past activities in the area.

What I had in the car interested them. Emma was told to get in the police car with me. The State Cop solicitous said that the sheriff would "drive my car into Liberty." Knowing the state trppper's quick changes of temper, I did not think it worthwhile to protest the illegal search of my car at that time, it being better that I try to get out of the situation as quickly and easily as possible so that I could finish the work for the hearing by the Advisory Committee.

The state trooper drove us into town and stopped by the doctor's office to see about the persons hurt in the accident. The light in the car was on, and I asked him to turn the light off. He said sternly that the light was staying on. So Emma and I sat exposed to the eyes of people who would later identify or recognize us, but fortunately, no one came by. We looked at his report and

saw that his name was Sgt. B. Butler. The trooper came out of the building. I asked about the patients, and he said that they would live. We asked Ann whether she was attending school. She answered in a sweet-girlish voice, yes, that she was a sophomore at Jackson State. I then interjected how angry her mother was going to be at me for keeping her out late.

Sgt. Butler then drove us to Sheriff Daniel Jones' office. Our black car was parked right next to its twin, the white Ford Galaxie. I said out loud, "There is the Deputy's car," but the State Trooper did not respond one way or the other.

They let Ann sit in the car. When we entered the lighted room, only Sheriff Daniel Jones was there. I wondered to myself where the other two men were who had been with the sheriff down the highway when he had first searched the car. Jones was looking through my legal pads, one for Pike County, the other for Amite County. Also in his possession were statements and affidavits, and also the COFO materials concerning intimidation and brutality in Southwest Mississippi. He also asked for whom I worked, and I repeated the same story but being a little more explicit that I had been researching the "economic conditions" in Amite County, knowing where my notes were going to lead him. By that time, Butler had demanded my billfold and spent much time going through my cards. He found my membership card to the Florida Bar, my NAACP membership card, and my CORE membership card and threw them to the sheriff, saying "that communist organization."

The sheriff took my Florida Bar card and asked me if I was an attorney. I said yes. He then said, "Well attorney, what good is being a lawyer doing you now?" I admitted that it was not doing me much good. Sheriff Jones went briefly through my report on Amite Countyand said, "Well, we don't want Bobby Kennedy down here, so I will give these papers bil back to you nice and pretty." I don't think he noticed where he had been involved in the Lewis Butler Allen murder or the Tobias story.

The State Trooper then motioned the sheriff into another room and discussed something about which I could not hear. The sheriff then came out, took my papers and placed them in his safe. The trooper then left. After I had been charged with reckless driving and failure to stop for an emergency vehicle, the sheriff then said that my cash bond was $100, and asked whether I wanted the trial in the morning or in the afternoon on Wednesday. I chose the afternoon. He then said for me to be there at 3 PM, warning me that he wanted me to be there.

I was free. I got in the car, and Ann drove off. She drove past a place where Lewis Allen was shot, which I really didn't care to see at that time; and she searched for the road that would lead out of Liberty other than the highway toward McComb. It had been two years since she had been in the area, and she couldn't find it. We drove back into the main part of Liberty and went past the courthouse into the highway toward McComb. It was now after 1 AM and it seemed that no one was stirring. Ann drove slowly, both of us keeping close eyes to the side of the road. About 15 miles away from Liberty, we drove past

a building behind which a state trooper was parked. About six or seven miles away from McComb, lights of a car approached us from behind. We were traveling only about 50 MPH. The car passed us, and with our bright lights shining into it, we could see six tall men sitting ram rod, straight—who seemed to be farmer types—all of them wearing wide-brim hats. Ema in about a mile turned off from the highway onto a county road which leads to Magnolia, Mississippi. From Magnolia, we entered McComb from the side. Ema said that if we had gone farther on the highway, they probably would have met us at an under-pass where the highway divided with no place to turn around.

As we drove into McComb, we passed a Billingsley All-Night Gasoline Station, at which Mr. C. C. Bryant had said earlier that he does not like to do business because he believed that the owner was a member of the Klan. There were several cars of people gathered at the station, but we did not tarry there in order to determine whether Mr. Bryant's belief was true or not.

Ema then dropped me off by the Negro hotel. I told her to return at 6 AM. I wanted to be out of Amite County before the sheriff would get to his office. Also, we had to get all the information as soon as we could out of Wilkinson County and get to Natchez, Mississippi so that I could report to Courtney about the sheriff seeing my papers.

I had a very restless night; however, I was dressed and ready to go when Ema came by. I decided not to take the most direct route to Centreville and Woodville, Wilkinson County, which was by Liberty, Amite County; but rather, we drove south out of the way and then took the county road to Centreville. One pick-up truck followed our car for about five miles, but it went on to Liberty when we turned off into a very rugged county road that finally led into Centreville.

We soon reached the home of Mother O'Quinn, 94 years old, but seemed to be in her 70's. When we introduced ourselves, she invited us in her half-lighted living room. We explained to her why we were there. She understood and was eager to cooperate. The daughter-in-law, Ida O'Quinn, owner of the club, who we were looking for was in Florida; so we decided to take her statement.

Her own son, married to Ida O'Quinn, was shot-gunned one dark night as he was coming into his driveway, over five years ago. Their own son, Clarence O'Quinn, who had made his home in Florida and was teaching, came to Centreville to live and comfort his mother. Around the first of April of this year, he came home and told her that Bill Ivory, Chief of Police in Centreville, had beaten him. She asked what happened. Clarence said that he was only going in the post office and was on the steps when the Chief approached him without any explanation or cause and said, "You damn uppity Nigger, you think you own the town," and began to beat O'Quinn. Clarence asked his grandmother what he should do. She said, "You have a life worth living; you should not throw it away. You have no rights and privileges here." She told him to get all his things and leave Centreville that day. Clarence did leave Centreville that day to save his life and is presently in Florida.

In this work, I had been objective, not emotionally involved with the particular person, but tears came to my eyes as Ann and I turned to leave. I had almost become used to stories of beatings and "mysterious shot-gunnings." I had not become used to a mother telling her son to leave her--in order to live--because he had no rights and privileges. I suddenly remembered the hot argument I had with a high school chum back in 1951. He had volunteered for the Air Force rather than waiting to be drafted in the infantry. He argued that he did not want to die in Korea fighting people of his color, when here in the United States he was not even treated as a human being. I do not remember the counter arguments I used, but whatever they were, they are implicit in the activity of Ann and I trying to get statements before the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission; but moist eyes belied the same old frustrations felt by my old high school chum.

Ann and I then went to the O'Quinn's restaurant in Centreville to see her daughter who might be able to tell us about the Walker killing sis Lewis Allen in Woodville a few miles away. Although Mrs. Ida O'Quinn was in Florida, her daughter was there managing the restaurant. She was able to direct us only to the address of his mother-in-law, who could tell us nothing. She was only able to give us a vague direction to his former residence, which was supposed to be on the way to Natchez near Woodville. We didn't find the house, but rather than spending anymore time, I decided that we should go on to Natchez. I didn't want to miss my appointment with Courtney Siceloff of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. I wanted to tell him what happened, hoping the USCRC would procure my papers by a court order.

It was a relief to arrive in Natchez. Ann didn't understand my feelings because the very reason the hearing was being held in Natchez is that most of the known cases of brutalities and beatings have occurred in Natchez. After a while, we finally arrived at the funeral home of Mr. Archie Curtis, the place where I was to meet Siceloff.

[illegible] is a Negro who seemed to be in his 50's. He has an Adenauer-type face resulting from having recently suffered from a stroke. It had not incapacitated him except to require him to speak slowly and to write slowly. He welcomed us into his private study. Although it was already planned that he appear before the Advisory Committee, he told us what had happened to him. One night in March of this year, he received a telephone call for him to pick up a body. He and his assistant, Willie Jackson, took the hearse wagon and drove in the direction of the given address. He said to Jackson, "We must have the wrong address" because they were in a deserted area when a car drove up behind them and they were ordered to stop. Curtis told me that six armed men in hoods got out of their car, and one of them demanded from him his NAACP membership card. Curtis told them that he had no NAACP card (it so happened that his new one had not yet arrived). They proceeded to beat him and his assistant. He begged them to stop beating him, telling them that he had had a stroke, but they continued until they were tired of it and then left him and his assistant in the street. This same "trick" happened to another Negro funeral director, George West.

Mr. Curtis is actually not active in any NAACP but has been active with Natchez Negro Business League which has been urging Negroes to register. Their success which would arouse the KKK to be excited is that only about 200 Negroes are registered.

Mr. Siegloff arrived, and while eating a lunch brought by Emma, I told him what happened. He expressed a great concern about my papers because now in jeopardy were all the people I talked with, being that they were in the possession of the Sheriff, Daniel Jones, the same one accused of being involved in the Lewis Allen killing and who was said to have ordered Rev. Tobias to leave and then ordered him to stay. Siegloff said that he would be willing to go and get the papers. Before that moment, I did not see any need to go back to Liberty. I assumed that it was the usual practice of being able to forfeit the appearance bond. I called the CORO office in Jackson and reported what had happened to us. They asked what I thought I should do, and I said I may sue Sheriff Jones for damages and for the return of my papers in a federal civil action. Both Sheriff Jones and State Trooper Sgt. Butler had violated my civil rights for their illegal search and seizure. Then I called my Atlanta office, and I was advised that I should call Sheriff Jones to see whether it would be acceptable for me to forfeit the bond. Then Mr. Siegloff was called by his office and was instructed that there is a question whether the U.S. Civil Rights Commission had already acquired an interest in my papers because I was not working for them and, therefore, was not acting as their agent. The CORO attorney then called me and advised that if I forfeited the bond, a bench warrant could be issued for my arrest, and I would have to leave Mississippi. Also, any federal action would be clouded by the forfeiture. They, too, agreed that I should sue Sheriff Daniel Jones. Rather than forfeiting or even getting consent that I could forfeit the bond, I decided to return to Liberty and appear for the trial and stand mute; but at the same time, I believed that I should present a written demand for my papers.

Upon the advice of Mr. Wiley Branton, I asked Mr. Siegloff to be a witness or ascertain whether a member of the FBI would be present. Siegloff was willing but said that he had to call Washington to make sure that they were on notice. As it was after 2:00 and the trial was at 3:00, Emma and I left Natchez.

When we arrived in Liberty, I already felt like a martyr. I had solemnly prepared written motions, such as, appearance to stand mute, demand for papers, and request for an attorney and a jury trial. I gave copies to Emma, putting them in an envelope which she did. I anticipated that they would deny that I ever presented the motions.

When I arrived in the office of Sheriff Jones, a quite sullen deputy sheriff was waiting for me. Soon, I heard the voice of Mr. Siegloff, and I felt as if the U.S. Marines had arrived. Mr. Siegloff identified himself and expressed an interest in the papers which Sheriff Jones had. The sheriff, in a surprised voice, said well, he was going to give the papers back anyway. "I had information which was useful for his investigations," he said. We all then went up to the Justice of Peace's office.

The Justice of Peace was an elderly man who seemed almost gentle. After reading the accusation, he asked me for my plea and I told him that I stood Mute and explained what that meant. Sheriff Jones interfered, saying that in Mississippi there is no such plea, that NOLO CONTENDERE took the place of "standing mute." I admitted that I was not all that familiar with Mississippi law except that it was a common law state, and "standing Mute" is part of the common law. I then presented the written motions and the demand for my papers. I may have made a mistake, but I proceeded to explain my action on account of the fact that the sheriff had taken my papers without my consent. Sheriff Jones exclaimed that he was going to return my papers regardless of whether I plead guilty or not guilty; so he hurriedly went downstairs and restored to me my papers.

I then pleaded "guilty" after a long pause of thinking. It seemed unreasonable to fight both the traffic case and the sheriff's action. I decided to fight Mississippi's methods of dealing with traffic violations another day. The Justice of Peace then gave a statement about the seriousness of what I had done and that the maximum sentence included 30 days; but because I was so "reasonable and fair," so said the Justice of Peace, I was fined $50 for both charges and $19 for the cost of court. After paying the fine, we all left. Soon Ema and I were leaving Liberty.

The day before, Monday Afternoon, I had planned to go on Tuesday to Port Gibson, Claiborn County. COFO had a contact there who could probably lead us to persons who probably could make an appearance for the Committee or at least give us some signed statements; but it was already 4 PM, and we were reluctant to be driving after sunset. Siceloff had offered to give us his car because of the belief that our enemy now knew our car. We planned to stay in McComb Tuesday Night, and Port Gibson was too far away. We decided therefore, to go only to Bude, which was only 30 miles away from McComb.

Bude is in Franklin County, in which is comprised mostly of the Homochitto National Forest. COFO had received a newspaper account dated in March of this year picturing the Negro club, the "Horseshoe Circle, owned by a Mr. John Clark, to be demolished in front by dynamite. The picture shows the stone front demolished by, again, "unknown persons." When we arrived there, we talked to Mrs. Clark, who was obviously afraid and who did not give us a statement. Other than that, she was friendly, and we took our leave.

On our return to McComb, we took a state highway which was out of the way, going to Brookhaven rather than going directly to McComb. While driving to Bude, we noticed several sheriff cars going in the opposite direction. Although they were un-marked, Ema stated that she knew that they were sheriff cars because of antennas, etc. I joked that they might just be going to a sheriff's meeting. She said that there must be a Klan meeting in the area, and that, of course, local sheriffs are the principal figures in Klan meetings. So leaving Bude going towards McComb, we didn't take the same road because the people we had met on the road previously might just be interested in two Negroes in a "fast-back" black Ford Galaxie with a Jackson license plate after getting the word from Sheriff Daniel Jones. Being in even a national forest did not seem a safe way to keep Mississippi's wonderful reputation of not having had lynchings in recent years.

When we arrived in McComb, Mississippi, we re-visited Mr. C.C. Bryant and Mr. Willie Thompson, seeing that the affidavits which he had would be notarized and sought to assure that a car load of people from McComb would come to Natchez. Mr. Willie Thompson said that at least he and Mr. Bryant's brother would drive to Natchez. Ema then dropped me off by the hotel I stayed the night before, and she then drove to her home.

Around 6:30 AM Wednesday Morning, Ema and I left McComb going to Liberty to pick up Evelina Tobias. We again wanted to be out of Liberty before too many people stirred around. We then remembered that we had procured no real information about the Lewis Allen Killing of February of this year. During the excitement evolving around my situation, we had relied upon the Jackson COFO office to follow through in reaching Mrs. Allen in Louisiana. Ema called her and told her as I had promised, that we would pay for her expenses if she would come to Natchez, but Mrs. Allen told her that she didnit want to have anything to do with Mississippi. However, we still had hopes that she might come.

After we picked up Evelina Tobias, she told us about how the Sunday before , a high school boy by the name of John Harris was beaten by the Klan. Evelina knew where the family lives, so we went there to talk to them. They lived in the town of Gloster, 12 miles west of Liberty on a small farm. In reaching their home, we had to pass the homes of Sheriff Jones and the deceased Lewis Allen! Both of them had been neighbors. We turned into the driveway of the Harris' home, and Evelina went to the door and brought to the car Mrs. Lillie M. Harris, the mother of John Harris. I told her what we were doing and asked her what happened to her son. She said that on Sunday, April 19, her son, the members of the family, and members of the choir were coming home from church when hoodlum whites, without their hoods, drove up in their car and stopped, ordered John Harris to come to them and proceeded to assault him with the blunt end of their pistols. He screamed for his mother and then begged for them to not kill him. Without hearing more, I asked her whether she and her son would go with me to the hearing in Natchez. She said yes, and in a short while we had picked up her son, who wore a cap to cover the stitches on his head wounds. We then picked up Mr. Franklin Robinson at Mr. Westly's farm, and finally reached Natchez at about 11 AM.

When we arrived at the place of the hearing at the Natchez Post Office, Mr. Siegloff asked us to return later because members of the Mississippi Advisory Committee were having a preliminary discussion. We went to a Negro restaurant, and while there I met Mr. Archie Curtis, who notarized my affidavit that I witnessed personally the signatures on the signed statements I had in my possession. He also brought with him a man by the name of Mr. Willie Birdie who lives in Kingston, Adams County, a community which is just outside of Natchez. Mr. Willie Birdie had somebody for me to see. I told Ema to take everybody on down to the U.S. Post Office and that I would be there later.

Even Mr. Curtis could not come with Mr. Birdie and me because it was a secret hiding place, and with him already having been beaten, he could be beaten again in order to tell the Klan where the place was. Mr. Birdie brought me to the place, and as I entered a bedroom, there was lying on the bed a young Negro of about 25 years of age. (Whereas only this person is in immediate danger as distinguished from the other persons who gave me their statements and who

gave me their statements and who are in probable danger only, I shall not expose this person's name.)

He had worked as a general handy man for a white farmer. On April 13 of this year, on a Sunday Night, he was in the barn. He was trying the ignition because the truck had not been starting. He just happened to turn around and stared in the barrel of a shotgun. A man in a black hood holding the gun said, "Get out boy." The Negro pushed the gun out of the window and quickly rolled the window up. He turned around to roll the window up on the other side of the truck and looked into the barrel of a rifle. This man also in a black hood told him, " You better do as he says." Each of them got to the side of him and began marching him to the back of the barn. As soon as he came to the edge where he could see back of the barn, he said about six more men in hoods were all armed with guns. One man said, "We have been waiting for this a long time" He immediately pushed the two by his side together and turned, sprinting toward the house. He was able to get one side of the barn between him and them for a while, but he had at least 50 yards to reach the porch of the house. He ran screaming for Mrs. X, (the owner of the farm), and had attained about 20 yards when he received a shot in his shoulder and back. The force of the bullets spunned him slightly around when he was dropped by a shot in his leg.

Mrs. X ran out screaming, "What is the matter, what is the matter?" She saw that he was covered with blood. She told him to "play" like he was dead, and she ran and got him a raincoat to cover up with. With both of them straining together, they were able to get him on the floor of a car and she drove him to the hospital.

Why did this happen? He is the only Negro in Kingston who has been registered and he has been voting since 1960. Whites have made pointed remarks about this, his voting being a common known fact. Because of this, he has acquired a personal debt of more than $435 medical expenses incidental to four bullet wounds.

I then returned the the hearing of the Advisory Committee. While the hearing was in session, I saw now that there remained only one more hurdle--to get my witnesses back safely in Liberty and McComb, and then get back to Jackson. Courtney Siceloff was worried about this. So was William Taylor, the General Counsel to the United States Civil Rights Commission, who was there with the Advisory Committee. We also were worried about retaliation by the Klan against these people.

When we first had arrived in Natchez and when my party first got out of the car, I noticed how we attracted the attention of curious people, such as the white attendant, who in the service station next to the bus station "studied" us and then made a phone cal and talked to someone while still "studying" us.

On my return to the post office and when I went back to the car to get the cross out, and as I carried the cross down the block across the street, going to the hearing room, I deliberately avoided looking into the face of the same attendant or other white persons standing about. I left the cross outside the

door of the hearing room, not wanting to take it in. I felt that it might just interrupt the proceedings.

Pretty soon two car loads of men drove up th the post office, disembarking their passengers. Although there were a few thin high school youths and a thin man about 40 in a business suit, the most of them were husky white men in their 20's and 30's wearing tight levis and khakis, western hats, string-ties, and sunglasses. One wore sun-mirrored glasses which he wore throughout the hearing, and sat in the front row easily frightening the members of the Committee. However, most of them were in good spirits, even joked about the cross standing by the doorway. When they first came to the door, they hesitated when they were confronted by the scene of an integrated panel presided by the Negro, Britton. Not wishing them to be standing by the door because of my example, I pointed to vacant seats. They nonchalantly took their seats, even next to Negroes--some preferring to cluster together and some preferring to sit in the front row, as did the one with mirrored sunglasses.

They remained quiet, but they were still an ominous group by their mere presence. One of them got a pad out and as each witness would identify him self, the "cowboy" would busily write down the person's name, address, etc. I received a hidden joy to see the members of the committee become a little unnerved, especially Mr. William Taylor of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission who seemed plainly frightened. I was glad the Klan was there because that was exactly what we wanted to show the committee, and eventually the American people's fear and intimidation produced by the Klan. Only Dr. Britton, although wet with beads of perspiration on his forehead--which I cannot blame because of all the stuffiness of the hearing room, seemed brave when he dryly stopped the proceedings. He indicated that the committee noticed the presence of new people who had just arrived. He explained the purpose of the committee and indicated that if any of them had any information to present, such as being injured by violations of their civil rights, etc., the committee would hear them.

In a few minutes, I saw Attorney William Taylor abruptly leave and then return-turned. Dr. Britton then called a short recess and asked everyone to leave. I then saw the local police come in the room. At first I thought he was after my charred cross, but I learned later that Taylor had received a bomb warning.

After my people from Pike and Amite Counties testified, I presented my statements and explained to them why some of them were not notarized. I also produced the charred cross, since some of the members of the committee had never seen one.

For the closed session, Dr. Britton asked everyone except the witnesses and their families to leave. After a short recess, the closed session was called and more testimonies were taken.

By this time, Robert Moses and his wife had made their appearance. Dr. Britton acknowledged their presence and asked Bob whether he had anything to say. Bob then gave a run-down of all the cases and killings and brutalities which had been reported to COFO and demonstrated the need for federal protection in the area. Dr. Britton then asked Bob a leading question about the kind of people

doing violence. Bob told the Committee that these people believe that the U. S. Government is an illegal government and that their actions are a response to their beliefs.

It was now after 4 PM, and by an unspoken unanimous agreement, it was decided that we terminate the hearing so that everyone would be able to get home before dark. Because my people has to go to Liberty, Amite County, and McComb, Pike County, I was able to persuade Dr. Britton, with his car load of committee members, and Courtney Siceloff, both of whom were going to Jackson, to go out of the way and go as far as Bude, Franklin County, following us. This would leave only about 30 miles for us to go, but this 30 miles was all in Amite County. Robert Moses and his wife were also in a car. It was clear that a caravan of five cars was now attracting attention, but at a very slow pace, we finally reached Bude and waved goodbye to Dr. Britton and Siceloff, who continued on their way to Jackson. Mr. Robinson, who was in my car, offered that I should go only as far as Mr. Westly's farm and that he would take Misses Tobias and the Harris"s home. I appreciated that realizing that my black car was well known in Liberty, and it would be safer if they were in Mr. Robinson's car. We reached Mr. Westly's home and I said goodbye to these good people of Amite and Wilkinson Counties. I was glad that I had given to Mr. Taylor of the USCRC the names and addresses of persons I brought to the hearing

Our caravan of three cars went by an out-of-the-way country road until we were about six miles from McComb, and then we said goodbye to Mr. Thompson and Mr CC C. Bryant who drove their car on to McComb

I let Ema drive. She complained about how slow Bob habitually drove She wanted to hurry to Jackson--she wanted to party. Ema Bell is a young girl about 19 who is really no different from other 19 year olds She had already forgotten the experiences of the last three days. She had the vaguest notions about whether to return to school. She is one who truly lives for the moment When I later saw her in the shop where the COFO staffers ate, she hardly recognized me.

Whereas myself--10 years older--must walk in a state of shock of savoring each day the experiences of being with these people existing in a brutal state whose Southern spokesmen from Alabama had just finished crusading in my denied home state of Indiana to win 30% "Stand Up for America" vote. There was a temporary relief when we finally reached Jackson, but I knew that in Jackson, Wisconsin, Indiana, Maryland, and Atlanta, there are people no different from the Western hat, sunglass-wearing people sitting in the hearing room in Natchez, Mississippi.

When I had paid the cash bond to Sheriff Daniel Jones the Monday Night before, I asked the sheriff whether I could speak to him frankly. I had already seen an "Impeach Earl Warren pamphlet" on his desk. He said that he always intends to speak frankly. I then said that I was interested in Mississippi and the rest of the South in being better places for all the people, both black and white. The sheriff rejoined, not in an agry tone of voice, that that was his duty--to make his county a safe place for all the people He said he has been surely tamed by outside agitators--who are bent to break the law and stir up people, and that he intends to enforce the law. He mentioned Bob Moses. He then produced the well-known picture of Martin Luther King sitting with a

couple of so-called Communists at a Highlander Folk School meeting. He said that "this is the type of people we are dealing with." He then looked at me and said, "I don't know how you are tied up with this. I think you are just brain-washed. I advise you, I am not ordering you or warning you, I am just advising you to leave Amite County and not come back."

Therefore, Bob's statement before the Advisory Committee is indeed true. I believe that the sheriff was actually sincere in believing the civil rights movement is a communist conspiracy. But so was the KKK sincere in the belief that in the 1870's the Scalawags and the Carpetbaggers were raping the South. But how can this justify the murder of innocent Negroes?

One night in February of this year, Mr. Lewis Allen had just got out of his truck when obviously he found himself in trouble. It seems that he was trying to run and get under the truck when he was shot from both sides by deer shot and buck shot. His face was so indistinguishable that at his funeral the casket was shut.

He had signed an affidavit, with a copy filed with the COFO office that he had witnessed the murder of another Negro, Mr. Herbert Lee, by the member of the Mississippi Legislature.

Mrs. Lewis Allen was arrested by Sheriff Daniel Jones for the killing of her husband and was subsequently released. Robert Moses came to the funeral. His assistant, Dave Dennis of Core, cried without shame before a gathering of New York area attorneys.

Such, as this report indicates, is the war against communism.

JD:bs

file Miss. present.

CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI

Number of Lynchings in the Southern States, 1882-1961+, and Percentages by State

Mississippi	538	17.8%
Georgia	491	16.2%
Texas	352	11.6%
Louisiana	335	11.1%
Alabama	299	9.9%
Florida	257	8.5%
Arkansas	226	7.5%
Tennessee	204	6.7%
South Carolina	156	5.1%
North Carolina	85	2.8%
Virginia	83	2.7%
TOTAL --	3026	

+During this period, there were a total of 4,736 lynchings in all states. Thus, 63.9% of all lynchings occurred in the 11 Southern states.

DRAFT

1961

January 4, 1961, Greenville, Mississippi: Two young white men rode a motorbike through a residential area and fired a volley of shots into a group of Negroes. George Mayfield, 18, seriously wounded in both legs; Percy Lee Simmons, 19, shot in the right leg.

May 27, 1961, Jackson, Mississippi: Nine-year-old Gloria Laverne Floyd lassoed with metal wire from moving car and dragged. She suffered a deep gash in her head, cheek bruises, a cut on her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck from the wire.

August 15, 1961, McComb, Mississippi: Robert Moses was arrested as he accompanied three people to the registrar's office in Liberty, Amite County, Mississippi.

August 26, 1961, Amite County, Mississippi: Curtis Hayes, 18, and Hollis Watkins, 20, were arrested as they sat at an F. W. Woolworth lunch counter asking for cokes.

August 27, 1961, Amite County, Mississippi: Five Negro students from local high school convicted of breach of peace following sit-in and sentenced to $400 fine each and eight months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, released, subsequently re-arreasted and sentenced to twelve months in a state school for delinquents.

August 29, 1961, Amite County, Mississippi: Negro suffered head injury in fight with white man; white man found not guilty.

August 29, 1961, Amite County, Mississippi: Two NAACP leaders were arrested in connection with the sit-in demonstrations of the students and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors.

August 29, 1961, Amite County, Mississippi: Moses was attacked in the street by Billy Jack Caston. Moses was accompanying two more people to the registrar's office. Caston is the son of a Mississippi police officer.

August 30, 1961, Amite County, Mississippi: Robert Talbert, Jr., Ike Lewis, and Brenda Travis were arrested as they sat in the local Greyhound Bus Station with interstate tickets.

September 5, 1961, Liberty, Mississippi: Negro beaten by white man on court house lawn in Liberty, the county seat of Amite. White man found not guilty.

September 5, 1962, Liberty, Mississippi: Travis Britt suffered eighteen blows from a white attacker as he accompanied four people to the Registrar's office.

~~September 7, 1961, Mississippi: Negro, aiding others of his race to register for voting was struck on the back of the head with a pistol butt by voting clerk. The injured Negro was arrested and charged with breach of the peace.~~

September 7, 1961, Tylertown, Mississippi: John Hardy accompanied two people to Tylertown, Mississippi, to register. He was struck on the head with a pistol by the Registrar as he turned to leave the office.

September 25, 1961, Mississippi: Herbert Lee was shot and killed by State Representative E. H. Hurst. Hurst was not arrested; was released of all responsibility for the death of Lee by a coroner's jury.

October 4, 1961, McComb, Mississippi: Bob Moses, Charles McDew and Bob Zellner were arrested on the court house steps in McComb and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. Zellner was held by a policeman while the mob beat him.

October 5, 1961, McComb, Mississippi: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street in McComb, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagen was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

October 22, 1961, Jackson, Mississippi: Dion Diamond arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. The arresting officer told the judge, "He is a freedom rider - throw the book at him!" Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

December 26, 1961, Jackson, Mississippi: Rafford Johnson severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

1962

March 15, 1962, Shelby, Mississippi: A Mississippi Negro voter registration leader was convicted in Justice of Peace Court for sexual and obscene advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker. The conviction has been appealed. Aaron Henry, when he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief $15,000.

April 12, 1962, Taylorsville, Mississippi: A Negro soldier was shot and killed by a policeman because he insisted on his rights to sit where he chose on a bus.

May 17, 1962, Rankin County, Mississippi: The Negro editor of the Mississippi Free Press said he was beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped enroute from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man.

June 21, 1962, Clarksdale, Mississippi: A white lawyer from Jackson, Mississippi, and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. Attorney William Higgs and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by Coahoma County officers and were released on the following Monday without charges being filed against them.

July 5, 1962, Jackson, Mississippi: Two young Negro Freedom Riders charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence for contempt of court. They had refused to move from a court bench customarily occupied by whites.

August 3, 1962, Jackson, Mississippi: Federal attorneys ended a circumstantial evidence suit aimed at restoring the teaching job of a Negro woman. The Greene County school board discharged Ernestine Talbert, 33-year-old teacher because of voter registration activity.

August 5, 1962, Greenwood, Mississippi: Police severely beat a fourteen-year-old Negro boy. The policeman forced the youngster to strip, kicked him, and beat him with fists, a billy club, a blackjack and a leather whip.

August 16, 1962, Greenwood, Mississippi: Samuel Block, 23, a field secretary for SNCC, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists".

August 17, 1962, Greenwood, Mississippi: Registration workers Samuel Block, Luvaughn Brown and Lawrence Guyot were forced to flee from the second story window of their office. They said armed white men forced them to flee.

August 29, 1962, Clarksdale, Mississippi: Six Negroes were arrested for "loitering in a moving automobile" after having attended a statewide voter registration meeting.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Mississippi: Two Negro-owned cleaners were closed (allegedly for violating city ordinances); a city employee was fired and a group of laborers was turned away from the fields.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Mississippi: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Ruleville Mayor Charles M. Durrough, "We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school". (He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville).

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Mississippi: Fred Hick, 46, who drove field workers out to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. The bus owner said that because Hicks' mother had gone to register: "We gonna see how tight we can make it--gonna make it just as tight as we can. Gonna be rougher and rougher than you think it is".

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Mississippi: Bob Moses and Amzie Moore were walking down the street in Ruleville. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the "folks getting the people to register". Moses and Moore answered, yes, they were. The man asked if they could come out to his plantation to register people. The two answered, yes, they could come. The man then said, "Ive got a shotgun waiting for you, double barrel".

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Mississippi: A letter by Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services". The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

September 10, 1962, Ruleville, Mississippi: Marylene Burks, 20, and Vivian Hillet, 19, were wounded when an unidentified assailant fired into the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

September 25, 1962, Mississippi: Herbert Lee, who had been active in the voter registration project of the Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee, was shot and killed by Representative Hurst of the Mississippi legislature.

October 3, 1962, Biloxi, Mississippi: A Negro frame residence and a gasoline station were targets for two "Molotov Cocktails" which caused more than $400,000 damage. One of the bombs struck the home of Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Negro physician. The other crashed through the window of a service station operated by Emmett Clark, a Negro.

October 5, 1962, Jackson, Mississippi: Night riders fired shots into several Negro homes Northeast of Jackson before dawn. No one was hurt, but six houses and a store were damaged.

October 10, 1962, Columbus, Mississippi: A "Molotov Cocktail" was tossed from a speeding car into the home of Dr. James L. Allen of Columbus, vice-chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission.

November 6, 1962, Greenville, Mississippi: Two WAF's and two airmen from Greenville Air Force Base yesterdat were fined $55 each and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

November 11, 1962, Indianaola, Mississippi: Attempted voter registration by 36 Negroes at Indianaola touched off a new wave of violence and economic reprisals against sharecroppers and farm workers in the Delta area.

November 18, 1961, McComb, Mississippi: A shotgun was fired through the window of the bedroom occupied by Dion Diamond and John Hardy.

December 13, 1962, Jackson, Mississippi: Rev. Thomas E. Johnson, a member of the Mississippi State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, was indicted and his wife jailed as a result of his forwarding to Washington complaints that Negroes are being mistreated.

December 18, 1962; Ruleville, Mississippi: A fourteen-year-old youth was arrested by Ruleville police and beaten by a city official. The youth had been active in voter registration work. The official warned the youngster, "I'm not going to have any of that integration stuff".

1963

January 16, 1963, Jackson, Mississippi: Reports indicated that 20,000 Negroes active in voter registration in the Mississippi Delta were dropped by local officials from the lists of those eligible to receive federal surplus commodities.

February 2, 1963, Greenwood, Mississippi: Willie Peacock complained to the Justice Department that Greenwood officials had refused to register him on two occasions and rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

February 2, 1963, Greenwood, Mississippi: Registration workers asked the federal government for a complete investigation concerning the denial of surplus food to non-whites in LeFlore County.

February 28, 1963 Greenwood, Mississippi: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by eleven bullets. One worker was wounded in the neck and shoulder. The other two escaped injury.

March 4, 1963, Clarksdale, Mississippi: The show windows in the Fourth Street Drug Store were broken out, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage done when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in LeFlore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

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Negroes Seeking Vote Have Trouble in Delta

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

JACKSON, Miss. — Mississippi is tough for Negroes engaged in voter-registration programs.

While violence has been nil, they are subjected to arrest and intimidation and the shout of "Communist."

Negro registration efforts are being concentrated in the Delta, around the Sunflower County area, home of U. S. Sen. James O. Eastland, who has few peers if any as the Deep South's "top banana" segregationist.

In Quitman County, a Negro went to the Court House at Marks, where the registrar sits, and was arrested. When two bondsmen showed up, they were jailed too.

A Negro who uses his yellow bus to transport workers to the cotton fields recently used it to transport prospective Negro voters from Ruleville to Indianola in Sunflower County. The Highway Patrol arrested him. They said his bus should have been painted green.

Business Closed Down

In Ruleville, a Negro who operates a dry-cleaning shop got interested in voter registration. Police suddenly found that his boiler had no protective wall as required by law. His business was closed down. So was the business of another Ruleville Negro, suddenly found to have improper bathroom fixtures.

Last Sunday, officials in Ruleville remembered the Sunday law and forced Negro businesses to close down that day.

A Negro photographer in Greenwood sublet office space to some of the voter-registration workers. The photographer was arrested on a bigamy charge after police questioning.

Recently, Charles McLaurin of St. Louis, a worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee of Atlanta, was distributing registration literature in Ruleville and was brought before Mayor Charles N. Dorrough.

The Mayor explained the ordinance against distributing literature without a license. McLaurin asked if the ordinance didn't violate the U. S. Constitution.

"Boy, you don't know where you're at," came the reply.

The Negroes know where they're at. They're in Mississippi, the heart of the defiant South, and it's been a long, hot summer.

One day last month in Clarksdale, where Negroes have been engaged in a boycott of white merchants, Willie Griffin spoke to some Negroes about registering to vote.

A policeman accused her of trying to take the Negroes away from downtown and thus enforce the boycott. She was marched to the police station and put in a cell without a chair or cot.

Finally Miss Griffin was charged with restraint of trade, resisting arrest, destroying public property and possessing obscene literature. Her bail; $1500.

The Negro voter push is a coordinated affair, comprising the SNCC, CORE, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP.

Part of Project

It's part of the Voter Education Project, operating out of Atlanta and financed by highly reputable foundations to conduct research in the best methods of expanding suffrage in the South.

The Mississippi delta was picked for strategic reasons. Two out of three of its citizens are Negro. Clarksdale is the home of Aaron Henry, State NAACP president, who has built an active NAACP chapter there.

And the fact that it's Sen. Eastland's home territory must have played a part.

But into the picture last July popped Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans.

In a 1954 Louisville trial, Braden was accused in a Kentucky State court of blowing up his own house to foment race unrest and was convicted. The decision was reversed when the U. S. Supreme Court, in another case, ruled that Congress had preempted the field of subversion laws from the states.

Branded Communist

At a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in Atlanta in 1958, staff director Richard Arens accused Braden of being a Communist. Braden, longtime enemy of the Committee, invoked the First Amendment and served 10 months for contempt of Congress. Outside Committee hearings Braden has denied he is a Communist.

Last July, he visited Negro voter workers in Mississippi. He later sent a report to contacts all over the country. He marked it "confidential."

Beginning last Friday, the Jackson Daily News, perhaps Mississippi's greatest segregationist newspaper, began a sensational series of articles about the "secret" report, which it had "intercepted."

It labeled Braden an "identified Communist" and noted he was accompanied on his Mississippi visit by Robert Moses of New York, a field worker for SNCC in the voter-education project. Braden's report told of a workshop near Jackson in Hinds County. Screamed the News in headlines: "Commies Recruiting Members in Hinds?"

State Attorney General Joe Patterson picked up the ball. After comparing U. S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to a Jackass baying at the sky, Patterson wondered aloud about the Justice Department's lack of concern in the activities of a "known Communist in Mississippi."

Paper Sent to Negroes

Negro leaders throughout the delta received copies of the News stories, bound in a wrapper proclaiming: "Communist workers, race agitators arrested in Indianola." Now it's hard for the Negro voter-registration workers to get a Negro church for meetings.

The Indianola arrests occurred last week, along with arrests in other delta towns, of Negroes on such charges as distributing literature without a permit, loitering (in a moving car) and being on the streets of Clarksdale after midnight "without reasonable cause."

The Justice Department in the past 27 months has filed nearly two dozen civil rights actions in Mississippi, about nedy to a jackass baying at clearing roadblocks to Negro registrations. But the courts move slowly here on such matters.

The U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals will decide one case on Sept. 17 in Hattiesburg: what to do about Forrest County Registrar Theron Lynd, who simply has refused to register any Negroes, court order or no.

Few voices of moderation are heard in Mississippi today. The Tupelo Journal raised its voice last July 30 by warning Mississippians that they are "building up serious troubles for themselves when look on the south ... we educate Negroes and then deny them the basic rights to which they are entitled as citizens."

But mostly the voices emulate Gov. Ross R. Barnett. When the Department of Justice recently filed a sweeping suit attac tionality of registratior one requi character" Governor a Governmer bad moral

"I assu Departmen ment of th ignorant, norant."

Editor the Jackso gested that true goal the way t known only times each

"Sure it's sissippi Ne things dou President dale. "But We've just you one th tired of th

Mystery Child Ide

A 4-year-old girl found on Aug. 20 hu town Indianapolis doorway has been ide Lee Odom. Lois Littler, 27, at right, the girl's mother and that Ruby St. Cl the grandmother. The two women ha by Indianapolis police on charges of ch Story on page A1.

Transfer of 18 Penn Station Columns Asked

New York Daily News Service

NEW YORK, Sept. 9—Eighteen of the 84 Roman Doric columns which have long adorned Pennsylvania Station here and which are scheduled for removal will grace the mall in Battery Park if Parks Commissioner Newbold Morris' plans are approved by New York City's Art Commission.

Morris said today he plans to place nine on each side of the mall leading to Castle Clinton National Monument, each column to be surmounted by one of the pink granite eagles now prominent on the railroad station's facade. Morris estimated the cost of removal, transportation and installation at $200,000.

$50,000 Cargo Of Beef Stolen

CHICAGO, Sept. 9 (AP) The FBI and Chicago police said a semi-trailer truck containing beef worth between $50,000 and $60,000 was stolen Saturday night from the Si Transportation Co.

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SHORT

Mem v-R receipt.

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

THINGS HAVE REALLY GOTTEN TOUGH IN CLARKSDALE, WHEN A NEGRO CAN BE ARRESTED FOR TALKING TO OTHER NEGROES ON THE STREET. THE CLARKSDALE CITY OFFICIALS IN ARRESTING MISS WILLIE GRIFFIN LAST FRIDAY HAS AGAIN PLACED THIS COMMUNITY IN ILL REPUTE LOCALLY AND NATIONALLY. MISS GRIFFIN TOOK THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY ON FRIDAY AUGHST 17TH TO TRY TO PERSUAD NEGROES DOWNTOWN TO GO OVER TO THE COURTHOUSE AND REGISTER. GOING FROM PERSON TO PERSON WAS A MYSTERY TO THE LOCAL POLICE AND THEY COULD RESIST NO LONGER THIS ACTIVITY WITHOUT ARRESTING HER. WE PROMISE THEM THEY HAVE NOT HEARD THE LAST OF THIS EPISODE!!!!!!!!!

THOSE OF US WHO GO TO THE WEEKLY MASS MEETINGS AND HEARD MISS GRIFFINS REPORT OF HER EXPERIENCE OF THIS ARREST WERE NOT TO SURPRISED AT THE ..... NUMEROUS INDECENT EXPERIENCES SHE HAD

WE HAVE ALSO FOUND A FORMULA THAT CAN BRING UNITY TO CITY HALL. AS WE OBSERVED AT MISS GRIFFINS TRIAL ON MONDAY AFTER NOON ALL THE COMMISSIONERS AND THE MAYOR WERE THERE AS A TEAM IN PERFECT HARMONY AND ACCORD WITH THE PERSECEUTION OF MISS GRIFFIN. THE LOOK OF SATISFACTION ON THEIR FACES WHEN THE JUDGE HANDED OUT HIS UNSUALLY LARGE FINES, WAS OBVIOUS TO ALL. " THE SECRET TO UNITY AT CITH HALL, IS TO INJECT AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE UNKIND TO NEGROES", AND YOU WILL HAVE UNITY AT CITY HALL FROM NOW ON. SO PERHAPS SOME GOOD HAS COME OUT OF THIS FOR THE POET SAID, "IT IS AN ILL WIND INDEED THAT BLOWS NO ONE ANY GOOD."

LIKEWISE THE PECULIAR ARRANGEMENTS THAT WERE MADE RELATIVE TO BONDING MISS GRIFFIN OUT OF JAIL. THE OFFICIAL PLAN APPARENTLY FROM NOW ON WILL BE TO MAKE IT AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE FOR NEGROES TO GET OUT OF JAIL ON BOND. WELL WE ALL KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT ONE. WE WONDER IF THEY KNOW THAT JAIL WITHOUT BAIL IS BECOMING WHAT'S HAPPENING. IF THEY CAN DISH IT OUT, THANK GOD WE CAN TAKE IT.

IT IS GREVIOUS TO SEE THE COMMUNITY OF OUR WHITE BROTHERS AND SISTERS PERMITTING ONE OR TWO WHO HAPPEN TO HAVE SOME SEMBLENCE OF POWER TO SO MISUSE THIS POWER THAT THE WHOLE NEGRO COMMUNITY REALIZES THAT IT IS JUST A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE ANY ONE OF US CAN BE THEIR VICTIMS, WITHOUT ANY SPOKEN OPPOSITION FROM ANY OF THEM. WE REPEAT IT IS NOT THE BLATANT NOISES OF THESE ONE OR TWO BAD PEOPLE THAT DISTURB US SO, IT IS THE THUNDERING SILENCE OF THE GOOD PEOPLE THAT SIT BY AND SAY AND DO NOTHING

WE MUST INCREASE OUR BOND STRENGTH, FOR THOSE WANTING TO GET OUT OF JAIL FOLLOWING "NON VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS". MRS. VERA M PIGEE IS THE NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE BONDING COMMITTEE. IF YOU ARE WILLING TO SIGN A BOND TO INSURE THE FREEDOM OF ONE WORKING IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, THEN PLEASE CHECK WITH HER IMMEDIATELY. "IT IS NECESSARY TO INCREASE THIS LIST IMMEDIATELY. THE TIME THAT WE WILL NEED THEM IS NOT FAR OF.

DONT FORGET:
MINISTERS LUNCHEON, CENTENNIEL BAPTIST CHURCH, MONDAY AT NOON
MASS MEETING, HAVEN METHODIST CHURCH, WEDNESDAY NIGHT AUGUST 29th BE PRESENT AND SEE THE MOVIE, " WALK TO FREEDOM". THIS MOVIE IS VERY MUCH LIKE THE CLARKSDALE STORY AND FEATURES THE REV. MARTIN L. KING JR.

BE SURE TO PROTEST THE FIRING OF MRS. NOELLE M HENRY BY THE COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD. THEIR DAY IN THIS SITUATION IS COMING SOON.

LET US TAKE THE TIME TO EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION TO MISS WILLIE GRIFFIN FOR HER DETERMINATION. THE NEXT DAY AFTER SHE WAS OUT OF JAIL SHE WAS TRYING TO GET NEGROES TO REGISTER. IF YOU ARE NOT REGISTERED, WON'T YOU PLEASE GO OVER TODAY AND TRY. MISS GRIFFIN WILL BE MIGHTY APPRECIATIVE.

, CLARKSDALE IS THE PLACE NOW IS THE TIME WE ARE THE PEOPLE

Mrs V-R Klein

COAHOMA COUNTY BRANCH NAACP

SPECIAL NEWS FLASH!!! SPECIAL NEWS FLASH!! SPECIAL NEWS FLASH!

EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA

MISS WILLIE GRIFFIN, A WORKER IN THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN ARRESTED, AND SHE IS STILL IN JAIL. SHE WAS ARRESTED FRIDAY AFTERNOON. HELD IN CITY HALL UNTIL LATE FRIDAY NIGHT BEFORE ANY OF THE AUTHORITIES OF CITY HALL WOULD ADMIT SHE WAS UNDER ARREST. THANKS TO COMMISSIONER BELL FOR BREAKING THE LOG JAM AND AIDING US IN TALKING WITH HER. IT HAS BEEN REPORTED THAT MISS GRIFFIN WENT INTO THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY PROSPECTING FOR VOTERS. EVERY NEGRO PERSON OF ADULT STATUS SHE SAW, SHE ASKED IF THEY WERE REGISTERED TO VOTE.. WHEN THE ANSWER WAS NO, SHE INVITED THEM TO ACCOMPANY HER TO THE COURTHOUSE AND REGISTER. FOR THIS ACTIVITY MISS GRIFFIN WAS BOOKED ON A RESTRAINT OF TRADE CHARGE,(THAT SOUNDS FAMILIAR) HER ACTIVITY WAS TRYING TO GET NEGROES TO FOLLOW HER OUT OF THE DOWNTOWN SECTION OF THE CITY(WHERE THEY HAD NO BUSINESS ANYWAY) TO THE COURTHOUSE AND REGISTER.

GIVE YOU ONE GUESS AND YOU WILL KNOW WHO THE ARRESTING OFFICERS AND THE INTERROGATOR WERE. YES YOU GUESSED IT, FIDDLE AND FADDLE. IF MISS GRIFFIN IS GUILTY OF A CRIME, THAT IS TRYING TO GET NEGROES SEEN DOWN TOWN TO GO AND TRY TO REGISTER, LET US ALL BECOME GUILTY OF THE SAME CRIME AND FILL THE CITY JAIL. LET EVERY ONE OF US GO INTO THE DOWNTOWN SECTION AND ASK EVERY NEGRO THAT WE SEE TO FOLLOW US TO THE COURTHOUSE AND REGISTER. LET US PLAN NOW TO MARCH ON CITY HALL IN A PROTEST OF THESE COMPOUND HARRASSMENTS. A CALL IS GOING OUT TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS OF THE NATION ASKING THEM TO COME AND HELP PLAN AND ORGANIZE SUCH A MOVEMENT.
THE OFFICERS OF THE VOTERS LEAGUE GOT TOGETHER $1,500.00 CASH TO GET MISS GRIFFIN OUT OF JAIL SATURDAY NIGHT. BUT WE WERE INFORMED THAT ONCE WE GOT HER OUTOF THE COUNTY JAIL WHERE SHE WAS PLACED AT 2:30PM ON SATURDAY, THAT THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY WERE WAITING TO REARREST HER AND CARRY HER BACK TO CITY HALL JAIL. MISS GRIFFIN REFUSED TO BE BONDED OUT OF THE COUNTY JAIL, CHOOSING TO REMAIN IN JAIL THEIR, RATHER THAN BE CARRIED BACK TO CITY JAIL AT CITY HALL.

HOW ANY NEGRO COULD HAVE THE GALL TO SHOW DOWNTOWN WHILE NEGROES ARE RECIEVING THIS KIND OF TREATMENT IS BEYOND US. IF YOU HAVE A DROP OF FREEDOM BLOOD IN YOU, YOU SHOULD NOW ATLEAST STOP SHOPPING DOWNTOWN UNTIL THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES STOP HARRASSING US AND THE MERCHANTS TREAT US COURTESLY AND EMPLOY US ABOVE THE MENIEL LEVEL. THIS ARREST OF MISS GRIFFIN SHOULD MAKE ALL OF US DETERMINED TO STAY AWAY FROM THE DOWN TOWN SECTION ATLEAST UNTIL AFTER THE CHRISTMAS SHOPPING SEASON.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RELY UPON OUR WHITE FRIENDS ANY FUTHER, TO AID US. THEY SIMPLY WILL NOT GO AGAINST ONE OF THEIR OWN, REGARDLESS HOW WRONG HE IS, FOR NEGROES. YES, WHEN THE BIG LION ROARS, ALL OF OUR WOULD BE WHITE FRIENDS TUCK THEIR TAILS AND SAY, WELL I AM AGAINST IT, THERE IS NOTHING "I" CAN DO ABOUT IT.
WELL WE CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. MASS DEMONSTRATIONS FOLLOWING SIMILAR CONDITIONS IN OTHER COMMUNITIES, IS THE ANSWER. THE TIME HAS COME FOR NEGROES TO GET UP OFF OF THEIR WISH BONE, AND START RELYING ON THEIR BACKBONE, STAND UP AND BE COUNTED. WHEN THE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND PRAYER PILGRIMAGE SCHEDULED TO SHOW OUR FEELING CONCERNING THE WAY WE ARE BEING TREATED BY CITY HALL AND SOME COUNTY OFFICIALS COME OF, WILL YOU BE IN THE NUMBER? LET US MAKE THEIR JAILS "TEMPLES OF FREEDOM", LOVING OUR OPPRESSORS ON THE AGAPPE LEVEL. NOT BECAUSE WE LIKE THEM OR THEIR TREAMMENT OF US BUT BECAUSE GOD MADE THEM AND LOVES THEM TOO. IF WE FOLLOW THIS TECHNIQUE, HE WILL SEE US THRU.

WE HAVE GONE TO THE LENGTH OF OUR CABLETOE, TRYING TO APPEAL TO THE RESPONSIBLE WHITE LEADERSHIP OF OUR COMMUNITY. TO DATE THEY WILL NOT EVEN ANSWER A LETTER, MUCH LESS GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS OUR PROBLEMS WITH THEM. NOW IT ISUP TO US. WE WILL NEED BONDSMEN (PERSONS TO SIGN BONDS FOR THOSE WANTING TO GET OUT OF JAIL) MARCHERS, HYMN SINGERA AND MANY OTHER PARTICIPANTS. THERE IS A ROLE WE ALL CAN PLAY. IT DOES NOT TAKE TOO MUCH COURAGE, IT ONLY TAKES A BEING TIRED OF BEING PUSHED AROUND AND A WANTING TO BE FREE.

DONT FORGET THE MINISTERS LUNCHEON, MONDAY AT NOON, CENTENNIEL BAPTIST CHURCH. MASS MEETING WEDNESDAY NIGHT AT MT. MARIAH. IF THE CROWD IS TOO LARGE ANOTHER CHURCH WILL BE USED.

LET US JOIN MISS GRIFFIN IN THIS NEW FREEDOM SLOGAN, " I AIN'T GONNA LET NO MR. NOBODY, TURN ME 'ROUND , TURN ME 'ROUND, TURN ME 'ROUND I'M GONNA KEEPING ON WALKING AND TALKING DOWN FREEDOM LANE.

A PROGRAM FOR A STATEWIDE VOTER REGISTRATION
CAMPAIGN IN MISSISSIPPI

Submitted by the COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS:
Dr. Aaron Henry, President, Clarksdale, Miss.
Atty. Carsie Hall, Secretary, Jackson, Miss.

I. Aims and Goals

A. Voting and Economics:

We do feel that the basic aim of the program should be more than the mere registration of the large majority of Negroes in the state, for there is evidence that unless some degree of economic independence is achieved along with the ballot, the lot of the majority of the state's Negroes will not be greatly improved.

We feel it will be necessary for the Council, therefore, to articulate the needs of the Negro in the areas of Labor, Education, Housing, Justice, and Voting. More than articulation is needed, however, and the Council will have to lobby for specific programs at all levels of government, through its state office, or its member organizations.

B. County Organizations:

Since the fundamental political unit in the state is the county unit, one of the goals of the program should be the development of leadership at this level to ensure an on-going program in voter registration and to press for progress at the county level. Local conditions should determine the type of organization developed at this level.

II. Organization and Scope:

A. We propose to partition the state into twenty districts. (See attached maps and table.) Each district would be manned by a full time paid field secretary. These field workers would meet bi-weekly in Jackson and other cities to evaluate the program.

B. Priorities:

Following the political outline of the state and the concentration of Negroes, it seems natural to give priority to the second, third, and fourth congressional districts, where the Negroes comprise 50%, 66%, and 45%, respectively, of the population. Cities where Negroes are free to vote without fear of economic reprisals would also receive priority.

C. Summer program:

We envision the use of 100 students to work this summer in the rural areas and the towns where the adult leadership is unable, for some reason, to conduct the program.

These students would live in rural areas bringing with them an educational, political, cultural program. We hope to include white students.

These students would be recruited across the spring semester and all subjected to an intense week-long conference before taking the field for the summer. They would include specialty groups such as gospel quartets and folk dance teachers who would travel across the state.

III. Timetable

The following steps may be profitable taken now, even before further developments with the directors of the South-wide program.

1. The establishment of a date for a meeting of representatives from Urban areas to discuss the mechanics and operation of a city voter registration office.

2. Organizing regional meetings across the state to prepare for the total program. Bob Moses, of the S.N.C.C. and James Bevel of the S.C.L.C. are available for leg work in setting up these meetings. A representative of the executive committee of the Council should be present at each meeting.

3. A search began for field workers and students.

4. The Council should designate persons to solicite the support and cooperation of ministers and professional people at the local and state level; liberal white persons should also be contacted and their assistance solicited.

IV. Table of proposed working districts:

District I. Hinds, Madison and Rankin Counties
Headquarters: Jackson, Mississippi

District 2: Warren, Claiborne, Copiah and Jefferson Counties
Headquarters: Vicksburg, Mississippi

District 3: Adams, Amite, Franklin and Wilkinson Counties
Headquarters: Natchez, Mississippi

District 4: Pike, Walthall, Lawrence and Lincoln Counties
Headquarters: McComb, Mississippi

District 5: Forrest, Marion, Lamar, Perry and Green Counties
Headquarters: Hattiesburg, Mississippi

District 6: Harrison, Pearl River, Hancock, Jackson, George and Stone Counties
Headquarters: Gulfport, Mississippi

District 7: Jones, Jefferson Davis, Covimgton, Wayne and Simpson Counties
Headquarters: Laurel, Mississippi

District 8: Lauderdale, Newton Scott, Smith, Jasper and Clarke Counties.
Headquarters: Meridian, Mississippi

District 9: Attala, Leake, Neshoba and Kemper Counties
Headquarters: Kosciusko, Mississippi

District 10: Oktibbeha, Choctaw, Wimston, and Noxubee Counties
Headquarters: Starkville, Mississippi

District 11: Lowdens, Clay, Monroe, Chickasaw, Calhoun and Webster Counties
Headquarters: Columbus, Mississippi

District 12: Lee, Itawamba, Tishmoningo, Prentiss, Alcorn and Pontotoc Counties
Headquarters: Tupelo, Mississippi

District 13: Marshall, Benton, Tippah and Union Counties
Headquarters: Holly Springs, Mississippi

District 14: Grenada, Yallobusha and Layfayette Counties
Headquarters: Grenada, Mississippi

District 15: Washington, Issaquena, and Sharkey Counties
Headquarters: Greenville, Mississippi

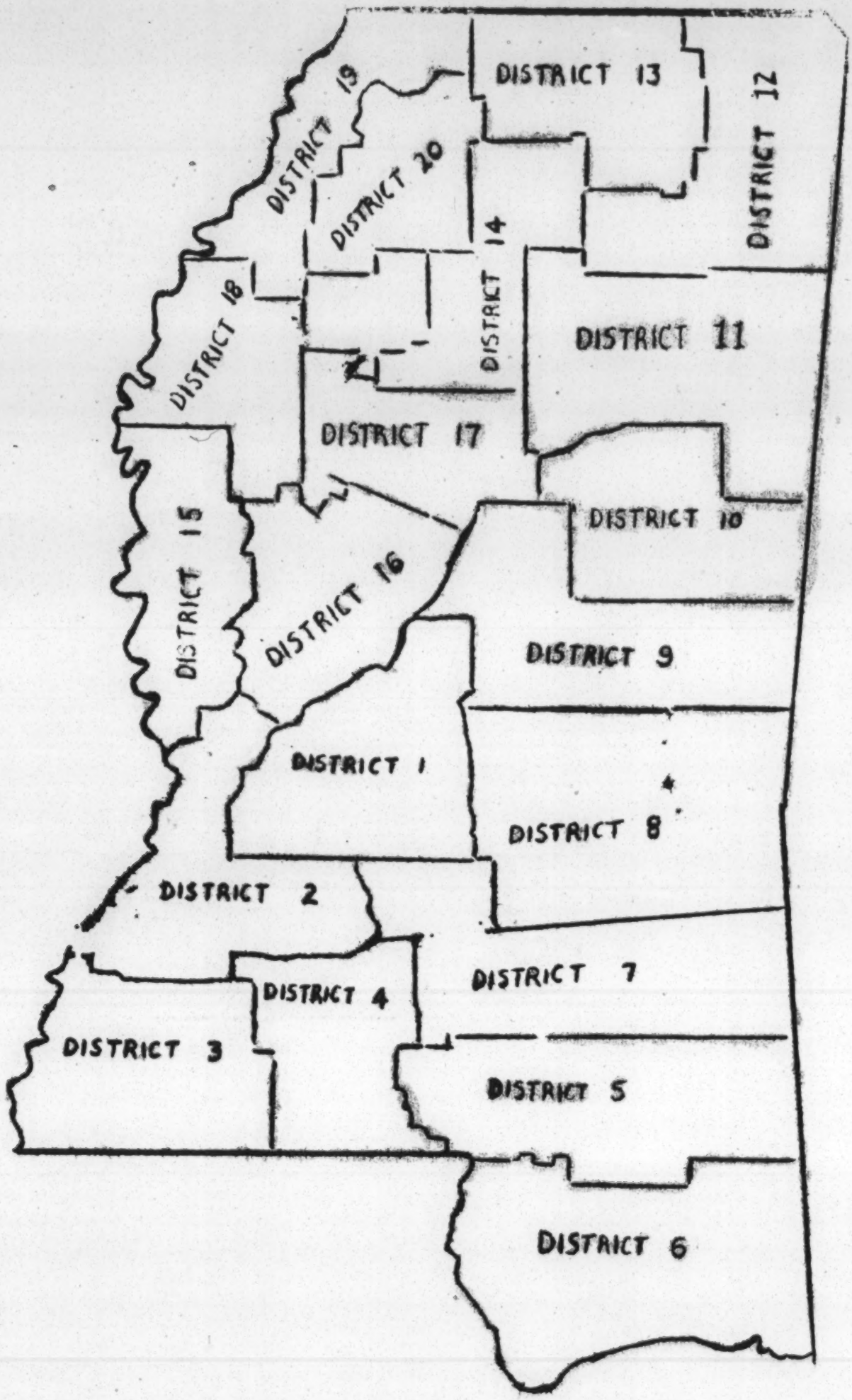
District 16: Yazoo, Humphreys and Holmes Counties
Headquarters: Yazoo City, Mississippi

District 17: Leflore, Carroll and Montgovery Counties
Headquarters: Greenwood, Mississippi

District 18: Bolivar, Sunflower and Tallahatchie Counties
Headquarters: Cleveland, Mississippi

District 19: Cohoma, Tunia and DeSoto Counties
Headquarters: Clarksdale, Mississippi

District 20: Quitman, Panola and Tate Counties
Headquarters: Marks, Mississippi


DISTRICT 19
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DISTRICT 8
DISTRICT 2
DISTRICT 7
DISTRICT 4
DISTRICT 3
DISTRICT 5
DISTRICT 6

Breakdown on the 3rd Congressional District

Note: If the redistricting plan now before the Mississippi legislature goes into effect, it will create a third Congressional district in the South-west corner of Mississippi, with eleven counties, with a white voting age population of 117,122 and a Negro voting age population of 78,452.

I. Statistics:

County	Voting age population				
	White	nonwhite			
	NO.	NO.	NO. registered	% reg.	% of County
Adams	10,888	9,340	1,050	11.2	46.2
Amite	4,449	3,560	1	.03	44.4
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	138	3.5	70.2
Copiah	8,153	6,407	20	.31	44.0
Franklin	3,403	1,842	146	7.9	35.1
Hinds	67,836	36,148	5,000	13.8	34.8
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	0	.0	62.8
Lincoln	statistics not available				
Pike	12,163	6,936	207	3.0	36.3
Walthall	4,536	2,490	0	.0	35.4
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	110	2.7	63.8
Total:	117.122	78,452	6,672	40.0	3.0

Analysis of statistics:

There are two counties in the district, Hinds and Adams, in which Negroes may vote without fear of economic reprisals and physical violence, and may register if they persist in their efforts.

Analysis of the above statistics reveal that these two counties have a total of 45,488 Negroes of voting age, or 57% of all the Negroes and 38% of all the people of voting age in the district. If we launched a program which successfully registered 60%, or 27,292 of these people, we would have 23% of the voting age population in the district on the books.

Further, these are areas of increasing population and will become more important as the years pass: Hinds county increased its population by 31.6% and Jackson, the county seat and state capital, by 47.0%, in the years 1950-1960. Adams county experienced a 17.0 increase and Natchez, its county seat, a 4.6% increase, in these same years. (of. "United States Census Population, 1960)

II. Proposed Industrial Basin.

The new four lane thru-way from New Orleans to Chicago will parallel highway 51 through the south-west portion of Mississippi. Several small cities along this highway deserve separate attention Crystal Springs, Hazelhurst, Brookhaven and McComb. They are all increasing their population in an area which is otherwise decreasing. They reflect the Southwide trend of movement from rural to urban areas, and are located in a basin designed for ex-

tensive industrial expansion.

Statistics:

City	Population	% increase '50 - '60	% non-white
Crystal Springs	4,496	22.3	34.6
Hazelhurst	3,400	0.1	51.6
Brookhaven	9,885	26.7	37.4
McComb	12,020	15.6	28.4

In these cities and counties (Copiah, Lincoln and Pike), local leadership will probably not lend their name in public to a voting program though they will push it in the Negro community by word of mouth and through the churches. The publicity and projection of the program should be carefully worked out with these Leaders.

We anticipate in these areas covert white resistance, taking the form of economic reprisals and whisper campaigns. It is not likely that physical violence will erupt over voting in these counties. (Note: This is so, even though a man was shot and killed on the courthouse lawn of Brookhaven a few years ago in a case connected in the people's minds with voting. Recently, however, several people have been registered in Brookhaven and the registrar was not hostile, nor was there any other trouble).

We have contacts in two of these cities, McComb and Brookhaven, who are interested in voting registration drives and McComb is ready to receive a group of student and adult workers. We hope to make sufficient preparations across the spring to enable similar groups to work in Brookhaven, Hazelhurst and Crystal Springs.

III. The remaining counties, Walthall, Amite, Wilkinson, Franklin, Jefferson and Claiborne are rural, without any urban areas at all. The chief institution in the rural community in which we may find leadership and support will be the Church. The chief leaders, however, will not be ministers, since, in most cases, they do not live in the community and only offer service once a month, their active support is, however, indispensable.

In these areas any sustained voting drive successful in getting Negroes to attempt to register, is likely to be marked by physical violence, as well as economic reprisals. It is these areas of Mississippi which are accurately described by the following section of a report on voting issued by the Southern Reginal Conference:

> All forms of violence, intimidation, and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually rely on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the state which has the hishest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered.

It is in these areas that the questions of accompanying persons to the registrar's office and continuing a drive in the face of terrific tension built by white resistance and threats and acts of violence, should be carefully thrashed out.

We have made contacts in every rural county , except Wilkinson and Franklin.

We have started classes in Amite, Claiborne & Jefferson and anticipate using the spring to establish personal contact in the communities and locate areas where students will be able to live during part of the summer & conduct voter registration classes.

	POPULATION	% INCREASE	% NON-WHITE
Walthall	13,512	-13.2	41.1
Adams	37,730	17.0	49.5
Amite	15,573	-19.1	54.5
Claiborne	10,845	-9.2	76.0
Warren	42,206	6.5	
Franklin	9,286	-15.0	40.9
Hinds	187.045	31.6	40.0
Jefferson	10,142	-10.3	75.5
Lincoln	26,759	-4.1	31.2
Pike	35,063	-0.2	43.9
Wilkinson	13,235	-6.2	71.2
Copiah	27,051	-11.3	52.0

United States Consus Report - 1960

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A&T Prexy Calm In Blast From J. H. Kerr

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MUNICIPAL JOBS ARE NOW OPENING TO RACE

THE CAROLINIAN

North Carolina's Leading Weekly

VOL. 21, NO. 17 RALEIGH, N. C., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1963 PRICE 15¢

WOMAN KILLED IN LOVE BRAWL

+ + + + + + + +

DR. M. L. KING EXPLAINS SUIT

Warren Solon Rants

Representative John Keer of Warren County, a veteran of 22 years, who represents a county whose Negro population is said to pay more taxes than any other segment of the county, virtually "blew his top" in the general assembly Tuesday at acting president, L. C. Dowdy, A&T College.

Dr. Dowdy was appearing before the Joint Appropriations Commit-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

Contract Denied By King

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — It was reliably reported, from sources close to Martin Luther King, here this week, that the suit brought by him against Doto Records was brought after every effort to reconcile the matter had been exhausted.

The suit is said to have been filed in Los Angeles, Calif., after five months of persistent attempts to persuade the record company to

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

N. C. SOLON RESORTS TO PREJUDICE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

tee, in quest of funds for the Greensboro school. Kerr proceeded to grill him after he made his presentation.

"Is is not a fact," Keer shouted, "that your students have been involved in a sit-in in Greensboro?" Dowdy did not make an immediate reply but answered a strong "yes" when Kerr called out:

Answer me yes or no!"

The outspoken legislator said, "I have been here 22 years and we have donated generously to this institution . . . that that activity is antagonizing race relations."

Almost as an apology, Dowdy explained after Kerr's blast: "We are working on better behavior for our students.

In contrast to this exchange, another old-time lawmaker, Rep. Tom Woodard of Wilson, paid tribute to Dr. Alfonso Elder, Negro president of North Carolina College in Durham.

Elder had quoted former University of North Carolina President Gordon Gray as saying he hoped he would always return to the committee with requests for funds. "But I will soon reach my 65th birthday," Elder said, "so I will be retiring and won't be returning."

Woodard said, "I'm sorry you will be retiring . . . the people of North Carolina are indebted to you for your service."

FUNERAL DIRECTOR UNDER FIRE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

2, Section 11 of the city ordinance which requires that graves must be at least three feet deep.

The case developed yesterday when cemetery caretakers found the body of a stillborn Negro male infant in a wooden box with one corner of the box sticking out of a shallow grave in the Negro section of the cemetery.

Shore said further investigation showed that the grave had been been only 21 inches deep and that at that point the box had been placed on top of another coffin already buried there.

Investigation by police disclosed that the infant had been born in a hospital here Dec. 30 and had been buried the next day by Thomas Funeral Home.

DURHAM CLUBS RAIDED

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

Highway, was arrested at the Club Valet on N.C. 55, south of the city, and charged with illegal possession of 50 gallons of beer and 11 gallons of taxpaid whiskey.

He was released under $500 bond.

The cases are set for hearing Friday in Recorder's Court

NASH COUNTY MAN GUNS DOWN LOVER

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

block of Beal St.

Wadsworth was sent to the Nash County Jail, without the privilege of bond, to await the action of the Nash County Superior Court, according to information furnished by officers.

The couple had reportedly "been and gotten some whiskey to drink" and returned to Miss Moore's home where an argument ensued, each charging the other with "being out" with someone else on a previous evening. So heated did the verbal battle become until the Moore girl allegedly cut Wadsworth with a butcher knife, whereupon Wadsworth went to his home obtained a .22 calibre rifle and returned. As the Moore girl saw Wadsworth approaching she ran out the front door across a vacant lot in a futile effort to escape. Two shots from Wadsworth's rifle dropped the woman inside a neighboring house. One

ties, Chief Davis said in one breath that he knew nothing about a Negro quota in the police department. Shortly then after he said he was hoping to be able to employ 2 other Negro policemen so that he could have sufficient Negro police officers to work together.

Now since both of these department heads have publicly announced they are operating from a Negro quota basis, it would be quite interesting to know just how they arrive at their quotas. Quotas are usually based upon the ratio of population. We are sure that this type of base is not used because if it were it would mean that Negroes were entitled to at least one fourth of the jobs in these departments. It appears however that these heads, possibly in consultation with their superior, abitrarily decide themselves upon the number of jobs and the kind of jobs Negroes will be given. Of course this means that no matter how badly the city needs more firemen and more policemen, no matter how many vacancies exists or regardless how well qualified Negro applicants might be, if the Negro "quota" has been filled, no more Negroes will be hired. Should this type of practice be tolerated in this enlightened day and time? Should the city of Raleigh be deprived of adequate fire and police protection because of race?

We have every reason to believe that the Negro who at long last has broken the fire department's racial barrier, is amply qualified and there are no reflections we could cast upon him, but the news story about his appointment would seem to indicate that the surest road to employment here as a fireman is to know someone who knows someone in the fire department.

KEEPS ON POINTING THE WAY

The Kennedy Administration continues to point the way to the current administration in North Carolina how to practice what it preaches.

The recent appointment of a Negro federal court marshal following upon the appointment of a Negro federal assistant district attorney seems to be saying to Gov. Sanford, "It is fine to urge industry and business to give Negroes equal job opportunities but you should set the example.

There are those who are saying that the governor's plea in behalf of more Negro employment in this state was politics, pure and simple.

We have not and cannot agree with those who believe that. It is our opinion that Gov. Sanford is honestly and realistically interested in the forward progress of North Carolina. He realzes that the state can never make the progress of which it is potentially capable until all of its citizens are in a position to make the contributions they are potentially able to make. This is not a sentimental equatio, it is based upon solid, practical realities. Beyond that, we believe that Gov. Sanford is also motivated from a humanitarian standpoint, he believes that what he has asked for is not only practical but it is also right.

We also believe that Gov. Sanford knows that he can best get his Negro job program going by doing something about the matter in the area for which he is directly responsible, the executive department. Negro faces in the offices on Capitol hill will eventually be seen, why not now, Mr. Governor? Of course, with the show of strength shown by the Republicans in Guilford County, the Kennedy Administration was plainly mixing equal job opportunites with politics in the Negro opportunities it recently made in that area. It might not be bad for Gov. Sanford to also consider the political angle also. Negroes in North Carolina cast a lot of votes.

MORE BUNGLING

The recent announcement that the renovations needed at Raleigh's Memorial Auditorium will cost almost $60,000 more than the amount voted and passed in the bond election last fall, is a direct challenge to the ability of the present city council to make proper evaluations.

The amount needed to do this job

PLANNING STATE ELKS MEET—The persons shown above met in for the annual meeting of the State Association IBPOE of W, which w ners outlined an extensive program for health, civil liberties, educatio are Jack Faison, Seaboard; Mrs. Annie Carpenter, Winston-Salem, wh Butler, Wilmington, secretary; S. T. Enloe, Gastonia, president; Mrs. Sa daughter ruler; W. D. Brown, Ahoskie, deputy grand exalted ruler; J. D. local arrangements and Mrs. Kathleen Gill, Raleigh. Others shown are bers of the arrangement committee.

The Roving Reporter

BY REV. D. N. HOWARD

NOTE: THE CAROLINIAN will give $1.00 for each question used in this column. Send your questions to The Roving Reporter, Box 628, Raleigh, N. C., or call The Reverend D. N. Howard.

QUESTION THIS WEEK: "I saw in the newspaper that a group of Raleigh Citizens has formed a committee to raise $8,500.00 to buy new uniforms for the J. W. Ligon High School band. Do you think that the band members need uniforms?"

MRS. J. N. GREEN, JR., 14-18 Oakwood Ave. "Yes, the band is an overt ambassador of the school, representing a large section of the general public Perhaps more than any other school activity New uniforms would improve the general appearance of the group as well as lift the moral of each member of the band. New uniforms would have its influence on our entire school and build up the pride of the community. With this in mind the committe should not have any trouble geting the support of all of our citizens in this worthwhile project."

MRS. L. M. BIVINS, 218 Lee St.: "The band members, in my opinion, are very much in need of new uniforms. Neat, uniformity in a band raises the spirit of the group. I think all of us should help the young people attain their goal Certainly the Ligon High School Band wants to look as well as they play. It is our duty to be responsible for our young people and make them look and play the part as they represent all of us."

MRS. PERCY L. LEAK, 404 Rand Mill Road Garner: "Yes, If you have ever gotten close enough to the band, you could clearly see that the band need is great for new uniforms. It is our band, therefore, we must support its program the best that we can."

MRS. DORIS M. HOLLOWAY, 1421 Oakwood Ave.: "Ligon is a growing institution. I think that the band must grow along with the other departments of the school. The band should be much larger in size. This within itself means more uniforms. A band representing the Capitol City should be first-class in everyway."

MRS. Z. H. NOBLE, 1509 Battery Drive: "Certainly, I feel that the Ligon High School Band needs new uniforms. We want our children to be first-place in scholarship, sports and any of the other activities. We must see to it that they are 'first' when they represent us in band. Our band uniforms are far below the rating of bands in our day."

28-year-old Durham man pleaded "not guilty" when arraigned Monday on a first-degree murder charge in connection with the Dec. pistol slaying of Cleophus Pettiford, 17, of Timberlake.

EAGLES BEAT BRONCOS

FAYETTEVILLE—Ted Manning threw in 21 points here Tuesday night in leading invading North Carolina College to its second win over host Fayetteville State, 64-55.

BAPTIST TO PLAN CRUSADE

DURHAM—A two-day Evangelistic Conference sponsored by the General Baptist State Convention and the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina has been set for February 27-28, at the Mount Vernon Batpist Church, 1000 Roxboro Road, Durham.

The Conference will begin at 2:00 p. m. on Wednesday and close 12:35 p.m. Thursday. The theme of this fifth Conference is "Sharing the Cost to Win the Lost."

LIGON PINS WILLISTON

Ligon High upset Wilmington's Williston High here Tuesday night, 66-63, as Milton Matthews drove in to put the Little Blues ahead with 33 seconds left.

Microfilm Code No.

Suffrage - NC

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N. Car Statewide

PITTSBURGH
COURIER
P 2
Date: DEC 14 1963

N. C. Vote Drive Seeking Sign-up Of All Negroes

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Kelly M. Alexander, president of the North Carolina State Conference of Branches, announced that the North Carolina State NAACP Conference will launch a vigorous register and vote state-wide, non-partisan campaign to begin on Jan. 1, to get every Negro in North Carolina, who is qualified to register and vote.

The immediate goal of the campaign is to get at least 100,000 new Negro registered voters.

There are approximately 195,000 Negro voters in North Carolina and an additional 100,000 will increase the Negro voting strength to 295,000.

The campaign will be under the supervision of the Rev. Charles Ward of Raleigh, N. C., who is chairman of the North Carolina State Conference NAACP Political Action Committee.

THE IMPLEMENTATION of the voter registration will be on the congressional district, county and community levels, by the NAACP leadership.

More than 100 branches are in the process of organizing voter registration committees to actively engage in getting the job done on the community level.

The youth councils and college chapters will play an important part in the voter registration campaign. Quinton Baker, president of the North Carolina State Conference of Youth Councils and College Chapters, will supervise the youth phase of the voter registration campaign.

THE NAACP youth councils and college chapters recently sponsored a Voter Registration Institute in Rocky Mount, N.C., Nov. 22, 23 and 24, for youth councils and college chapters to receive instructions as to the mechanics of practical voter registration organization techniques.

Mr. Alexander stated that it is a very healthy sign to see so many groups who have become interested in increasing Negro voter registration.

The Negro vote will be very important in the 1964 political campaigns, and there will be a big grab for this vote by both political parties. In a close gubernatorial contest in North Carolina, this cohesive Negro vote will be essential for victory.

THE NAACP will endeavor to multiply the effectiveness of the Negro vote throughout the state.

Mr. Alexander also said that the state-wide voter registration program will be launched with a pre-campaign Voter Registration Clinic on Saturday, Dec. 28, and a Voter Registration Mass Meeting in Raleigh, N. C., on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 29. The campaign will officially begin on Wednesday, January 1.

Microfilm Code No.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(N. C.)
Date: APR 3 1964

Governor

Negro Group Gives Okay To Preyer

By JOE DOSTER
Observer Staff Writer

L. Richardson Preyer has won the endorsement of a bi-partisan Negro political-action group in his campaign for governor.

The organization is the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs (MOPA), which has been active in local and state politics for several years.

Dr. R. A. Hawkins, a dentist, is chairman of the group. MOPA has endorsed candidates in city local and state contests in most recent elections and in 1960 endorsed Gov. Terry Sanford.

Hawkins said Thursday that MOPA had voted "unanimously to endorse and actively support at the polls the candidacy of Judge Richardson Preyer for the next governor of North Carolina."

"We feel that Judge Preyer possesses the necessary qualities that are needed to keep North Carolina on the go, and to give North Carolina the momentum for greatness that is necessary during these changing times."

"This decision was not made on the racial question, but on needs for North Carolina as a whole."

MOPA is in the midst of a registration drive to add more Negro voters to the books. In the first stage of the drive late in 1963, the organization added about 5,000 new names.

N.C. Statewide

NC Congress Seat

Microfilm Code No.
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SERS Library
3

RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER (N. C.)
P 8 B
Date: APR 4 1964

Write-In Out

Atty. Gen. Wade Bruton ruled Friday that a person cannot win a party nomination through a write-in vote in a primary.

The ruling was made for Congressman L. H. Fountain of the Second District who has been threatened with opposition from a write - in candidate.

A. C. Cofield, Negro funeral director of Weldon, announced Thursday that he will oppose Fountain in the general election as a write-in candidate if he cannot run as a write - in candidate in the primary.

"I am definitely in the running," Cofield declared.

Bruton wrote in his ruling that "a person cannot become a nominee of any political party . . . except in compliance with the provisions of the primary law; therefore, a person could not become a nominee by means of 'write-in' candidate in the November general election, but such voter would not be running as the nominee of any political party."

N.C. Statewide

Talking Nonsense

Hanover Record, 5-8-64

We know that this is the season of madness as the time for the May primary draws closer and charges and counter charges are being hurled by opposing candidates, much of which is utter non-sense.

For instance Gubernatorial Candidate Dan K. Moore was talking utter non-sense at Smithfield, if he was correctly quoted by the daily press. After paying his respects to the pending civil rights bill in Washington, he related it to the Governor's race as follows:

"Could we dare put a liberal in the Governor's office who is a captive of the NAACP and CORE? Could we dare put an extremist from the other side in the Governor's office and chance the confusion of emotion with reason? Can we chance another Birmingham, or Little Rock ,or Oxford, Miss., here in North Carolina?"

His reference to a captive of NAACP and CORE was of course aimed at candidate Preyer, whose race relations, we think, would be somewhat along the lines of Sanford. We are not in Candidate Preyer's confidence and we do not know whose captive he is, but we do know that few Negroes in their right mind are going to vote for Dr. racist in the last election, or for any racist in the last election,or for any candidate endorsed by Senator Ervin who has been carrying on a running fight with the Supreme Court ever since the school integration ruling of 1954. The Negro vote is going to Preyer in part because Negro voters have no other way to turn.

"Could we put an extremist from the other side in the Governor's office and chance the confusion of emotion with reason?"

How would the election of a racist or an ultra conservative to the governor's office lessen the chance for "confusion of emotion with reason?" It would seem to us that the election of a Governor whom the Negroes feel would give them a fair break could do much to lessen emotions and give more chance for reason.

"Can we chance another Birmingham, or Little Rock, or Oxford, Miss., here in North Carolina?"

Before attempting to answer this bit of rhetoric, we should try to analyze the reason for the troubles that brought troops and bloodshed to two of the other states mentioned. Racists were in the governors' chairs in both Mississippi and Alabama when their racial troubles began, with both governors defying the Federal Government. Are they the kind of governors that North Carolina needs?

North Carolina has been blessed with good governors and there have been no or few racists in this high position in our memory. Contrast the admission of Negroes to colleges and universities of this state with that of Alabama and Mississippi which led to bloodshed in Mississippi and made Alabama rediculous in the eyes of the civilized world. Negroes have been attending the University of North Carolina for more than a dozen years without the first incident, with profit to the Negro students and no visible harm to the University. Now they are admitted to practically all the leading colleges and universities in the state, public and private. Deep down most of our citizens are proud of North Carolina's record in this respect and are rather thankful that we don't have a Barnett or Wallace for governor of this state.

We should, it seems to us, be very careful that we don't elect anyone with the views of a Wallace or Barnett as our governor, and that we do not let our peeve with Bobby Kennedy cut our own throats.

Georgia was having considerable race trouble under the unit rule that kept reactionaries in the governor's seat. The rule was changed and Georgia elected a new governor and with the cooperation of a "liberal" mayor of Atlanta most of her racial troubles are on the way to being solved. We were impressed with the statement of the new governor as quoted in an article in The Saturday Evening Post. He said, "I am a segregationist, but I hope that I am not a complete damn fool." That statement should be pondered by all of us.

N.C. Statesville

Governor's Race Highlights Tomorrow's Primary Vote

Enfield Prog., 5-27-64

Democrats and Republicans of North Carolina will end an intensive campaign today for four State offices and tomororw the voters will go to the polls to make their selections.

In this county the Democrats, in addition to the State Primary for governor, lieutenant governor, commissioner of labor and commissioner of insurance, will vote on a long county ticket. There will be no Republican primary, however, on the county ticket because the Republicans have not put up any candidates.

The polls will open at 6:30 o'clock in the morning and will close at 6:30 o'clock in the afternoon at the polling places in the twenty-one precincts of Halifax County. The local precinct voting place will be at the REA Warehouse Building on Franklin Street. The radio Tower stands nearby and a heavy vote is expected. In anticipation of a heavy vote Robert C. Shields of Scotland Neck, Chairman of the Halifax County Board of Elections has added a number of extra booths throughout the county so as to faciltitate the voting. If the full vote turns out it will be necessary for voters to be on the job starting early in the morning and continuing throughout the day.

The law provides that if at 6:30 in the afternoon there is a line of voters waiting to cast their ballots all voters within the voting enclosure may vote but no others will be admitted.

On the Democratic ticket there are six candidates for Governor. They are L. Richardson Preyer, Dan K. Moore I. Beverly Lake, Kidd Brewer, R. J. Stansbury, Bruce (Bozo) Earl[illegible]

For Lieutenant Governor there are three candidates. They are Robert W. (Bob) Scott, John R. Jordan, Jr. and Clifton Blue.

For Commissioner of Labor — Frank Crane, John B. Wardell, Jr. and Frank Castlebury are running.

For Commssioner of Insurance Edwin S. Lanier, John B. Whitley and John Frederick are the candidates.

On the Republican side of the State ticket the candidates are as follows:

For Governor — Charles W. Strong, Robert L. Gavin, Don Badgley.

For Lieutenant Governor—Robert A. Flynt, Clifford Lee Bell.

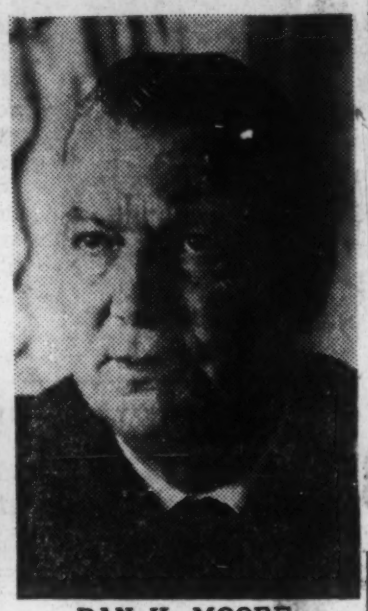
For Commissioner of Insurance—Ralph B. Pfaff, John C. Clifford.

For the first time since the turn of the century, with two minor exceptions, Negroes are seeking office in the county. Eleven members of this race have filed, one for State Senator, one for House of Representatives, three for the Board of County Commissioners, one for Coroner and five for the County Board of Education.

The candidates are as fol-

I. BEVERLY LAKE

RICHARDSON PREYER



DAN K. MOORE

N.C. Pol.

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The candidates are as follows:

For State Senator—L. Taylor Oakes, Richard M. Taylor, Julian R. Allsbrook, and A. Reed Johnson.

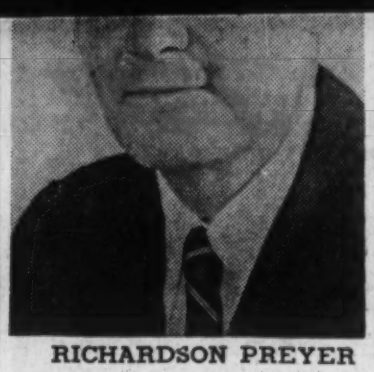
For House of Representatives — Thorne Gregory and Thomas H. Cofield.

For Board of County Commissioners — District 2, Frank B. Neal and Jasper W. Wilkins; District 3, R. Hilliard Hux, J. Westley Fulgham and Clyde Johnson: District 4, Harry A. Branch and B. D. Kimball; District 5, Travis S. Uzzell and Spencer Williams, Jr.

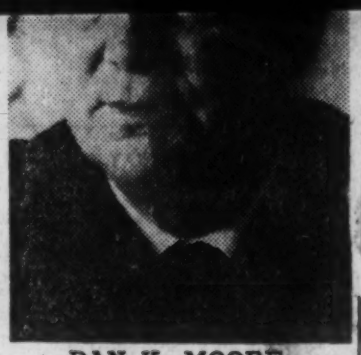
For Coroner —Tyler Vaughan, William H. Crawford, William L. Pace, Victor Jasper Burm and Roy L. Creasy, Jr.

For Board of Education—Mrs. Joyce H. Shearin, C. H. Leggett, Jr., Henry L. Harrison, C. M. Moore, Jr., A. G. Willcox, Jr., Jeff Whitehead, Mrs. Arthur Louis Williams Mrs. Salter J. Cochran Arthur Lee Jones, W. R. Alston, Mrs. Vivian M. Johnson and Votie B. McWilliams.

I. BEVERLY LAKE



RICHARDSON PREYER



DAN K. MOORE

N.C. Pol.

Warren Record
5-29-64

Let Reason Rule

We can well understand how many of our white people are segregationists, for segregation has been a part of the customs and mores of the South for a hundred years, and customs and mores are not changed overnight. At the same time, in the language of Governor Sanders of Georgia, a man can well be a segregationist without being a "complete damn fool." Incidentally, the same may be said of the Negro—he can be an integrationist without being a "complete damn fool." He, too, can, without relinquishing his objectives, realize that the white man has his problems and his difficulties too, and both white and colored must show understanding and forbearance.

We write these thoughts on the eve of the Democratic primary of May 30, when race is playing a big part in the vote of Warren County citizens, with many in fear and frustration inclined to cast their votes for the candidate they deem to be the most fervent segregationist in the blind hope that he will be able to "save our way of life."

That may be understandable, but it is hardly realistic, and it could well worsen conditions. North Carolina, we think has made a good record in race relations under the Hodges and Sanford administrations and we would like to see the progress we have made continued.

It is downright silly to think that any Governor of any state can change the course of integration, or to feel that any governor of North Carolina will not enforce the federal laws he will swear to upheld when he takes the oath of office as Governor. Even a moron should know by now that if a state, town or county refuses to enforce Federal laws that the Federal Government will enforce them. This has been borne out in Arkansas under a Republican and in Alabama and Mississippi under a Democratic administration. Due to the good sense and leadership in North Carolina since the Supreme Court decision such action has not been necessary in this state. We would like to see it kept that way.

We would that each voter going to the polls tomorrow would realize that we are not voting on the race issue, but whether or not we wish to continue the progress in education, in industry, in the training of drop-outs from our schools, and in the retraining of those who have lost their jobs because of automation, and for improved care of the mentally ill. Do we want to keep North Carolina moving, or do we want this progress stopped? At a time when an airplane is used by big business executives and by governors of most states almost like an automobile in order to expedite their business, do we really want for Governor a man whose mentality is such that he advocates the selling of the Governor's plane, and who makes of the ownership of the plane a campaign issue? Surely the people of North Carolina are not that naive.

We trust that our citizens will weigh this matter carefully and let their heads and not their blind prejudices rule tomorrow as they cast their votes for the man whom in their judgment can best keep North Carolina moving.

North Car. Pol.

N.C. Primary Today May Draw 700,000

Atl. Const., 5-30-66

By JAY JENKINS
Special to The Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C.—An estimated 700,000 North Carolinans are expected to go to the polls Saturday to pass upon the claims of two former judges and a former law professor to the Democratic nomination for governor.

Interestingly enough in this Southern state, the candidate who is due to lead in the first primary is former U.S. District Judge L. Richardson Preyer, 44, the most liberal of the three major contenders.

Vying for the second spot and the right to call for a second primary, if Preyer fails to get a majority, are former Superior Court Judge Dan K. Moore, 57, and Dr. I. Beverly Lake, 58, for 18 years a law professor at Wake Forest College.

Each candidate is counting on his home region to provide a cushion for possible victory. Preyer is from Greensboro, in the populous Piedmont. Moore is from Canton, in the mountains. Lake is from Wake Forest, in the East.

As the campaign has developed, Preyer has emerged as the go-forward candidate with his theme of "Keep North Carolina Growing." Moore has de-

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

700,000 May Vote in N. Carolina

Continued from Page 1

picted himself as a middle-of-the-roader between Preyer's liberalism and Lake's conservatism.

Preyer, who has the backing of Gov. Terry Sanford's formidable organization, has given his unqualified endorsement to an increase in the state minimum wage from 85 cents to $ an hour, and to a $300 million highway bond issue that can be financed without raising gasoline taxes.

AGAINST RIGHTS BILL

Moore has taken a wait-and-see stance. Lake is opposed to both the wage increase and the highway bonds.

All three have expressed opposition to the pending civil rights bill, with Lake using the strongest language. Each is pledged to improve public education.

The first primary campaign, at least, has been relatively clean. In his unsuccessful quest for the governorship four years ago, Lake ran as an extreme segregationist and some of his rallies carried an angry spirit of racism and hate.

BECOMES SYMBOL

This time, Lake has carefully avoided that subject. He didn't have to dwell on it, for one thing, because he had become a symbol. Preyer has embraced the "North Carolina way" of dealing with racial matters, and Moore also has been a moderate on the issue.

The Negro vote, which may reach 150,000, is expected to go almost solidly for Preyer. Organized labor also has endorsed him, but the vote will be far from solid. Lake, for example, is popular with unionized tobacco workers in Durham and wilth some textile workers in the Piedmont.

Preyer's occupancy of the federal bench from 1960 to 1963, apparently hasn't been an issue.

Lake apparently has managed to hold onto most of his 1960 support, but he was beaten by Sanford, who had a 75,000 vote margin that year.

FOUNDED VICKS

Preyer's grandfather founded the Vick Chemical Co. The candidate studied at Princeton and Harvard, and practiced law in Greensboro until former Gov. Luther Hodges named him a Superior Court judge in 1956. President John F. Kennedy named him a federal judge in 1960, and he quit the lifetime job to run for governor.

Moore took his undergraduate and legal studies at the University of North Carolina, served as Superior Court solicitor and judge. Since 1956 he has been general counsel for the big Champion Paper and Fiber Co. of Canton.

Lake got his bachelor's degree at Wake Forest College and his law degree from Harvard. After teaching law at Wake Forest, he held several government jobs and subsequently served as an assistant state attorney general. He now practices law in Raleigh.

N. C. Pol.

OFFICIAL VOTE FOR PRIMARY, MAY 30, 1964.

NAME	OFFICE	Butterwood	Conoconnara	Enfield	Faucetts	Glenview	Halifax	Hollister	Hobgood	Littleton	Palmyra	R. Rapids, 1	R. Rapids, 2	R. Rapids, 3	R. Rapids, 4	R. Rapids, 5	R. Rapids, 6	R. Rapids, 7	Roseneath	Scot. Neck	Weldon, 1	Weldon, 2	TOTALS
I. Beverly Lake	For Governor	113	48	402	280	77	221	82	120	337	26	324	207	322	237	331	474	449	83	341	252	221	4947
L. Richardson Preyer	For Governor	34	149	520	74	179	170	151	65	236	26	95	56	137	74	73	201	261	88	422	229	442	3682
Dan K. Moore	For Governor	31	79	555	146	33	152	155	72	84	34	216	81	277	237	161	343	224	29	530	265	151	3852
Bruce (Bozo) Burleson	For Governor	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	11
R. J. Stansbury	For Governor	1	0	1	1	1	2	3	0	3	0	2	3	2	4	4	5	12	0	0	3	3	50
Kidd Brewer	For Governor	2	2	8	2	0	5	2	3	1	1	5	3	5	6	8	16	17	1	6	4	5	102
Robert L. Gavin (R)	For Governor	1	0	6	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	2	0	2	10	7	38
Don Badgley (R)	For Governor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	8
Charles W. Strong (R)	For Governor	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	7
H. Clifton Blue	For Lieutenant Governor	36	24	478	99	38	89	128	39	168	30	241	45	310	280	216	419	320	17	276	204	142	3599
Robert W. (Bob) Scott	For Lieutenant Governor	101	139	451	280	103	276	119	142	206	25	219	112	249	162	245	311	302	92	584	201	202	4521
John R. Jordan, Jr.	For Lieutenant Governor	42	108	521	110	141	179	122	58	213	38	151	87	159	95	91	259	286	86	400	336	449	3931
Robert A. Flynt (R)	For Lieutenant Governor	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	8	19
Clifford Lee Bell (R)	For Lieutenant Governor	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	6	11	32
Frank Crane	For Commis. of Labor	115	138	843	317	195	311	186	147	299	52	349	186	487	366	382	257	454	100	657	423	301	6565
John B. Wardell, Jr.	For Commis. of Labor	13	30	250	81	44	76	53	25	100	10	102	45	55	49	50	165	121	11	178	111	128	1697
Frank Castlebury	For Commis. of Labor	45	81	305	61	36	137	129	48	173	17	138	88	153	107	85	249	288	75	373	181	340	3109
Edwin S. Lanier	For Commis. of Insur.	121	204	895	298	197	467	214	174	389	60	348	205	477	378	365	666	517	166	970	526	566	8199
John N. Frederick	For Commis. of Insur.	26	27	153	79	19	35	52	22	111	10	133	71	60	36	69	149	109	10	83	63	100	1417
John B. Whitley	For Commis. of Insur.	29	25	346	91	58	40	96	28	82	13	101	43	158	99	88	151	250	13	175	173	107	2126
Ralph B. Pfaff (R)	For Commis. of Insur.	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	4	16
John C. Clifford (R)	For Commis. of Insur.	1	0	6	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	5	16	38
L. Taylor Oakes	For State Senator	41	113	475	114	37	171	49	85	124	25	94	78	196	115	130	227	212	45	323	256	139	3049
Richard M.(Dick) Taylor	For State Senator	26	13	185	75	33	64	38	25	91	12	166	70	219	148	169	221	218	10	304	77	83	2247
Julian R. Allsbrook	For State Senator	91	42	410	259	74	195	187	105	246	33	386	203	330	296	291	521	418	65	420	328	266	5166
A. Reed Johnson	For State Senator	24	106	414	50	143	96	111	41	142	17	0	0	1	0	0	62	135	80	222	93	339	2075
Thorne Gregory	For House of Repres.	141	147	1022	425	129	407	227	196	390	55	597	216	705	502	523	874	720	114	992	628	399	9509
Thomas H. Cofield	For House of Repres.	33	107	412	55	148	104	144	41	196	25	7	7	8	11	7	82	169	83	272	103	399	2413
Tyler Vaughan	For Halifax Co. Coroner	24	148	399	50	133	112	123	41	141	23	3	2	1	4	5	58	124	81	253	103	348	2171
William H. Crawford	For Halifax Co. Coroner	42	147	736	163	70	193	140	149	150	21	152	71	202	170	104	228	141	92	606	327	156	4063
William L. (Bill) Pace	For Halifax Co. Coroner	63	36	179	100	33	77	34	37	145	31	288	133	244	181	238	294	339	10	251	163	124	3000
Roy L. Creasy, Jr.	For Halifax Co. Coroner	47	11	100	161	35	111	26	7	131	3	180	128	263	179	205	383	257	3	85	117	142	2574
Victor Jasper Burm	For Halifax Co. Coroner	1	10	24	8	5	12	37	1	19	5	12	11	14	12	14	20	86	1	21	19	25	357
Frank B. Neal	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	145	140	970	411	136	387	231	172	383	59	620	339	727	534	557	925	855	104	933	627	337	9594
Jasper W. Wilkins	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	28	107	432	58	138	116	117	50	202	22	8	3	6	5	8	85	175	81	243	104	435	2417
J. Westley Fulgham	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	33	19	113	77	17	162	48	46	78	14	150	70	232	168	162	281	414	5	139	380	225	2833
R. Hilliard Hux	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	120	114	874	367	124	233	183	137	314	50	451	256	483	352	383	616	380	103	776	260	173	6749
Clyde Johnson	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	27	113	423	51	133	120	131	46	194	19	15	7	19	7	6	86	167	75	253	102	415	2409
Harry A. Branch	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	137	142	930	381	143	366	230	186	402	63	538	295	652	456	544	830	683	110	913	572	395	8968
B. D. Kimball	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	38	103	514	88	134	136	135	45	168	17	63	32	44	59	55	141	217	73	263	148	368	2841
Travis S. Uzzell	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	141	138	932	400	129	377	213	181	377	51	561	300	667	491	511	862	617	110	977	583	378	8999
Spencer Williams, Jr.	For Bo. of Co. Commis.	27	115	432	57	135	117	133	47	173	32	29	15	44	21	29	105	164	80	283	114	377	2529
Mrs. Joyce H. Shearin	For Board of Education	168	215	1273	449	228	466	304	203	495	64	542	304	686	481	511	902	819	178	1089	677	635	10689
C. H. Leggett, Jr.	For Board of Education	147	139	995	412	130	390	214	201	397	63	560	304	667	490	508	866	729	123	936	611	408	9290
Henry L. Harrison	For Board of Education	145	143	1013	406	140	392	225	184	380	57	552	299	661	490	509	853	702	112	971	615	395	9244
C. M. Moore, Jr.	For Board of Education	164	206	1097	434	193	424	292	194	516	63	558	300	663	490	505	863	778	183	1075	678	625	10301
A. G. Willcox, Jr.	For Board of Education	147	135	980	415	171	389	229	180	384	58	543	301	643	487	485	819	724	109	916	612	383	9110
Mrs. Salter J. Cochran	For Board of Education	27	104	443	60	119	130	121	35	193	20	46	18	51	32	36	109	218	98	269	118	351	2598
Arthur Lee Jones	For Board of Education	20	97	351	47	110	108	112	31	142	19	39	4	39	21	26	87	145	76	224	73	313	2084
W. R. Alston	For Board of Education	25	88	391	57	130	112	113	39	167	16	36	11	48	30	27	104	149	71	225	83	316	2237
Mrs. Vivian M. Johnson	For Board of Education	27	98	381	46	116	122	104	39	171	14	21	8	52	16	13	100	146	75	226	86	324	2193
Votie B. McWilliams	For Board of Education	24	87	371	53	107	109	116	31	158	16	13	9	32	20	23	114	155	72	198	86	310	2104
Jeff Whitehead	For Board of Education	146	145	1026	415	152	388	214	176	376	54	542	302	876	479	4496	849	697	117	933	610	394	9187
Mrs. Arthur L. Williams	For Board of Education	149	143	1120	427	167	425	245	174	399	53	516	290	605	453	478	830	739	129	902	595	422	9271

N.C. Statewide

A Last Word May Get Vote

Charlotte Observer, 5-31-64

Poll Workers Try Hard

By JAMES K. BATTEN
Observer Staff Writer

Late Saturday afternoon John Francisco, a middle-aged voter, stood in the parking lot of Marie Davis School, patiently studying a long list of candidates endorsed by a local political club.

Standing to one side, a hopeful look on his face, was a 15-year-old boy who since 6:30 a.m. had been handing out his lists.

Finally, Francisco nodded and said: "I think his thinking is all right." With that, Francisco, list in hand, marched into the school to play his part in Saturday's democratic ritual.

All over Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, the story was the same: voters waded through forests of placards and hordes of eager poll workers to help select their parties' nominees for the pay-off election in November.

Whether motivated by love, money, or political conviction, the poll workers did their best to woo the wavering, and if possible, to convert the opposition.

Some voters obviously were impatient with the whole business. At Myers Park Elementary School, an attractive young matron in aqua-colored pedal-pushers brushed past the card-and-brochure hawkers and murmured to a friend:

"If you don't know who you're voting for by this time, you ought not to come."

Across town at Piedmont Junior High School, James McManama of the AFL-CIO got even more curt treatment as he handed out a list of organized labor's recommendations.

"How stupid do you think I am?" demanded one woman, not even slowing down.

Not surprisingly, most of the people doing the leg work were convinced that their day's labor was not for naught.

Bob Smith, a 17-year-old Catholic High junior and an ardent backer of Dan K. Moore, insisted that his propaganda-dispensing at the Veterans Club, (Precinct 4), was having its effect.

"These people come in here undecided," he explained. "Then they see these signs and all, and it makes a big difference."

Jim Hill, a veteran poll worker at Firemen's Hall, Precinct 17, agreed. Pointing to his list of endorsements, Hill declared, "A lot of people say, 'I'm glad you gave me that. I didn't know who in thunder to vote for.' "

Whatever the effect or lack of it, hundreds of pople got into the act. Even the youngsters were drafted to help boom their parents' favorite candidates.

DAY FOR TIRED FEET
. . . Precinct Worker Rests

N.C. Pol.

News & Obs., 6-1-64

Wake Runners-Up Play it Cautious

By LAURIE HOLDER JR.

The runners-up in Saturday's Democratic primary for Senate and Wake County Board of Commissioner seats were playing it cautious Sunday about second primary prospects.

W. G. Enloe, former Raleigh mayor who ran a close third to Ruffin Bailey and Jyles Coggins in the Senate race, wouldn't commit himself.

Enloe said he was waiting to see the official returns (they'll probably be in Tuesday) and to study them precinct by precinct before he decides whether to challenge Bailey and Coggins in a run-off.

Unofficial returns showed that Enloe polled 14,351 votes in Wake County (9,307 of them in City precincts). Neither Bailey (15,874 votes) nor Coggins (15,482) gathered enough votes for a majority.

Negroes Reject Enloe

A change of voting sentiment in Raleigh's predominantly Negro precincts put Coggins into the No. 2 position ahead of Enloe. The Negroes, who usually supported Enloe during his long tenure as Raleigh mayor, rejected him decidedly in Saturday's voting.

This change of heart indicated Negro resentment of Enloe's handling of Negroes' integration demands during the final months of his administration as mayor.

Local theaters became targets of segregation protests here last spring, and the Ambassador Theater, part of a theater chain which Enloe manages, was the main one. Daily protests by hundreds of Negroes led Enloe to threaten to resign as mayor. He changed his mind, however, when local Negro leaders promised to call off the picket lines.

The theaters have since been integrated, but Negro dissatisfaction with Enloe was clearly indicated in the voting totals. In Raleigh's four predominantly Negro precincts, the Enloe-Coggins results were these:

No. 20 (Lucille Hunter School), Coggins 249; Enloe, 76; No. 26 (Ligon High Gym), Coggins, 343; Enloe, 33; No. 34 (Mary E. Phillips School), Coggins, 365; Enloe, 64; No. 35 (W. H. Fuller School), Coggins, 323; Enloe, 54.

Rand also got a good vote in these precincts.

In the City's other large Negro precinct, No. 25 (Fayetteville St. Fire Station), none of the Senate candidates got a substantial total of votes.

Bailey, a local attorney and a newcomer to politics, showed surprising strength in topping Coggins, who represented Wake in the House last term.

Walter Rand of Garner, another Senate candidate, also has the privilege of calling a second primary. He placed fourth with 11,130 votes. Rand said Sunday he hasn't decided yet about a run-off.

In the Democratic contest for Wake County's three House seats, three men won comfortable majority votes — two incumbents, Thomas D. Bunn and A. A. McMillan, and Samuel H. Johnson. These three, all attorneys, can't be challenged to a run - off. Bunn polled 22,125 votes, McMillan, 21,672 and Johnson, 20,885.

In the District Five (Raleigh) race for two seats on the board of commissioners, the two top men — Joe Barber and Deal Watkins — failed to acquire a majority vote. They could be challenged to a run-off by Swannie D. Bryan and Negro candidate Clarence E. Lightner.

Neither of the runners-up was saying Sunday whether he plans to call for a second primary. Bryan, retired oil company owner, said: "I'm giving it serious consideration but I haven't talked to the ones I want to talk to." He said he would decide this week.

Lightner, owner of a funeral home, said he will probably make his decision today about calling for a run-off. "It's a little premature for us today," he stated Sunday. "We haven't gotten our material together yet."

Vote totals of the District Five leaders were: Barber, 14,552; Watkins, 12,403; Bryan, 12,071; and Lightner, 8,866.

Haigh Beaten

Watkins, a food distributor, conducted an active campaign against incumbent candidate Ben Haigh, who placed fifth Saturday to lose his seat — and the chairmanship — on the board of commissioners. Watkins attacked Haigh's handling of the hiring of Wake County's new health director, Dr. Millard Bethel, and Haigh's connection with the resignation of former health director Dr. Isa Grant.

He also blasted Haigh about conditions at the overcrowded Wake County jail.

A run-off could also be in the offing in Commissioners' District Four. Although the incumbent, W. W. Holding III of Wake Forest, polled almost as many votes as his two opponents together, he didn't get a majority. Unofficial totals were: Holding, 15,484; Vasser P. Shearon of Rolesville, 10,733; and Johnnie M. Powell of Raleigh, Rt. 7, 5,393. Shearon has the right to challenge Holding to a second primary.

Shearon said Sunday he was undecided, but expects to make up his mind early this week.

Stewart Beats Ranzino

Incumbent Harry Stewart of Raleigh and Roland Danielson of Raleigh, Rt. 7, won nominations in two races for seats on the Wake County Board of Education.

Insuranceman Stewart, chairman of the school board, won in District 1 (Raleigh) by the slim margin of 227 votes over Sam Ranzino, a former N. C. State basketball star. Ranzino is employed in the State Department of Public Instruction's driver education program.

Heavy votes against Stewart in the Millbrook and Zebulon areas, where the County school board has encountered sharp criticism over the selection of school sites, helped Ranzino to make it a tight race.

In the St. Matthews No. 1 precinct (Millbrook), Ranzino got 627 votes to Stewart's 364, and in the Zebulon precinct, it was Ranzino 664 and Stewart 254.

Danielson, a contractor, ousted school board incumbent W. M. Satterwhite of Wake Forest in a District Two (northern Wake) contest. Danielson got 16,700 votes and Satterwhite 13,655.

N.C. Pol.

MECKLENBURG

Char. Obs., 5-31-64

Irregular Sample Ballots Turn Up

By STAN BRENNAN
Observer Staff Writer

Irregular sample ballots for the Democratic primary for state officers turned up at several Mecklenburg County polling places Saturday, with the Mecklenburg Headquarters for L. Richardson Preyer accepting full responsibility for their circulation.

The ballots, printed on white paper, carried the title: "Sample Democratic Primary Ballot for State Officers."

Thereafter were listed the names of the Democratic candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, commissioner of labor and commissioner of insurance.

An "X" was imprinted in the square beside the name of L. Richardson Preyer, Democratic gubernatorial candidate. The squares beside the names of other candidates on the ballot were left blank, but in many instances had been checked in ink or pencil.

Each ballot carried at the bottom the imprinted signature of William Joslin, chairman of the state board of elections.

"Sample ballots are supposed to be printed on colored paper," said Mrs. Samuel C. Hair, chairman of the County Board of Elections. "The official ballot is printed on white paper."

Regular sample ballots for Saturday's Democratic primary were printed on yellow paper. They were used to instruct voters.

The official ballot for the Democratic primary was printed on white paper.

Joseph Grier, Mecklenburg County chairman for Preyer, said the county headquarters "accepts full responsibility for distributing sample ballots printed on white paper in Saturday's primary here."

He noted that the action "was not illegal under the statute but we were not aware that it had been customary to print such ballots on colored paper. It was an oversight."

Grier continued:

"When this departure from custom was brought to our attention Saturday morning, we immediately retrieved all of the sample ballots we could get our hands on.

"No other candidate could possibly be hurt. Only voters who intended to vote for Preyer would inadvertently drop the sample ballot in the box. And since it was clearly marked "sample ballot," any such ballot would not be counted."

Mrs. Hair noted that the improper ballots would not be counted if any appeared in the ballot boxes.

The ballots, which were being distributed outside polling places, were confiscated by elections workers in these precincts: 17, Firemans Hall, 2601 E. Seventh St., where 35 ballots in a bundle were found with the same candidates checked off; 11, Wesley Heights School cafeteria; 2, Second Ward High School; Crab Orchard No. 1, Hickory Grove School; Clear Creek, volunteer fire station, Mint Hill Station; Mallard Creek No. 1, Mallard Creek Fire Station, and Long Creek No. 1, Long Creek School.

N.C. Pol.

News & Obs.

bserver, Monday, June 1, 1964

Wake County Vote by Precincts in Democratic Primary

	SENATE					HOUSE						COUNTY COMMISSIONERS										CONGRESS	
												District 4 (North Wake)			District 5 (Raleigh)								
	BAILEY	COGGINS	ENLOE	MOORE	RAND	BUNN	COLVERT	JOHNSON	McMILLAN	SANSOM	SHERRILL	HOLDING	POWELL	SHEARON	BARBER	BRYAN	DEAN	HAIGH	LICHTMAN	LIGHTNER	WATKINS	ALBRIGHT	COOLEY
Raleigh 1	429	359	436	250	241	518	136	468	603	260	422	424	115	258	394	248	119	142	64	311	355	551	401
Raleigh 2	476	383	460	271	220	609	168	508	688	139	444	484	120	253	429	327	123	179	45	163	391	544	436
Raleigh 3	598	408	565	375	197	800	201	624	796	140	421	619	111	285	582	429	130	278	41	149	356	614	515
Raleigh 4	441	264	406	294	170	616	143	461	588	96	255	474	101	180	442	327	90	187	31	101	274	455	376
Raleigh 5	442	179	369	266	133	585	101	374	553	76	252	444	54	174	430	301	66	207	25	81	196	374	349
Raleigh 6	353	238	359	219	132	457	115	366	471	93	289	380	82	145	400	248	92	163	54	123	189	380	339
Raleigh 7	254	159	258	171	78	309	70	251	378	87	199	254	45	143	235	170	54	94	25	112	183	292	195
Raleigh 8	151	119	134	68	79	179	48	159	216	46	107	145	53	76	143	117	55	47	7	34	117	166	141
Raleigh 9	288	256	256	142	196	427	108	378	424	54	210	264	89	193	306	297	87	91	28	44	225	336	280
Raleigh 10	581	319	352	248	171	631	141	470	683	98	295	480	91	215	435	439	117	206	31	90	260	515	369
Raleigh 11	536	268	405	399	171	717	207	460	633	84	332	552	86	205	496	402	83	229	28	124	269	529	390
Raleigh 12	436	395	411	208	268	633	172	522	637	108	321	451	186	227	425	355	178	178	44	76	362	507	434
Raleigh 13	287	283	343	196	161	420	89	444	499	97	250	295	126	233	295	293	133	98	30	51	340	385	311
Raleigh 14	179	185	193	97	131	301	70	245	306	48	143	189	95	131	242	136	83	81	14	23	211	223	204
Raleigh 15	115	61	113	49	55	141	35	123	148	25	79	112	35	39	112	60	43	41	15	25	66	101	105
Raleigh 16	172	122	170	73	109	124	66	229	235	46	115	192	71	70	147	122	72	87	14	26	156	188	183
Raleigh 17	144	86	146	84	53	182	51	155	207	35	96	147	41	60	144	89	41	57	20	40	91	157	124
Raleigh 18	201	127	177	79	82	245	60	191	233	118	90	176	63	81	176	112	63	67	27	127	92	190	193
Raleigh 19	433	387	517	194	268	612	195	610	614	102	349	468	184	221	414	327	230	165	37	97	411	510	471
Raleigh 20	38	249	76	16	141	27	13	157	55	501	11	44	52	19	10	8	8	16	158	561	10	295	68
Raleigh 21	148	212	118	59	133	237	62	207	234	35	122	179	97	71	123	93	130	61	13	17	194	212	165
Raleigh 22	64	76	63	25	62	62	17	103	86	149	28	71	30	23	64	35	30	28	49	147	22	95	101
Raleigh 23	253	169	216	125	86	264	91	255	327	66	173	233	55	124	208	139	70	98	23	64	182	268	189
Raleigh 24	167	213	160	87	99	232	74	268	265	58	116	164	97	109	179	148	100	62	11	46	163	212	194
Raleigh 25	28	68	60	12	36	11	3	29	39	612	7	27	16	16	6	2	4	8	37	633	7	177	50
Raleigh 26	21	343	33	13	239	11	7	225	43	649	7	30	55	12	5	5	8	9	222	716	4	405	55
Raleigh 27	119	117	77	54	60	121	48	138	161	32	84	95	53	57	46	43	206	25	7	8	103	134	122
Raleigh 28	362	390	524	241	242	627	180	587	612	106	302	445	182	248	391	332	189	187	34	87	407	473	475
Raleigh 29	442	324	419	348	150	595	158	434	645	133	405	438	102	261	427	362	93	137	46	166	314	546	322
Raleigh 30	705	503	745	347	321	975	237	959	846	229	530	755	183	341	623	540	213	301	78	213	516	815	621
Raleigh 31	198	245	125	118	140	245	75	269	248	148	155	189	85	110	151	137	80	72	43	131	166	279	188
Raleigh 32	420	447	237	201	275	526	149	474	574	138	387	385	133	245	330	288	162	137	47	127	380	467	379
Raleigh 33	267	250	266	169	105	363	112	332	372	102	248	300	56	148	233	201	77	104	25	125	233	357	217
Raleigh 34	41	365	64	20	252	26	11	221	28	665	14	59	40	31	11	6	5	7	210	724	15	458	55
Raleigh 35	37	323	54	13	234	25	8	240	51	729	14	53	40	26	5	5	7	12	219	786	18	407	77
RALEIGH TOTALS	9,826	8,884	9,307	5,581	5,490	12,933	3,421	11,946	13,378	6,104	7,272	10,017	3,024	5,030	9,059	7,143	3,241	3,861	1,802	6,348	7,278	12,637	9,094
Barton's Creek, 1	126	85	69	74	64	133	44	148	133	27	85	113	25	94	104	117	31	37	7	35	81	117	116
Barton's Creek, 2	44	57	30	17	26	62	11	62	66	5	28	48	25	37	26	41	17	24	2	3	48	49	58
Buckhorn	53	59	36	21	42	69	22	80	48	39	39	41	31	50	45	38	14	47	19	37	16	60	95
Cary, 1	309	411	341	131	292	508	148	474	507	132	315	333	165	250	309	305	157	192	44	106	277	403	428
Cary, 2	338	405	338	145	307	512	145	521	490	120	329	323	166	268	357	266	171	160	44	110	327	443	410
Cedar Fork	78	62	52	54	55	78	33	132	76	30	52	45	92	24	84	43	34	34	9	29	56	90	99
Holly Springs	78	275	98	32	197	134	32	230	139	197	59	84	59	94	110	62	62	51	126	195	55	171	248
House Creek	320	260	258	173	160	381	119	425	380	113	132	295	93	187	271	240	90	98	34	120	244	405	244
Leesville	82	68	41	38	41	90	19	98	86	43	53	50	35	56	65	48	27	29	9	39	59	84	74
Little River, Mitchells Mill	100	131	50	42	57	155	25	139	95	26	93	37	22	160	42	89	41	52	8	15	129	39	177
Little River, Zebulon	340	568	302	221	277	778	124	523	482	204	270	399	63	327	361	232	157	308	93	177	325	279	737
Marks Creek, Eagle Rock	73	91	45	20	83	99	11	112	69	62	50	21	11	117	60	35	36	38	33	57	68	57	131
Marks Creek, Wendell	476	302	287	138	144	602	71	402	426	117	269	148	45	505	303	194	169	159	58	95	269	189	588
Meredith	228	237	164	103	149	296	93	250	330	59	180	204	93	150	227	159	101	79	21	55	206	284	202
Middle Creek, Five Points	170	214	151	61	150	259	62	247	277	56	108	181	57	179	133	138	103	138	14	57	108	125	328
Middle Creek, Fuquay	314	517	347	187	384	582	132	591	571	221	320	343	117	411	258	304	237	246	116	193	299	291	738
Neuse	250	200	144	122	139	299	85	278	274	79	185	125	154	193	186	196	83	102	28	53	168	241	236
New Light, Robt. Store	98	19	38	10	17	61	32	64	23	5	58	50	19	50	43	20	22	10	1	3	51	39	76
New Light, Stoney Hill	103	42	46	20	43	72	26	67	72	13	40	82	29	84	41	35	40	42	1	5	35	55	131
Panther Branch	84	110	106	35	214	190	26	211	194	69	107	123	53	115	133	87	74	71	17	54	113	86	245
St. Mary's, Auburn	90	79	70	22	142	143	44	148	121	50	53	82	57	64	109	97	37	41	2	37	75	91	145
St. Mary's, Garner	508	545	400	242	1202	1036	177	1174	914	441	423	731	263	420	670	555	279	325	92	306	589	662	962
St. Matthews, 1	396	431	452	265	311	710	150	627	640	139	381	397	230	334	551	336	179	181	41	106	458	505	498
St. Matthews, 2	215	234	199	123	250	397	72	358	333	77	230	121	46	398	259	143	133	135	18	60	266	147	441
Swift Creek	351	300	186	111	265	410	95	420	426	130	239	213	148	286	264	258	157	84	34	143	267	240	348
Wake Forest, Rolesville	174	168	154	52	132	239	47	229	224	47	140	71	18	349	83	228	56	76	10	48	200	90	327
Wake Forest, Wake Forest	361	359	390	137	212	510	113	441	480	205	274	529	130	281	207	315	103	276	50	198	209	323	571
White Oak	291	369	250	118	285	387	71	508	418	208	225	278	123	220	192	347	94	270	98	182	127	327	444
GRAND TOTALS	15,874	15,482	14,351	8,295	11,130	22,125	5,450	20,885	21,672	9,018	12,009	15,484	5,393	10,733	14,552	12,071	5,945	7,166	2,831	8,866	12,403	18,529	18,191

N.C. Pol.

Durham Morning Herald, 6-1-64

Two Local Posts May Have Runoff

One of the most interesting and stimulating features of Saturday's primary in Durham County was the comparatively large number of candidates for the Democratic nomination to three offices, the state House of Representatives, the Board of County Commissioners, and the County Board of Education. Five candidates contested for the nominations for Durham County's two seats in the state House, nine sought the nomination for the five seats on the Board of County Commissioners, and eight ran for the nomination for the five seats on the Board of Education.

According to the unofficial returns of the primary, as compiled by this newspaper, a second primary may be called in two of these contests, the House of Representatives and the Board of County Commissioners. All top five runners for the Board of Education, Kenneth Royall, Walter Dozier, L. R. Chambers, Mrs. Willard Marley, and J. M. Whitfield (listed here in the order of the vote received), received a majority of the total vote cast and therefore constitute the slate nominated.

In the race for the House of Representatives, however, the second runner, Ted Stone, and in the county commissioners' race, the fifth runner, James A. Ward, received less than a majority. The third runner in the House race, W. Hance Hofler, may ask for a second primary to determine the second nominee for the House; and the sixth runner in the commissioners' race, I. O. Funderburg, may ask for a runoff to determine the fifth nominee for the county board.

In the House race 44,270 votes were cast. To determine a majority, this total is divided by the number of posts to be filled, in this case two. This quotient is then divided by two, and 11,068 votes would be a majority in this race. Since Mr. Stone's vote of 8,106 is less than this, the next runner, in this case Mr. Hofler with 6,944 votes, may ask for a runoff primary.

A total of 86,462 votes was cast in the commissioners' contest. This total is divided by five, the number of seats to be filled, which gives 17,293. The latter figure is divided by two, to determine a majority in this race, which comes out as 8,647. Each of the four top runners, Messrs. Clements, Kirkland, Scarboro, and Fowler, received a majority. Mr. Ward, who ran fifth, received 8,520 votes, or 127 fewer than a majority. The sixth runner, Mr. Funderburg, with 7,989 votes, is entitled to call for a second primary. In this race, however, the seventh runner, Clarence A. Williams, received 7,981 votes, only eight fewer than Mr. Funderburg. Since the figures used are those of unofficial returns, it should be noted that in so close a result as this, the official canvass of the votes may show a standing different from that indicated in the unofficial tally sheet.

In the county commissioners and school board races, the returns indicate that Negro voters concentrated on candidates of their race for these posts, Mr. Funderburg for commissioner and Howard M. Fitts Jr. for the school board. Solid-shot voting failed to put either candidate among the first five in their respective races. Mr. Funderburg may, as indicated, call for a second primary. Mr. Fitts received a majority of the vote cast in the Board of Education contest, running sixth in the race, but since each of the top five runners for the five seats on this board received a majority, they have won the nomination.

N.C. Pol.

News & Obs., 6-1-64

Formula Fixes Margin For Majority Vote Win

How does a candidate know when he's got a majority vote and thus is assured of going on the Democratic ticket in November?

There's a formula for arriving at the majority figure in the State election laws.

First, figure the total number of votes cast for all Democratic candidates for any particular office. Divide the total by the number of vacancies to be filled. Then divide again by two. Any total over that figure constitutes a majority vote.

For example, in Wake County's State Senate race, the total number of votes cast for Ruffin Bailey, Jyles Coggins, W. G. Enloe, Walter Rand and Aakers Moore was 65,232. Two Senate seats are vacant, so the total is divided by two, yielding 32,616; and divided once more by two, yielding 16,308. Any vote over that would be a majority.

In this instance, no candidate acquired a majority. Bailey, the leading candidate, received 15,874.

When a candidate doesn't get a majority, he can be challenged to a second primary by a runner-up. In the Senate race there are two seats to be filled and no majority for either candidate, so the two runners-up (Enloe and Rand) can challenge. The two top candidates in the first primary must run in the second primary, whether one or both of the runners-up call for a run-off.

Had one candidate obtained a Senate majority, only the second-place candidate would run in the second primary, and he could be challenged by only the man in third spot. Under the law, a run-off can be called only "by any one or all of the candidates equal in number to the positions remaining to be filled and having the second highest number of votes."

The deadline for written notification of a second primary for legislative, county or township office is noon of the fifth day after official elections returns are in, and Sundays don't count.

If the official Wake returns come in Tuesday, as elections board clerk Martha McLaughlin expects, the deadline for calling a Senate or County commissioner second primary will be next Monday at noon.

N.C. Pol.

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1 year	26.00	.78	26.78	1 year	15.60	.47	16.07

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Close Race Brings Second Primary

The returns from Saturday's Democratic primary confirmed the predictions that the gubernatorial race would be close among the three major contenders. With reports from fewer than 100 precincts missing, only 62,000 votes separated the top runner, Judge Preyer, from the third runner, Dr. Lake; and fewer than 25,000 votes separated Judge Preyer from the next runner and the challenger to a second primary, Judge Moore.

While no doubt he would have preferred to lead in the first primary, Judge Moore actually accomplished his objective in the first primary. He realized that the conservative wing of Tarheel Democracy was split by Dr. Lake's and his candidacies, and that a substantial liberal element combined with the excellent Sanford organization to give Judge Preyer an advantage in the first primary. Consequently he adopted the goal of getting into a second primary, with the hope that he would, if Judge Preyer should be his opponent, draw heavily from the Lake forces. And if perchance Dr. Lake might have led in the first primary, as a campaign actually continuing since 1960 and the dedication of his followers might have brought about, Judge Moore hoped to attract a substantial following from among the supporters of Judge Preyer.

Now that the race in the runoff is between Judge Preyer and Judge Moore, the latter has already invited Lake supporters to back him. The Moore strategy thus far has paid off, and he renews his campaign preliminary to the runoff in high hopes that it would work out as he has planned.

As the self-styled moderate candidate running, Judge Moore would seem to be in a more favorable position for a second primary than Dr. Lake was four years ago when he challenged Governor Sanford to a runoff. Then the moderate vote had been split between John Larkins and Malcolm Seawell. While their combined vote topped Dr. Lake's, he could not count on heavy support from their backers, for moderates could be expected to split between the liberal and the conservative.

Not only is a second primary to determine the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in prospect, but a runoff to choose the nominee for lieutenant governor looms between Robert Scott, who led the field, and Clifton Blue, who ran second. Mr. Blue at this writing has not definitely made up his mind to challenge Mr. Scott, though he leans in that direction. His decision will no doubt be influenced by how a substantial bloc among the supporters of Senator Jordan for nomination for the second office may be expected to vote in a contest between Messrs. Scott and Blue. In this case, the indications are not so clear as they seem to be in the gubernatorial race among supporters of the candidate who ran third.

N.C. Pol.

N.C. Pol.

Gilmore Tops Field In Race For 2 Senate Seats In 18th

RALEIGH — Voit Gilmore, former director of the U.S. Travel Agency, topped the field in a race for the two State Senate seats in the 18th District, and several veteran legislators were defeated Saturday in Democratic General Assembly primaries which saw a Negro win a House seat.

Gilmore, of Southern Pines, polled a whopping 26,165 votes in the five-county district. Incumbent Sen. Robert Morgan ran second, but faced a possible runoff to hold his seat.

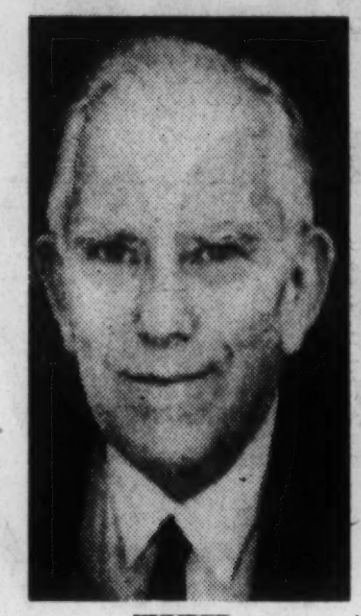
Rev. William R. Crawford of Winston-Salem became the first member of his race since Reconstruction days to win a Democratic party nod for a legislative seat. He will face Republican opposition in November.

The Rev. Mr. Crawford placed third among six candidates seeking Forsyth County's three House seats.

Intra-party defeats were handed out to veteran State Senators Henry Shelton of Edgecombe, Robert Lee Humber of Pitt and P. D. Midgett of Hyde.

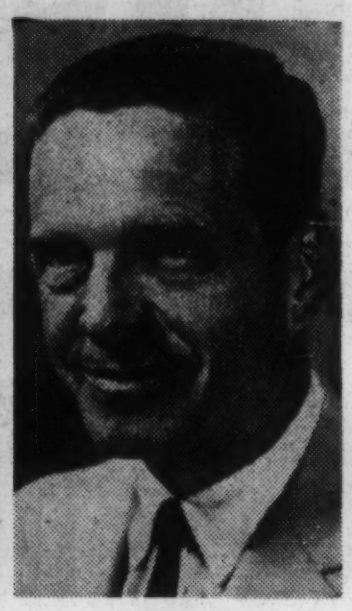
Former state Rep. Carson Gregory defeated incumbent Rep. H. D. Mabe Jr. in a fight for Harnett County's House seat.

Rep. Alden Baker of Pasquotank topped a three-man field in his bid for renomination but failed to gain a majority and faced a run-off against former Rep. C. D. (Keppie) Ferrell.



HUMBER

Ousted From Senate



GILMORE

Gains Nomination

CRAWFORD

Elected In Forsyth

Representatives winning renomination included Mrs. John B. Chase of Wayne, W. J. (Dick) Lupton of Hyde, W. A. (Red) Forbes of Pitt, Lacy Thornburg of Jackson, Allen Barbee of Nash, Arthur W. Williamson of Columbus, Hugh Johnson of Duplin, Raynor Woodard of Northampton, Eric Vaughn of Rockingham, Nick Galifianakis of Durham, Roger Kiser of Scotland and A. A. Zollicoffer of Vance.

Nominated in Forsyth, in addition to the Rev. Mr. Crawford, were incumbents Fred F. Bahnson Jr. and Claude M. Hamrick. Nominated to the county's two Senate seats were Incumbent Gordon Hanes and William Z. Wood.

Franklin County Rep. James D. Speed led the ticket but faced a run-off against James T. (Joe) Moss.

In Wake County, incumbents A. A. McMillan and Thomas D. Bunn and newcomer Samuel Johnson won nomination to House seats. J. Ruffin Bailey and Jyles J. Coggins topped the field for the two Senate seats but faced a possible run-off.

Guilford Democrats nominated L. P. McLendon Jr. of Greensboro and Ed Kemp of High Point to the county's two Senate seats. Charles W. Phillips, Elton Edwards and Marcus Short, all of Greensboro, and Dan P. Whitley Jr. of High Point won nomination to the four House posts, all presently held by Republicans.

The Republicans nominated John L. Osteen, father of state Rep. William Osteen, and James L. Williams to Senate seats.

A run-off is in the offing to decide the Democratic nominee for Richmond County's House seat between Rep. Tom Hunter and Bill Land.

T. Clyde Auman was nominated for Moore County's seat vacated by House speaker Clifton Blue.

Incumbent Sen. James V. Johnson of Statesville won renomination in the 27th District and Sen. Carl Meares of Fair Bluff won the ninth district nod.

F. D. B. Harding, Yadkinville attorney and currently state representative to the General Assembly from Yadkin County, will call for a runoff primary in the 29th Senatorial District for the Republican nomination.

Harding was second man in the voting Saturday. Sen. T. E. Story of North Wilkesboro was high with a total vote of 1,942 in 81 of the district's 82 precincts. Harding had 1,841. S. Clyde Eggers of Boone was third with 1,090.

Harding was not available for comment Sunday, but close associates said he would call for a second primary in the district which includes Yadkin, Wilkes, Watauga, and Avery Counties.

In Mecklenburg County, which gained two Senate seats in the recent redistricting, incumbent Sen. Erwin Belk of the chain store family was re-elected, along with Mrs. Martha W. Evans, who moves over from the State House of Representatives, and Herman A. Moore, a commercial banker.

Three incumbents were returned among the five Mecklenburg state representatives. They were Elmer H. Garinger, veteran school superintendent; Ernest L. Hicks and James B. Vogler. Newcomers are two lawyers, Arthur Goodman Jr., whose late father, Arthur Goodman, was a state representative, and Marvin Lee Ritch.

Sam M. Bason of Yanceyville was nominated for Democratic senator from the 24th District which includes Caswell and Rockingham counties.

Worth Gentry of King won the Democratic primary for Senate from the 29th District, but did not have a majority and faces a runoff with F. D. B. Harding of Yadkinville. The Democrats did not put up a candidate.

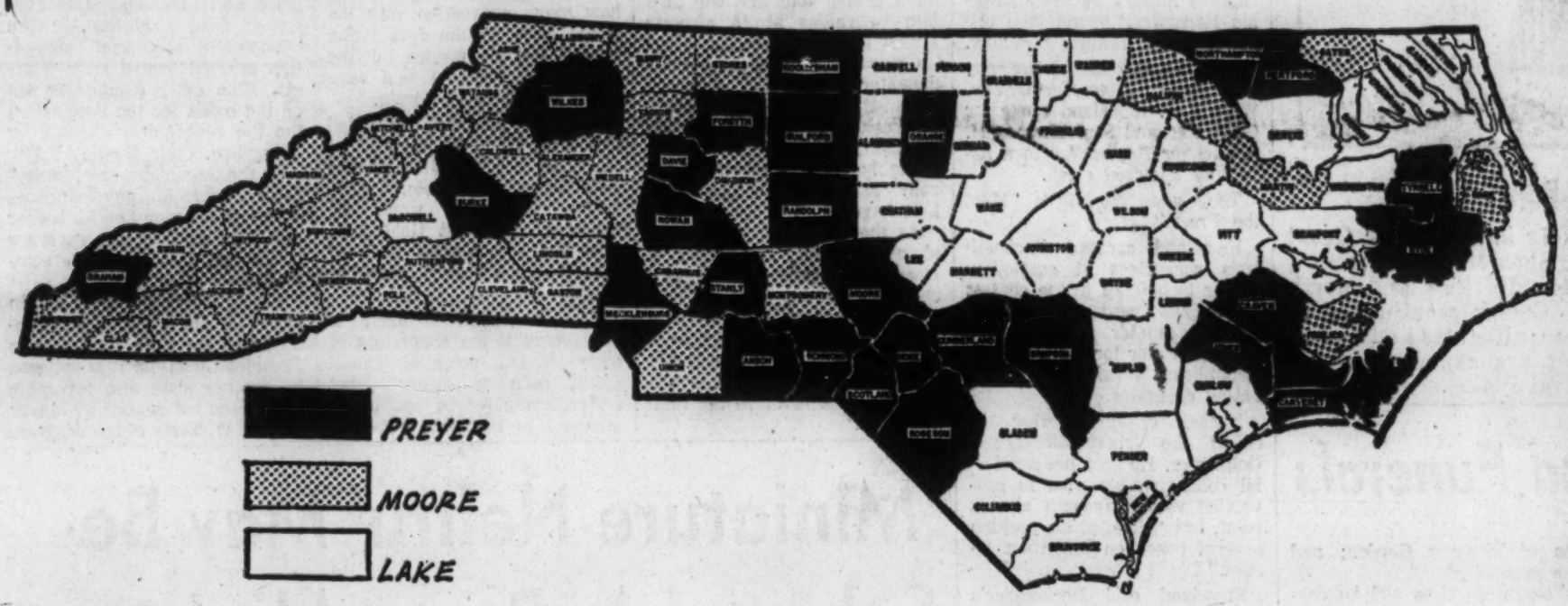
C. G. Reavis of Yadkinville won the Republican nomination for the State House of Representatives from Yadkin. Lewis H. Smith won the Democratic nomination for the House from Watauga.

A. V. Choate, a former member of the House, was nominated on the Democratic ticket from Alleghany. Robert A. Collier won the Democratic nomination for the House from Iredell.

SEVENTIETH YEAR FINAL EDITION DURHAM, N. C., MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1964

Durham Morning [redacted] Herald

How Tarheel Counties Voted For Governor



Preyer Hurls Debate Challenge At Moore

N.C. Pol.

Governor Runoff Launched

Other primary stories on 8A and 9A. Editorial on 4A. Vote by counties on 4B.

RALEIGH (AP) — Richardson Preyer launched his runoff campaign for governor Sunday by challenging Dan Moore to a series of television debates.

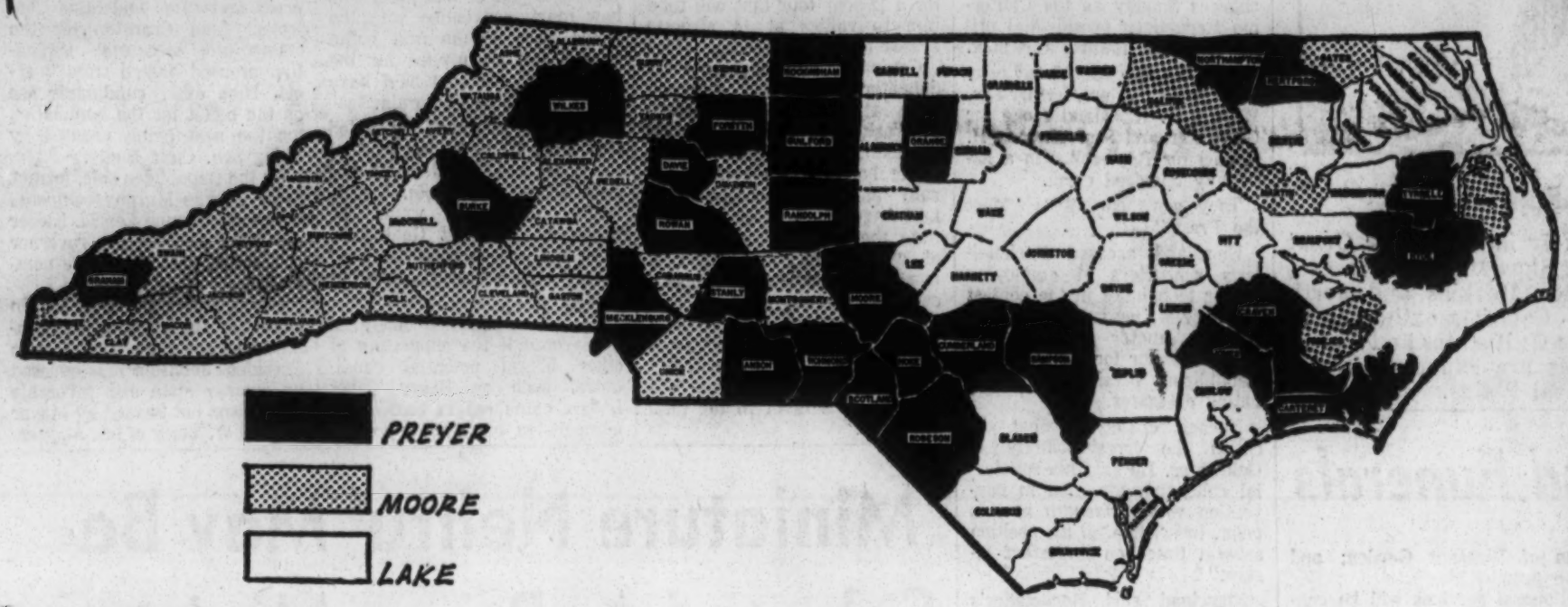
"We think these debates are so important," Preyer told a Raleigh news conference, "that we are willing to accept any conditions within reason."

Preyer, who led the ticket in Saturday's first primary for the Democratic nomination, read a telegram he had just sent to Wallace Jorgenson, chairman of the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters.

"I will debate my opponent anytime, anywhere, on an station, and with any format," he said.

Moore said he had not had a chance to read Preyer's wire but added, "I will be glad to consider a TV debate in the event the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters makes time available."

How Tunnel Counties Voted For Governor



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Preyer suggested at least three one-hour debates "in order to have sufficient time to discuss the issues fully."

He pointed out that the broadcasters' association had offered free time for a series of debates before the first primary.

Preyer said he and I. Beverly Lake, who was eliminated Saturday, "were willing to accommodate this proposed series." But, he added, "Mr. Moore continued to find conflict so that it became apparent that he never wanted to debate in the first place."

"It should be fully understood by the public," Preyer said, "that if Mr. Moore again finds objection, then he must carry the full burden of attempting to avoid the series and of not wanting to debate the issues before the people."

Preyer urged Jorgenson to notify the candidates quickly as to dates and times "while Mr. Moore has a free schedule."

On another subject at the

See PREYER ON 2A

Preyer Challenges Moore To Video Debate Series

Continued From 1A

news conference, Preyer commended Lake for conducting what he called "a clean, high-level campaign."

Preyer expressed to Lake "my respect for his integrity and ability."

Moore denied blocking negotiations for a TV debate before the first primary and said Preyer rejected the first offer of free time because he did not want to debate on WRAL-TV in Raleigh.

"As every North Carolina broadcaster knows," Moore declared in a statement, "he filed a letter of complaint with the Federal Communications Commission attacking the reputable television station that offered the free time."

More than 700,000 North Carolinians voted Saturday in the primary that propelled Preyer and Moore into the runoff, scheduled for June 27.

Along with Lake, staunch segregationist who was trying to gain the nomination for the second time, three men whose candidacies were never considered serious were eliminated. They are Kidd Brewer of Raleigh, Bruce Burleson of Bakersville and Raymond Stansbury of Hillsboro.

Preyer, who ran with the unspoken blessings of Gov. Terry Sanford's administration, polled 266,856 votes with 2,071 of the state's 2,164 precincts reported.

Moore, a candidate from the mountains who labeled himself a middle-of-the-roader, ran second and won the right to challenge Preyer in the runoff. He indicated immediately he would do so Monday. The latest count gave Moore 242,483 votes.

Although Lake was eliminated, he is not out of the runoff picture. He polled 205,116 votes in the precincts reported, and his support was being sought by both Preyer and Moore in the second primary.

The ticket for the Democratic lieutenant governor nomination was led by Robert W. (Bob) Scott of Haw River, former state Grange master and son of former governor and U.S. senator W. Kerr Scott. House speaker Clifton Blue of Aberdeen came close enough to call for a runoff, and said he probably would ask for the second primary after conferring with his supporters.

The third-place finisher in that race, State Sen. John Jordan of Raleigh, is considered to be just as important to the two top finishers in this race as Lake is in the gubernatorial picture.

Jordan polled well over 100,000 votes, and it is believed that Blue will try to have Jordan swing that support to him.

Lake, who was defeated by Sanford for the Democratic nomination in 1960, conceded shortly after midnight that his second bid for the governorship had failed.

Moore quickly made a bid for support of the Lake forces. He told newsmen, "I will be most happy to have the support of all those fine people who voted for Dr. Lake. Many of them are already wearing Moore badges."

The total vote of well over 700,000 was a record turnout for a North Carolina primary.

As had been expected, Preyer got his biggest vote in the heavily-populated Piedmont, Moore ran strongest in the mountains and Lake piled up margin mostly in the Eastern counties.

Two members of the council of state, Labor Commissioner Frank Crane and Insurance Commissioner Edwin S. Lanier easily won renomination. Crane eliminated Frank Castlebury of Raleigh and Dan B. Wardell of Jamestown while Lanier defeated John N. Frederick of Charlotte and John B. Whitley of Statesville.

Clifford Lee Bell of Gastonia won the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor, whipping Robert A. Flynt of High Point, and John C. Clifford of Winston-Salem won the GOP nomination for insurance commissioner, defeating Ralph B. Pfaff of Winston-Salem.

James C. Gardner of Rocky Mount won the Republican nomination for Congress in the Fourth District over John W. Thedieck of Raleigh while W. Hall Young of Kannapolis was leading Edward H. Smith of Kings Mountain in a close race for the GOP nomination for Congress in the Tenth District.

Cooley defeated Raleigh attorney Wayne Albright in the race for Congress in the Fourth District while Henderson eliminated S. A. Chalk of Morehead City and Scott whipped Fran Freeman of Dobson.

Gavin won the Republican nomination for governor by whipping State. Sen. Charles W. Strong and State Rep. Donald Badgley, both of Greensboro.

Charlotte Observer
6-10-64

Blue Calls For Runoff With Scott

CLIFTON BLUE
. . . 'Uphill Campaign'

Speaker Refers To Himself As Underdog, Expects An Uphill Fight For No. 2 Spot

RALEIGH — (AP) — House Speaker Clifton Blue called for a second primary with Robert H. Scott of Haw River to decide the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor.

"In calling for a second primary, I realize that I will be the underdog and that it will be an uphill campaign," Blue said, in a statement read at a news conference Tuesday.

In the first primary May 30, Blue trailed Scott by 53,500 votes. He was entitled to call a runoff because Scott did not get a majority.

Blue said that since the first primary, "I have been deluged with telephone calls, letters, wires and personal visits from people requesting that I call for a second primary.

"Many have expressed the feeling that a man who is totally inexperienced in North Carolina legislative background should not be conceded the position of lieutenant governor by a minority vote," Blue said. "This office carries with it the duty of presiding over the Senate, naming its committees and the chairmen, serving as a member of the legislative council and as a member of the State Board of Education."

Blue added, "My record and views of the issues facing our great state are well known." He said, "It has been a record pointing in the right direction for a progressive and growing state."

Scott was already on the campaign trail when he learned of Blue's announcement. "We welcome a runoff with Mr. Blue," he said in Wilmington. "For our part we pledge to continue our campaign on a high level and refrain from becoming involved in personalities."

N.C. Pol.

N. C. Vote Frauds Being Probed

Newport News, 6-10-64

RALEIGH, N.C. (AP) — The State Board of Elections heard charges Tuesday of "open, flagrant and repeated" violation of the elections laws in Madison County in the May 30 primary and decided to go to Madison to investigate.

The board will open its probe at the Mars Hill High School at 10 a.m. Thursday.

The board voted to go into Madison after hearing lawyers for Clyde Norton of Old Fort contend that their man came in second in the race for the Democratic nomination for the State Senate in the 34th District because of widespread irregularities in Madison.

Norton was edged by Zeno Ponder, well - known Madison County political leader for the nomination by a vote of 7,508 to 7,108. Madison gave Ponder the margin, after Norton led in each of the three other counties in the district.

One of the things the board is expected to probe is the disappearance of all the Madison County poll books which are used to make a list of all the voters who come to the polls.

Chairman William Joslin of the State Board of Elections called the disappearance of the poll books "a very serious matter." He indicated it would hamper the board in its probe of the alleged irregularities.

Joslin asked Chairman Roy Freeman of the Madison County Board of Elections what had happened to the poll books. Freeman said he had stored them in the office of the Madison register of deeds and "from there I haven't been able to find them."

Joseph B. Huff of Mars Hill, an attorney for Norton, asserted that the "poll books disappeared because they didn't have time enough to fix them."

Huff told the board he felt a probe by the State Bureau of Investigation would reveal that not more than half the votes counted in Madison County were actually cast and that the remainder were fraudulent.

"A buzzard would have to hold his nose if he flew across Madison County," Huff declared.

N. C. Pol.

YDC INVITATION

Charlotte Obs. 6-10-64

Moore, Preyer Talks Asked

By DWAYNE WALLS
Observer Staff Writer

Gubernatorial candidates **Dan K. Moore** and **L. Richardson Preyer** have been invited to make a joint appearance in Charlotte on June 22 before the Mecklenburg County Young Democrats Club.

The invitations to the candidates, sent out by YDC President **James H. Boswell**, suggested that the two candidates decide on the format to be used for the program.

"If no format can be agreed upon within a short period of time," Boswell told the candidates, "we will suggest that a panel of four newsmen be invited to pose questions to both candidates. These four newsmen will be invited upon two recommendations from each candidate."

Boswell said the invitations were in line with the club's policy of giving platform space to all party candidates to allow discussion of issues.

During the campaigning before the first primary May 30, the YDC invited all three of the major candidates for governor to speak at separate meetings of the club.

Preyer and **I. Beverly Lake** accepted. Moore declined because of a conflict in scheduling.

★ ★ ★

Robert W. Scott, who has been forced into a runoff election for the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor, was still insisting Tuesday that he won't take sides in the governor's race.

But he hinted that he and gubernatorial candidate Preyer had something in common.

Scott was asked at a Greensboro news conference if big business and special interests were opposing him as Preyer claims they are opposing the Preyer candidacy.

"I don't know whether they

See YDC, Page 5-C, Col. 1

Call SUBURBAN PROPANE for the best in gas service. Ranges—Water Heaters—Dryers—Heating—CHARLOTTE—375-1721, SHELBY — 487-5581, STATESVILLE — 873-8121, ROCK HILL—327-3200. Adv.

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Dairy-fresh lemonade wtih real lemon flavor. Hunter Dairies. Adv.

N.C. Pol.

YDC Asks Candidates To Talk

Continued From Page 1-C

are fighting me or not," Scott replied. "But it's obvious they haven't made any contributions to my campaign."

Scott also said he has received assurance from former N.C. Sen. **John Jordan** of Raleigh that Jordan would not endorse either Scott or **H. Clifton Blue** of Aberdeen in the runoff.

Jordan was eliminated from the race in the first primary. Both Scott and Blue will be wooing the 140,000 votes Jordan polled.

★ ★ ★

Bruce (Bozo) Burleson of Asheville, one of the also-running candidates in the Democratic primary for governor, had his name on all the ballots used in the May 30 primary.

So ruled the N.C. Board of Elections Tuesday. Burleson had not filed an official complaint, but he had complained in press interviews that his name was missing from ballots used in some precincts.

Moore Says Bennett Pulling Preyer Strings

Charlotte Obs.
6-10-64

DUNN — (AP) — Dan K. Moore asserted that former state Democratic chairman Bert Bennett "is pulling the strings as usual" in the Democratic gubernatorial primary.

That was Moore's reply Tuesday when a reporter asked him for comment on Bennett's speech last week in support of L. Richardson Preyer for the nomination.

Asked if he expected [illegible] I. Beverly Lake to actively campaign for him, Moore said that was "up to Lake. I told him I'd appreciate anything he could do."

Lake, who ran third in the first primary, has thrown his support to Moore in the runoff.

Moore indicated again he will not take part in a television debate Preyer has tried to arrange for Friday night at Charlotte.

Moore noted he had a speaking engagement at Burlington Friday night when asked if he was going to take part in the debate.

Asked for comment on a statement by Preyer that he was not qualified to be governor, Moore said, "We'll let the people of North Carolina decide that."

N.C. Pol.

Ind. Reg. 6-12-64

Board Cites Able Help In Primary

The Halifax County Board of Elections has issued a note of thanks to all persons who assisted in carrying out the May 30 primary elections. A letter signed by Robert C. Shields, chairman of the board, read as follows:

"We wish to express our sincere appreciation and gratitude to each of the registrars in Halifax County and to the judges, the clerks, and the ballot counters who assisted them in many long hours of hard work during the primary election of May 30th and in the registration period preceding this general primary.

"Especially do we appreciate the fine work of our county attorney, Mr. Rom Parker, for his invaluable assistance.

"May we again sincerely thank each worker for his individual efforts in bringing this great pob to a satisfactory and successful conclusion."

N. C. Statewide

Shields Gets Award For Elections Work

Enf. Tues. 6-12-69

Robert C. Shields, chairman of the Halifax County Board of Elections, has been presented an award by Radio Station WCBT in Roanoke Rapids for his work in keeping citizens informed in the May 30 primary elections.

N.C. Statewide

Official State Vote Reported

Gast. Gaz. 6-12-64

Official statewide returns in the May 30 primary elections showed the following totals:

For Governor

L. Richardson Preyer, 281,430.

Dan K. Moore, 257,872

I. Beverly Lake, 217,172

Kidd Brewer, 8,026

Bruce (Bozo) Burleson, 2,445

R. J. Stansbury, 2,145

Robert Gavin, 53,145

Charles, 8,652

Donald Badgley, 2,018

For Lt. Governor

Robert W. Scott, 308,992

Clifton Blue, 255,424

John Jordon 140,277

Clifford Lee Bell (R), 39,282

Robert A. Flynt (R) 14,640

For Commissioner of Insurance

Edwin Lanier, 398,428

John B. Whitley, 135,384

John N. Frederick, 83,970

John C. Clifford (R) 41,238

Ralph Pfaff, 13,943

For Commissioner of Labor

Frank Crane, 348,453

Frank Castlebury, 140,350

John B. Wardell, Jr. 116,676.

N.C. Statewide

Oakes, Pace Call For Runoff Vote

Enf. Dis. 6-12-64

Second-place finishers in two county races in the May 30 Demoncratic Primary have called for a second primary.

L. Taylor Oakes, who is seeking the senate seat vacated by N. C. Democratic Party Chairman W. Lunsford Crew, and W. L. (Bill) Pace, trying for election as coroner, have requested a runoff vote. They made their announcements Monday.

Both men are from Roanoke Rapids, where Oakes is an insurance man and Pace is currently in retirement.

Oakes, with 3,049 votes, came in second to Julian R. Allsbrook in the May 30 primary. Allsbrook polled 5,166 votes, which amounted to about 41 per cent of the total votes cast. There were two other candidates for the senate post.

William H. Crawford was high man for coroner with 4,063 votes, and Pace netted an even 3,000. Five men entered the coroner's race. The post has been vacant since Rufus Britton died in February.

Allsbrook, who formerly served in the General Assembly, and Crawford each received a plurality of the total vote, but not a majority, which is necessary for clear-cut election.

Oakes, requesting the second primary, said, "Now that the votes in the senate race have been officially canvassed, I have noted, and many citizens from throughout Halifax County have called it to my attention, that the high man in the four-man Senate race received only 41 per cent of the total vote cast. It is thus apparent that 59 per cent of those voting voted against the high man.

"In any democracy, it is the inherent right of the majority to exeress their approval for a candidate. Since no candidate received a majority of the total votes cast, and since my calling for a second primary will not cost the taxpayers any additional money, as the Governor's race has already made a second primary necessary, I have today decided to enter into a second primary in order that voters throughout the county may select their next senator in the democratic fashion by a majority vote.

their continued support and vote.

Pace congratulated his opponents on a "clean campaign" and added, "Being a veteran of World War 1, retired and life-long citizen of Halifax County I feel that I am fully qualified and have the time to devote to this important office.

"Thanking you again, I say that if elected I will strive to serve all of Halifax County."

The second primary will be held on June 27.

"I am grateful to those who supported me in the first primary and have promised to work and vote for me in the second primary. I congratulate my opponents on their strong and vigorous campaign. I invite all citizens who are interested in the welfare of Halifax County to join me in this fight for continued good government and victory on June 27.

"My sincere thanks to you all. Your vote, support, confidence and advice will be sincerely appreciated."

Pace said, "I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people of Halifax County for their loyal support in the Democratic Primary of May 30 for county coroner.

"I would also at this time take this opportunity to request for a second primary, and to thank everyone for

N.C. Statewide

North Carolina

(News & Observer
10-5-64

Vote Machines Go On Display

BURLINGTON — Three of Alamance County's ten new voting machines will be on display this week at various points in the county for demonstration.

The machines will be displayed Monday and Tuesday at the Burlington Post Office, the County Courthouse and Cum-Park Plaza. The machines are three of ten the county has received for the November election on rental basis from the Automatic Vending Machine Co of Jamestown, N. Y.

C
Z VSP

Court Ruling Is Setback For Negroes

RICHMOND, Va. — (UPI) — The Virginia Supreme Court ruled 6-1 Monday that Virginia cities and counties can legally abandon free public schooling.

The ruling was a setback to Negroes attempting to reopen public schools in Prince Edward County, where they were closed in 1959 to circumvent court-ordered desegregation. The effect of the ruling was to leave the final decision up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Chief Justice John W. Eggleston wrote a vigorous dissent stating that "the refusal of the highest court of this state to recognize here the rights of citizens of Prince Edward County. . .is a clear invitation to the federal courts to step in and enforce such rights."

Prince Edward County, a rural tobacco-producing area about 70 miles southwest of Richmond, was one of the principals in the U.S. Supreme Court's historic desegregation decision of 1954. It became in 1959 the first Virginia locality to cease operating public schools under provisions of the state's "freedom of choice" statute.

Public schools remain closed in the county where two different education systems operate. One is a private segregated system for whites started in 1959. The other is a privately financed free school system started in August for all children of the county — white and Negro. A handful of whites and about 1,600 Negro pupils are enrolled in the school.

Charlotte Observer

FUNDS AUTHORIZED

Charlotte Observer

Register-Vote Drive Is OKd

By JAMES K. BATTEN
Observer Staff Writer

The most intensive voter-registration drive ever held in Mecklenburg County was authorized Monday as a prelude to next month's referendum on the "little federal" amendment.

In providing $8,370 to finance the drive, county commissioners strenuously disclaimed any intention of piling up a heavy Mecklenburg vote against the amendment.

"We want them to vote," declared Chairman Charles M. Lowe, "regardless of how they vote."

The "little federal" proposal would amend the N.C. constitution to give each of the state's 100 counties equal representation in the N.C. House of Representatives.

If approved, the plan would cut Mecklenburg's House delegation from five persons to one.

A massive campaign to defeat the amendment has been organized here and in other urban counties that stand to lose political power if the change is approved. The local campaign is headed by lawyer Thomas C. Creasy Jr.

Democrat Raymond E. King and Republican Marcus T. Hickman, county chairmen for their parties, appeared before the commissioners Monday to request the $8,370 needed for the registration campaign.

Although both men have worked closely with Creasy's committee, they insisted Monday that the voter-registration drive should not be considered part of the strategy to defeat the amendment.

It is generally conceded, however, that the idea for the drive originated with the Creasy committee, although commissioners said they would have thought of it without outside help.

One well-informed committee member said Monday night that the idea for an all-out registration campaign before the referendum "evolved with Creasy, King and Hickman."

The county commissioners were unanimous in voting the needed money, even though Craig Lawing, J. Frank Blythe and Alfred W. Shriver Jr. had expressed strong reservations last week.

All three said they were satisfied that the drive was not designed to help defeat or pass the amendment, but simply to insure full participation by the county's voters. The other commissioners — Lowe and Henry B. Wilmer — had favored spending all along.

King and Hickman predicted that the drive could add as many as 20,000 voters to the nearly 100,000 persons now on the rolls.

Hickman argued that the pre-Christmas effort would make next year's registration efforts easier and less expensive. Major registration drives would normally precede 1964's primaries and general election.

The $8,370 voted by the commissioners will pay for an 11-day campaign beginning on Dec. 11 — the day after the school bond vote — and continuing until Dec. 23, when the books must be closed prior to the Jan. 14 vote. There will be three aspects to the campaign:

—The County Elections Office, 720 E. Fourth St., will remain open six days a week. The hours will be 8:15 a.m. to 5:15 p.m. on weekdays and 9 a.m. to sunset on Saturdays.

—On Saturday, Dec. 21, polling places in the 27 precincts outside the city limits will be open from 9 a.m. to sunset for registration.

—Voting booths, equipped to register voters from anywhere in the county, will be set up in shopping centers. On weekdays, four booths will be open from 12:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. On Saturdays, ten booths will be open from 9 a.m. to sunset.

Election officials say that a voter - registration drive of this magnitude is unprecedented in Mecklenburg County.

Charlotte Observer

21 Voter-Registration Officials Are Dropped

By JOE DOSTER
Observer Staff Writer

What Mecklenburg County's Board of Elections hoped would be a quiet administrative wrist-slapping has caused a chain reaction of problems.

Three separate but related events, all touched off by the board's investigation of reports of voter registration at unauthorized times and places, took place Tuesday:

— The Elections Board revoked the authority of all 21 of its registration commissioners.

— Two Negro commissioners who had already resigned at the request of the board attempted to withdraw their resignations.

— Negro leader Dr. R. A. Hawkins said he intended to ask the Civil Rights Commission to conduct an investigation into the case.

Late Tuesday, however, the Elections Board was standing firm on the two commissioners' resignations and its policies.

Mecklenburg has a full-time elections office, and the registration books are open each week day except during the period immediately proceeding and following an election when state law requires them to be closed.

The Election Board also allows registration at precinct polling places — generally on Saturdays — before an election. In addition it also schedules mobile registration units at specified times and places before an election.

Registration commissioners have the same authority to conduct registration as precinct registrars but may register voters in all precincts. They were used primarily to staff booths, mobile registration units and the Elections Board office.

Here's what caused the flare-up, according to minutes of the Election Board.

On Nov. 19 the board received reports that registrations had been conducted at unscheduled times and places in violation of its policies. It agreed to look into the reports.

The registration period coincided with a six-week drive for new registrations under the direction of Hawkins and other Negro leaders. About 4,000 new Negro voters were added to the books.

On Nov. 20 the board called two registration commissioners to its sessions to discuss the reports.

They were Mrs. Virginia Stepteau of 1808 Van Buren Ave. and Mrs. Thera Garvin of 705 Baldwin Ave. Both were veteran election officials and well-regarded by the board. According to the minutes, Mrs. Stepteau said that she was approached by Hawkins and Mrs. Garvin on Nov. 8 and asked to work on Nov. 9—the regular registration day— but that she could not.

She was approached again on Sunday, Nov. 10 about working the next night, and, although it was the Veterans Day holiday, she agreed.

She told the board that Hawkins and Mrs. Garvin told her to date the forms as of Saturday, Nov. 9, instead of the actual day—Monday, Nov. 11. (Monday was not a scheduled registration day because of the holiday.)

Mrs. Stepteau said that she thought the registration would be a public service, but that she attempted to call the board offices to ask about back-dating the forms.

She told the board that she also went to the Spring Lanes Bowling Lanes at 2300 Statesville Ave. on Monday, Nov. 11, and registered persons there. (The bowling lane was not a registration place authorized by the Elections Board.)

Mrs. Garvin, according to the minutes, told the board that on Sunday, Nov. 10, she had gone to the Brooklyn Presbyterian Church at 418 S. McDowell St. and registered people at the request of Walter Alexander, Democratic precinct chairman in the Brooklyn area. (Sunday Nov. 10 had not been authorized for registration by the board.)

The registration forms were back-dated to Saturday, Nov. 9.

Mrs. Garvin and Mrs. Stepteau said they had registered people on their own in past years at places and times not specified by the board.

The minutes show that Mrs. Stepteau and Mrs. Garvin both offered their resignations and that they were accepted.

Mrs. Garvin was not removed as the regular registrar in Precinct 2 (Second Ward High School), and Mrs. Stepteau was left in her position as a Democratic election judge in Precinct 54 (Northwest Junior High School).

Election office personnel estimated that 200 registrations were involved.

Mrs. Hair said that the voters themselves would not be affected. "They registered in good faith, and we won't disturb them," she said.

The minutes indicated that the meeting with the two commissioners was friendly, a sentiment that was echoed by election officials.

But in letters written to the

[illegible] board's instructions [illegible] but Dalton parade held on Sunday, the legal registration [illegible] any persons from registering.

(It was references in the letters to misunderstanding or confusion about board policies that led the board to revoke the authority of all 21 commissioners. When new ones are appointed, the board plans to instruct them more specifically.)

Mrs. Garvin said she felt it was her duty to permit them to register the following day.

Hawkins told The Observer he intended to fight the local board, "all the way to the Civil Rights Commission."

"Contacts have already been made," he said.

Hawkins said that the case was just part of a pattern that showed that the Elections Board was opposed to Negro registration.

He said that registration was held at times and places inconvenient to Negro voters and that Negroes had "been intimidated for so long in the past that they are now reluctant to go to the election offices" on Trade Street.

Mrs. Samuel C. Hair, the chairman of the local board, issued this statement:

"Mecklenburg County has a progressive registration system that is well regarded by the State Board of Elections and Institute of Government personnel.

"This board has done everything possible — including mobile registration units, precinct registration, county-wide registration booths and night registration tailored to the needs of the voting public — to insure that any qualified person who wants to register and vote is able to do so.

"Such programs, however, must be carried out in conformity with state law and under policies established by this Election Board."

"The Board of Elections went on record in 1960 with a policy that registration opportunities must be equally available to all parties, groups and races.

"Accordingly the board ruled that registration would be conducted only at times and places specified by the board and duly publicized.

"It should be noted that leaders of both races have always told us they considered that registration had been conducted fairly and without discrimination.

"The result of this policy has been that registrars are supervised by and receive compensation from the Board of Elections in all their official duties.

"Registrars are thus not at the beck and call of any one political party, candidate or group and are not permitted— even if they wished — to offer registration on a selective basis.

"The board has taken these steps because we believe the basic democratic process of voting is involved. We have wanted to make sure that the public can have confidence in the entire election process."

Mrs. Hair said that new commissioners would be appointed and new instructions given them. There will be Negroes in the new group.

The board is composed of Mrs. Hair and John Kirk — Democrats — and J. E. Presser — a Republican. All actions in the mixup were unanimous.

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Mrs. Hair said that the voters themselves would not be affected. "They registered in good faith, and we won't disturb them," she said.

The minutes indicated that the meeting with the two commissioners was friendly, a sentiment that was echoed by election officials.

But in letters written to the board after they had conferred with Hawkins, both Mrs. Stephen and Mrs. Garvin denied any wrongdoing, said they had been forced to resign and asked that the resignations be withdrawn.

[illegible] letter Mrs. Garvin [illegible] to fol-

WILLIAM JOSLIN
CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND C. MAXWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
RALEIGH, N. C.

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C. BRUCE HAWKINS, BRYSON CITY

file N.C. registration contacts

November 25, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Your letter of November 21st received in which you requested that we send you our best estimate of the number of white, and the number of Negro registered voters in North Carolina. Our best estimate is 1,900,000 whites and 200,000 Negroes.

You also requested a list of the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the chairmen of our various county boards of elections. We enclose, herewith, a list of the names and addresses of the chairmen of the county election boards, but we do not have the telephone numbers.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Maxwell

R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary

RCM:m

December 6, 1963

Mr. A. L. Meyland, Chairman
County Board of Elections
P. O. Box 3427
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Meyland:

We are doing research on voter registration in several southern states. A part of our research is to determine the number of persons registered between selected dates in 1963.

Could you tell us how many Negroes, and how many whites were registered in your county between May 10 through June 29 inclusive, and from September 26 through October 20?

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

P. O. BOX 3427 TELEPHONE 3-3611, EXT. 51

GUILFORD COUNTY
BOARD OF ELECTIONS

GREENSBORO, N. C.

December 16, 1963

Rec'd 12-17-63

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 6, regarding certain registration statistics.

The statistics of registration are not kept in a manner for me to give you the exact information you requested in your letter. Cumulative totals between closing dates for elections are kept; therefore, from April 16, 1963 through October 14, 1963, the following number of new registrations were made in Guilford County, North Carolina:

Total New:	2,539
Total White:	656
Total Negro:	1,883

Several registration drives have been made for the Negroes during this period and this accounts for the unusually high ratio of Negroes to white registrations.

If this office can be of any further help in this matter, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

Margaret N. Schecter

Mrs. Margaret N. Schecter
Executive Secretary

MNS:s

July 17, 1962

Secretary of State
State of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please send me the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of North Carolina by counties and independent cities. I should like these figures broken into white and Negro if you have such data.

If there is any charge, you may either send the data collect or bill me.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

V-R file
N.C.

DAVID M. McCONNELL
CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND C. MAXWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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DAN S. JUDD, WEST ASHEVILLE

July 23, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Your letter of July 17th addressed to the Secretary of State has been referred to this office for reply.

In your letter you asked for the latest compilation of registered voters for this state by counties and independent cities, broken down into white and Negro if we have such data. We are enclosing list by counties of whites and non-whites registered as of November 1960. These figures were compiled by the N. C. Advisory Committee on Civil Rights and furnished to us in 1960. These are the latest figures we have on white and non-white registration.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Maxwell

R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary

RCM:m

file N.C. Rep data

1963

spectrum. What is more, it is a group which is thoroughly bipartisan in its makeup.

This eminent array of Senators who have joined with me in this resolution gives me great hope that early consideration might be given to the resolution by the Senate Committee on Rules. It is my earnest hope also, that the resolution might be reported to the floor and adopted by the Senate during our present session.

I—and I am sure each of the Senators who are cosponsors of Senate Resolution 30—will work diligently toward that end.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. CANNON:

Address delivered by Gov. Grant Sawyer, of Nevada, before the grazing, water, and revenue conference of the National Association of Counties, at Las Vegas, Nev., December 11–13, 1962, on the subject of administering a public-land State.

RACE RELATIONS—STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on the subject of race relations in this country, I call to the attention of the Senate and the Nation a statement made recently by Gov. Terry Sanford, of North Carolina.

North Carolina has long been in the forefront of the movement to improve opportunities and the climate of cooperation for all its citizens. The movement was given great impetus by former Gov. Luther Hodges. It is being carried on by Governor Sanford. Governor Sanford has just established a new State agency, called the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council. Its purpose is to promote employment opportunities for all qualified persons, regardless of race, and to encourage better training of those persons. This commendable endeavor is outlined in a statement by Governor Sanford on January 18, which I ask to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I should also note that a chapter in good human relations is being written by the people and their public officials in South Carolina. I refer to the peaceable admittance of Mr. Harvey Gantt to Clemson College. The enrollment of Mr. Gantt has proceeded in orderly fashion. Those involved in his admittance may not be in favor of integration, but they have shown wisdom in not defying the law of the land.

I commend the people of South Carolina, the students and officials of Clemson College, and the State authorities for showing that a sense of fair play and a realization of legal responsibility are America's greatest protection of individual rights.

EXHIBIT 1

OBSERVATION FOR A SECOND CENTURY

(Statement by Gov. Terry Sanford)

The American Negro was freed from slavery 100 years ago. In this century he has made much progress, educating his children, building churches, entering into the community and civic life of the Nation.

Now is a time not merely to look back to freedom, but forward to the fulfillment of its meaning. Despite great progress, the Negro's opportunity to obtain a good job has not been achieved in most places across the country. Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the Nation and its States.

The time has come for American citizens to give up this reluctance, to quit unfair discriminations, and to give the Negro a full chance to earn a decent living for his family and to contribute to higher standards for himself and all men.

We cannot rely on law alone in this matter because much depends upon its administration and upon each individual's sense of fair play. North Carolina and its people have come to the point of recognizing the urgent need for opening new economic opportunities for Negro citizens. We also recognize that in doing so we shall be adding new economic growth for everybody.

We can do this. We should do this. We will do it because we are concerned with the problems and the welfare of our neighbors. We will do it because our economy cannot afford to have so many people fully or partially unproductive. We will do it because it is honest and fair for us to give all men and women their best chance in life.

In North Carolina we will attempt to provide leadership for the kind of understanding America needs today.

To carry out these hopes we will do five things right now:

1. We have established the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council. It will consist of 24 outstanding citizens of the State. David S. Coltrane will be chairman; Dean James T. Taylor will be vice chairman. Coltrane is former director of administration and presently special consultant to the Governor. Taylor is former dean of men at North Carolina College.

We will also name an additional advisory committee to reach more sections of the economy and the State.

The council will have a twofold mission (1) to encourage employment of qualified people without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment.

2. We are asking all mayors and chairmen of county commissioners to establish local good neighbor councils.

3. We have issued a memorandum to heads of State agencies, departments, and institutions, asking them, if they have not already done so, to examine and formulate policies which do not exclude from employment qualified people because of race.

4. Being aware that complete success cannot be achieved without wise and vigorous leadership from private business and industry, we will conduct a conference this spring, inviting leading industrialists and businessmen to participate.

5. We call on church leaders, pastors, civic organizations, to support the objectives of the good neighbor councils in their own effective ways.

In addition to Coltrane and Taylor, the members of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council are: J. Marse Grant, of Raleigh, editor of the Biblical Recorder, official publication of the North Carolina Baptist Convention; John H. Wheeler, president of Farmers & Mechanics Bank at Durham; J. P. Strother, managing editor of the Kinston Daily Free Press; John W. Winters, Raleigh realtor and member of the Raleigh City Council; Roy D. McLaurin, Laurinburg businessman; Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, Charlotte dentist; Bruce F. Jones, Edenton automobile dealer; Clark S. Brown, Winston-Salem funeral director; J. S. Stewart, president of Mutual Savings & Loan Association and member of the Durham City Council; Edward Loewenstein, Greensboro architect; and Dr. John R. Larkins, State department of public welfare.

Other members of the council will be announced later.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON EDUCATION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I wish to speak very briefly on the message on education which the President sent to the Congress yesterday. It seems to me that it is likely to be the most important message the President will send to the Congress at this session.

The President's message on education was an excellent one; and I believe that at this session, education, rather than tax reduction, should have the No. 1 priority, because certainly nothing would more greatly aid in the development and improvement of our Nation than improvement of the skills and understanding of its people.

A particularly noteworthy aspect of the President's message on education is that in it he emphasized that education must be handled at the local level. He appropriately quoted Thomas Jefferson, the great founder of our party, and his emphasis on education as the most important endeavor of government.

I understand that the President's very excellent message on education was printed on yesterday in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; therefore, I shall not request that the message be printed in the RECORD today. I commend a careful reading of the President's message on education to all my colleagues. I believe his proposal is moderate, thoughtful, and practical.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

TRIBUTE TO OTTO A. HARBACH

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, there will be buried today in Salt Lake City one of America's greatest librettists—a man who has written the words to more than 1,000 songs, including such favorites as "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes," "Indian Love Call," and "One Alone." I am referring, of course, to Otto A. Harbach, world famous playwright and lyricist who died last week in New York City at the age of 89, but who chose to return to his birthplace, where many members of his family still live, for burial.

Otto Harbach was born in Salt Lake City on August 18, 1873, one of nine children. He was educated in the Salt Lake City schools, working after school hours selling papers and shining shoes for his pocket money. He was graduated from the old Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, now known as Westminister College, and left Salt Lake in 1891 to further his education at Knox College at Gales-

34
3-14-63

March 7, 1963

Mr. F. B. McKissick
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McKissick:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 27, inquiring about the possibility of financial assistance to a registration effort which will be conducted by the Multi-County Civic and Educational Association.

I note that we previously made an assignment for a registration program to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for work in Bertie county, and to the NAACP for work in Edgecomb county. I would imagine that very little has been done by way of actual registration in either of these counties since we made the assignments in view of the fact that you can only register during a certain period immediately preceding an election.

If it is true that you are not able to register in any of the counties which you mentioned except for a brief period preceding the May elections then I agree that you want to develop plans immediately for a registration program which will be conducted next month. It would be helpful to us if you would inform us of any other elections which will be held anywhere in the Second Congressional District during 1963.

You state that your group is "formulating detailed plans" and we will be pleased to consider any requests which you care to submit. At the present time, we cannot consider any plans which would begin or run from and after March 31,

1964, and your best chances of support from VEP would be for you to submit a proposal for your immediate efforts.

This letter should not be construed in any way as approval of your plans or as a promise of financial support.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

State North Carolina

County	VAP	WVAP	NVAP	%N	Reg.	WReg	NReg	% VAP Reg	UN VAP ~~Reg~~	% W VAP Reg	% N VAP Reg	Remarks
Bertie 2	12893	6364	6629	51	6955	6242	713	53.5	5916	98	10.7	N.C. ADVISORY COMMITTE NOV. 1960 REG. FIGURES
4 Edgecomb 2	29103	16057	13046	45	12916	11129	1787	44.4	11259	69.3	13.6	"
Greene 2	8508	4993	3515	41	5367	4882	385	61.9	3130	97.7	10.9	"
4 Halifax 2	31664	17020	14644	46	17360	15406	1954	54.8	12690	90.5	13.3	"
Lenoir 2	30964	20108	10856	35	16283	14603	2220	52.6	8636	72.6	20.4	"
3 Northampton 2	14122	6341	7781	55	8000	6700	1300	56.6	6491	105.7	16.7	"
3 Vance	18340	11404	6936	38	14718	13912	1526	80.2	5410	122.0	22.0	"
3 Warren 2	10331	4557	5774	56	7004	6123	881	67.8	4893	134.4	15.2	"
Wilson 2	33053	21713	11340	34	16918	14256	2662	51.2	8678	65.6	23.5	"
2ND CONG. DIST.	170738	97153	73585	43.1	90903	79341	11902	53.2	61683	81.7	16.2	
3RD N.C. SEN. DIST.	42793	22302	20491	47.9	29722	26735	3707	69.4	16784	120.0	18.1	
4TH N.C. SEN. DIST.	60767	33077	27690	45.6	30276	26536	3741	49.8	23949	80.2	13.5	

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

Assignments in North Carolina in the counties referred to in McKissick's letter of 2-27-63:

County	Agency
Edgecombe	NAACP
Bertie	SCLC

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

North Carolina Constitution, Art. VI

Sec. 4--Qualification for registration. Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language. But no male person who was, on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any state in the United States wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendant of any such person, shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this state by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualifications herein prescribed: Provided, he shall have registered in accordance with the terms of this section prior to December 1, 1908. The General Assembly shall provide for the registration of all persons entitled to vote without the educational qualifications herein prescribed, and shall, on or before November 1, 1908, provide for the making of a permanent record of such registration, and all persons so

Memo from JACK MINNIS

registered shall forever thereafter have the right to vote in all elections by the people in this State, unless disqualified under section 2 of this article.

Sec.2--Qualifications of voter. Any person who shall have resided in the State of North Carolina for one year, and in the precinct, ward or other election district in which such person offers to vote for thirty days next preceding an election, and possessing the other qualifications set out in this article, shallbe entitled to vote at any election held in this State; provided, that removal from one precinct, ward or other election district to another in this State shall not operate to deprive any person of the right to vote in the precinct, ward, or other election district from which such person has removed until thirty days after such removal. No person who has been convicted, or who has confessed his guilt in open

Memo from **JACK MINNIS**

court upon indictment, of any crime the punishment of which now is or may hereafter be, imprisonment in the state's prison, shall be permitted to vote unless the said person shall be first restored to citizenship in the manner presecribed by law.

Sec. 3--Voter to be registered. Every person offering to vote shall be at the time a legally registered voter as herein prescribed, and in the manner hereafter provided by law, and the general assembly of North Carolina shall enact general registration laws to carry into effect the provisions of this article.

file
North Carolina V-R data

WILLIAM JOSLIN
CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND C. MAXWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
RALEIGH, N. C.

MEMBERS
WILLIAM JOSLIN, RALEIGH
WARREN R. WILLIAMS, SANFORD
JOSEPH E. ZAYTOUN, NEW BERN
ROBERT S. EWING, SOUTHERN PINES
C. BRUCE HAWKINS, BRYSON CITY

May 27, 1963

MAY 28 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Your letter of May 22nd received requesting information concerning registration of voters in this State.

Answering your first question, the following counties have established the loose-leaf registration system as permitted by G. S. 163-43: Alamance, Davidson, Henderson, Lee, Lenoir and Rowan. Counties operating under the loose-leaf full time and permanent registration system as permitted by G. S. 163-31 and G.S. 163-31.2. are: Cumberland, Forsyth, Gaston, Guilford, Mecklenburg, Stanly, Union, Wake, Wayne and Wilson. It is correct that counties which have established the full time and permanent registration system do conduct registration at any time subject to reasonable office hours prescribed by the respective county boards of elections. In those counties, however, the registration closes twenty-one days prior to each primary or election.

You also asked if this office maintains records of the dates when registration is possible in counties which do not have permanent registration. Dates for registration in those counties is set by statute. The registration in those counties opens on the fourth Saturday before each primary or election and closes on the second Saturday before the primary or election.

Trusting this is the information you desire, I am

Yours very truly,

Call to Maxwell 9-16-63

R. C. Maxwell

R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary

RCM:m

Gov. is expected to call 100,000,000 school bond election in latter part of Nov. '63 or 1st pt. of Dec. This would open books for 2 weeks in non-full-time counties. Statewide election in May 64 will open books first 2 weeks in May.

May 22, 1963

Mr. R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary
State Board of Elections
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Maxwell:

Can you provide me with a list of the counties which have established a registration system as permitted by GS163-43 and full time and permanent registration as permitted by GS163-31 and GS163-31.2?

I would also like to know if your office maintains records of the dates when registration is possible in counties which have not established permanent registration. In those counties which have established permanent registration is it correct that registration is possible at any time subject to reasonable office hours prescribed by the respective county boards of election?

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

Raleigh Conference Snubs Negro Workers' Demands

freedom

"Break thy slavery's want and dread. Bread is Freedom, Freedom bread!"

Office at 605 Brown Street, MONROE, NORTH CAROLINA

VOL. I. NO. 1. July 15, 1963 10 cents per copy

By Richard Crowder

The Governor's conference of Negro leaders, which Terry Sanford called in Raleigh June 25, was a joke.

The 150 Negro leaders who attended — and I was one of them — thought they were there to settle some business and make some progress towards Freedom. It turned out we were fooled. The Governor had no intention of doing anything. The conference had no power to do anything. The whole thing was like a big bi-racial committee meeting.

What was good was the mood among the Negroes who attended. They were all determined to continue fighting. Kelly Alexander, state head of the NAACP, who backed Sanford by calling off NAACP demonstrations for a week, proposed that we go along with the Governor, and send a committee to meet with his representatives. Alexander was voted down.

Of course that made the Monroe Youth Action Committee proud. We suspected the Governor from the first. We didn't think he would do anything. We felt the only hope for any action was continued pressure.

So when the NAACP cancelled demonstrations we did not go along with that. We felt it wrong. The NAACP attacked us for it. But the conference proved that the great majority of Negro leaders in the state agreed with us, and not with the NAACP leaders who cancelled the demonstrations and wanted to go along with the Governor. This must have really surprised the NAACP leaders, because they picked the people who attended the conference!

But if the demonstration that Negroes around the state are determined to keep fighting for their Freedom was the good side of the conference, there was also a bad side. The bad side was this: of the 15 points that the conference demanded the Governor act on, only one was about jobs.

And even though the main problems that Negro workers face are equal pay for equal work, opening up jobs, and raising the pay, the point on jobs didn't mention these things. Worse yet, the demand on jobs came ninth in order in the list of 15 demands. Ahead of it come things like getting Negro lawyers into local Bar Associations and integrating the Democratic and Republican parties.

This was a proof that the majority of Negroes were not really represented. If they had been, jobs, equal pay and more pay would have been at the top of the list instead of buried down in it.

Also disturbing was the fact that the NAACP leaders still believe that the Governor and the other white bosses are going to act because they know we are right.

Of course we are right, and of course, down deep even the white bosses know we are right. But we have been right for the past 350 years and they knew it and didn't act. Why believe they will change now?

In fact they haven't changed. The white churches want the businesses to desegregate, but not the churches. The state government is not integrating. The Jaycees (local business leaders) in city after city are opposing desegregation. The politicians are against desegregation. The white hospitals, Y's and clubs are doing nothing about ending segregation.

We say the time is past for believing in the white bosses' good intentions. He doesn't have any. He has to be forced to act.

And we also say that it is up to the Negro workers, and farmers, men and women, to organize themselves to force the white boss to act. As it stands now the workingman is being left out. The Raleigh conference proves that. But most of us happen to be workingmen and workingwomen, and poor to boot.

The Raleigh conference was a failure. It didn't help us along to Freedom, Jobs and Justice. But if we learn the right lessons from it, we can turn it into future successes.

Domestic Workers Organize League for Jobs and Justice

By Marti Moorer

A study shows that domestic work is the number one job open to Negroes in Union County. According to government figures, domestic workers make up the largest group of employed Negroes—male or female in the County.

To find why so many Negro women do domestic work, and whether they are satisfied with it, a FREEDOM reporter talked with members of the Union County Women's League.

All of them domestic workers, the women were bitter about their situation.

Mrs. Ruby Simpson, a former domestic worker and President of the Women's League, said it doesn't pay to do domestic work in Monroe nowadays. "It's the hours you put in for the pay that makes it so bad. Nobody minds working. It's working for nothing that gets you down."

Mrs. RUBY SIMPSON

The usual pay for the drudgery of cleaning someone else's home is $3.00 for a 9 or 10 hour day, Mrs. Simpson said. What makes matters worse, Miss Ann doesn't see fit to allow her domestic worker time out for lunch, and many must eat and mop floors at the same time!

One Women's League member told how her white boss lady didn't want to raise her pay to $12 a week because the boss was afraid she might "get rich." "I told her she could just keep that job. She must have thought I was stupid."

"The whites try to encourage you to just work on like you always have by telling you that you'll make out fine on $11 a week," a woman said, "But we know that our grocery bills add up to more than our paychecks. Miss Ann will soon find out that if she can't add, unfortunately for her, we can!"

Many women complained of one of the great injustices of domestic work: "While we work long hours for little pay, our own homes and children are neglected. Our children are forced to drop out of school because we can't afford to give them lunch money and proper clothing." The white bosses would get hot under the collar pretty quickly if someone told them to treat their children that way, so they shouldn't be too surprised to find that domestic workers are already hot.

Perhaps Miss Ann's biggest mistake is that she thinks domestic workers are stupid. Why else are they domestic workers?

We asked the women: Why not get another job if domestic work is so bad? Mrs. Simpson answered that even when jobs are available in local industry, they are reserved for whites.

For example, an application which shows Mrs. Simpson to be perfectly qualified for a job at Winn Dixie hes been collecting dust in the manager's office for several years.

Another woman proved herself qualified for a "White Only" job at Allen Overall by passing their 3-hour aptitude test. Here is the story she told us: In 1961, she was given a card saying she had passed the

(continued on Page 4)

WHOSE TOWN HALL?

. . . **"The substantial three-story red brick Town Hall was built in 1847-48 for use as the county jail. A runaway slave unwittingly made possible its erection. When captured by his angry and drunken master, he was dragged the eight miles into town with a log chain around his neck. His master, found guilty of his murder, pleaded an old English law and escaped with paying a fine of $3.000 and $390.39 courts with which the County built the jail."**

"The North Carolina Guide," by Blackwell P. Robinson, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C; copyright, 1955, by the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development

FREEDOM HOUSE OPENS— CENTER OF ACTIVITY

Headquarters of the Monroe Youth Action Committee is FREEDOM HOUSE. Located in Newtown at 605 Brown Street, it is the center for meetings, planning sessions and is where the MYAC organizers live.

Support for the work of the organization comes in the form of donations to keep up FREEDOM HOUSE. Workers and farmers from all over the County have donated food, money for rent, electricity and gas for the car.

"We appreciate all the community has done so far," Richard Crowder president of the MYAC said, "But the help has to keep coming. After all the food does get eaten, and the gas gets burned, and it all has to be replaced daily or we can't carry on our work." Crowder said donations can be brought to the House at any time, or word should be left so someone can pick up the money or food.

Freedom House, which is open to all members of the community, is always filled with people who want to discuss the MYAC program and see what they can do to help win Freedom, Jobs and Justice.

Mistaking the open invitation to the community as applying to him, one "brave" white cop arrived at 6 a.m. one day and stole onto the porch. Ripping the page of Freedom House Work Rules (which describe what all the residents of the House have to do each day) off the wall, he fled back to his car and rushed uptown. MYAC organizers have taken steps to make sure that such "visits" by uninvited "guests" don't happen again.

Two of **Freedom House's** five rooms are set aside for meetings and work. The rest of the **House** is used as living quarters by the six full-time MYAC organizers. None of the organizers gets any pay for his work, as all money raised goes to pay the expenses of the **House** and organization. According to the rules, each organizer gets two meals a day, in the morning and evening, and all take turns cooking and cleaning up.

"We want the Negro community to know that the welcome-mat is out at all times at **Freedom House**," Crowder said. "We want everyone to come by whenever he can so we can talk things over and unify our efforts. It is the only way we will win.

Youngsters gathered around Freedom House

FREEDOM

"Break thy slavery's want and dread.
Bread is Freedom, Freedom bread."

Published twice a month
by Freedom House
605 Brown St.
MONROE, N. C.

Editorial Board: Bob Apter,
James Barrett, Richard Crowder
Edward Lemansky, and Jake Rosen.

Vol I, No. 1 July 15,1963

Price: 10¢ per Copy $2.00 per Year

EDITORIAL

In slavery times it was a crime punishable by death to teach a slave to read and write. It was so important to the white masters that their slaves not learn anything that those slaves who tried to learn were whipped, beaten, and sometimes killed for trying.

Why was it so important to the masters that their slaves be kept in the darkness of ignorance? The reason is simple. As long as a man cannot read, it is hard for him to know what is going on in the world. And if he doen't know what's going on—if he is ignorant —it is hard for him to change his condition. And of course the slaveowner wasn't very anxious for his slave to change things.

When the slaves were freed, their old masters still tried to keep them in ignorance. The old Master—now the bossman—still tries. One of the ways he does this is by printing only certain kinds of stories in his newspapers. These stories are either all lies, or mainly lies. But the purpose of all the stories is always the same: to keep the Negro in ignorance so that it is harder for us to change things.

That is why we are publishing this newspaper—**FREEDOM**. We know that if we are ever to get Freedom, Jobs and Justice, we must leave ignorance behind us. A man once said that knowledge is power. If we want to have the power to change the world (and the world has to change if we are to get Freedom for our people) then we must have true knowledge. It can't be the kind of knowledge the slaveowners fed to their slaves. It can't be the kind of knowledge fed us by the bossmen—the very people who are keeping us down. Because that knowledge is not true knowledge. True knowledge is the knowledge that we need to free us. To give true knowledge—that is the reason for this paper.

But true knowledge by itself is not enough. Together with it must come action. And action, the right kind of action, is what . . .

THE MONROE YOUTH ACTION COMMITTEE

. . . Is organizing. This newspaper supports the program of the MYAC. What the MYAC is saying is this: most Negroes are workers and farmers. They are poor. They are without their rights.

The MYAC says that poor people without rights are no better than slaves. "Bread is freedom, freedom bread," is the message of the Monroe Youth Action Committee.

To win Freedom is to win a better way of life. If the white bosses—the modern slavemasters—and politicians refuse, to end modern Negro slavery, then Negroes must end it themselves.

Negro history is full of slave revolts. It is time now for the modern slaves to say: give me mine, which you have stolen from me. If the slave-masters and their government refuse, then the slaves must begin to control the government and the slavemasters. 350 years of slavery is long enough.

Some ask why the MYAC is not demonstrating just now. The answer is that the MYAC says demonstrations have to be about the right things, called at the right time, and led by the right people.

Demonstrations to intergrate lunch counters are not bad, but integrating lunch counters is not the main problem. The main problem is improving jobs and pay and life.

So the MYAC is holding off demonstrating downtown just now in order to organize workers and farmers, women and young people. When that is done it will be the right time for the right kind of demonstrations, and they will be led by the right people—the working people themselves. FREEDOM agrees with this point of view.

FREEDOM calls upon all Negroes in Union county to unite. That is the way to Freedom, Jobs and Justice.

Letters To The Editor

Dear editor,

I saw the report of the June 13 demonstration in the Charlotte paper. It would seem that the "respectable" leadership in Monroe is opposed to a militant program—just as they seem to be everywhere.

I wish you well in your efforts. The MYAC program indicates awareness that the fight for Freedom is a broad one that can't end with "integration." Opening up hotels and restaurants leaves the masses of exploited Negroes virtually untouched. It is obvious that you know this.

Clyde R. Appleton
Raleigh. N. C.

Dear editor,

I see the South as the only area that will, in the final analysis, solve the Negro question in the U. S. So it is necessary that a serious effort be made to organize the Negro workers, both agricultural and industrial.

The demands the Monroe Youth Action Committee are making can and should be made all over the South. But to my knowledge Monroe is the first, and so far the only city, where these fundamental demands, especially "effective political power by the Negro people," are being made. Wonderful for you, too bad for the rest.

Election of members of our people to political office is very important; but not just any Negro. Our representatives should be those who have deep roots among the Negro people, and who will truly represent the Negro working men and women and be responsible to them.

Lots of luck. If there is anything I can do, let me know.

Bill Epton
New York City

(Editor's Note: Mr. Epton is a candidate in this year's election campaign for the New York City Council seat from Manhattan. Mr. Epton represents the Progressive Labor Party.)

MYAC Sets Up Series of Classes In Negro History

The first of a series of classes in Negro history and current events was held last week by the Monroe Youth Action Committee.

Some of the topics to be covered in future meetings are: Negro emigration to America, Life under slavery, Non-violence and self-defense, African life and imperialism.

Purpose of the classes is to help educate the Negro community in the history of our people, and to help them understand their present conditions.

Another aim is discussing what ways and means are needed to get Freedom, Jobs and Justice. Attention is being paid to the work and program of the Monroe Youth Action Committee, the Union County Women's League and other community organizations.

The classes, open to all regardless of age, meet in the evening once a week in two-hour sessions. When necessary, more classes will be set up so that they will be convenient to all.

"In order to organize ourselves for our fight for Freedom we must educate ourselves for the fight," Richard Crowder, MYAC president, said.

Only Our Own Action Will Bring Us Freedom

By Amziah Craig

To be a "man" in this discriminative society is, for the Negro, far from reality. We Negroes are "disequal in manhood" because our white brothers refuse to acknowledge the fact that we are men.

And we are men not because of our physical prowess or characteristics, but because of our contempt for, and refusal at being kept down on our knees.

Since the slave ships crossed the Atlantic bringing us as chattel slaves to the New World we have kneeled and prayed that God send kindness and sentiments of fraternity to our white brothers; that He give them the strength and the courage to realize that which the white man says he so ardently worships and consecrates — the Christian way of life. We have been praying that the white man help us off our knees.

For almost three centuries we accepted the bottom of the pit and hoped that our prayers would be answered and that God's eternal cry would be the creed of the white master—all men are created equal.

But now we realize that without our own active concern for our Freedom, our hopes will never be a reality. Without our action nothing will happen to benefit us.

Prophets of Freedom have arisen and epitomized the way to Freedom, laying foundations for our present movement, giving strength and intensity to our hopes and our desire to get off our knees and stand on our feet in equality, in Freedom, in dignity, as true men should; and giving us the courage and ability to look our fellow men in the face.

Although we are on the way to our Freedom we are not yet off the battlefield. We are still fighting.

We are like a strong baby just beginning to walk, stumbling sometimes and sometimes falling, but determined to walk so much that any barrier only produces a greater fight to walk and a greater determination to stand.

KENNEDY TALKS BIG BUT STILL NO JOBS

A stament by a high official in the Kenhedy administration revealed segregated hiring practices are followed in Federal government projects.

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy Cabinet, stated that there are only 300 skilled Negro workers employed on 47 Federal construction projects. Skilled white workers on the same projects total 5,358.

Wirtz also revealed that the same segregation practice is followed on white collar jobs by companies doing business with the government.

Wirtz said that there are a total of 7,795 workers employed on the construction projects. Of these, 1,389 are Negroes. But all except 316 of the Negroes are laborers.

Of the 316 Negroes, 300 are journeymen, or skilled workers. Sixteen are apprentices. But on the same jobs, there are 287 white apprentices working, revealing discrimination in apprentiship training.

The Labor Secretary gave three examples which prove discrimination in white collar employment:

In New York, where Negroes are 11.5 per cent of the population, less than 7 per cent of the employees of government contractors are Negro, and Negroes hold only 2.5 per cent of the contractors' white collar jobs.

In Chicago, where 14.3 per cent of the population is Negro, only 9.2 per cent of the government contractors' employees are Negro, and there are only 1.1 per cent Negro white collar workers employed on government projects.

In Atlanta, where Negroes are 22.8 per cent of the population, 14.9 per cent of the work force of government contractors are Negro and only 2.5 per cent are white collar workers.

This discrimination exists even though there has been an Executive Order since March 6, 1961 which was supposedly to insure equal employment opportunities for Negroes on government jobs.

Observers noted that not much had been done to enforce the order.

In view of the Kennedy administration's lack of interest in enforcing the Executive Order (which got a lot of publicity for the President when he made it) many feel, that even if the Civil Rights bills the President is asking for get passed by Congress they will not affect the situation much.

If Kennedy wanted to, he could have removed the government contract, and the big profits that go with it, from any company that segregated in its hiring.

The figures revealed by Wirtz show that Kennedy-who, like Terry Sanford, has also called for an end to demonstrations—is apparently more interested in getting some good publicity for himself than in really solving the job problem. Wirtz has said in the past that the Kennedy administration has no intention of cancelling contracts even if segregation is shown because that would "cause unemployment."

The point is that unemployment already exists for Negro workers, and the Order was supposed to help solve that. What Wirtz was saying was that the Kennedy administration was either not willing to, or was unable to do anything about creating jobs for Negro workers.

A Certain Doctor Has A Certain Problem

A certain crafty Negro doctor we know said the other day that he was "actually concerned and trying to the best of (his) ability to secure better conditions for the residents of Union county."

Of course that made us very happy, since everyone's help is needed if we are ever going to win Freedom, Jobs and Justice. What bothered us was this: Why did this doctor have to say that he was concerned? A man is known by his acts and we naturally figure that everyone knows who is helping by what he does. If he isn't doing right, no amount of talk will cover that up. People can't be fooled.

We heard one woman say that if the doctor was so concerned about bettering conditions he could start right away by fixing up the houses he owns and rents so they are decent and fit to live in. It seemed to her, she said, that all he was really interested in was collecting rent from his tenants.

Last we heard, nothing had been done to fix up the houses.

Another man we know said he thought the doctor was talking out of both sides of his mouth at the same time, or trying to anyway. The other day, at a meeting uptown, this doctor said he agreed there ought to be an ordinance passed making discrimination in any place serving the public in Monroe a crime subject to penalty, like the Monroe Youth Action Committee proposed. He also said he thought it was a good idea to have another ordinance making discrimination in hiring in Monroe a crime, another MYAC proposal.

But then he said, almost in the same breath, he was against passing both of these ordinances, or even recommending to the City Council that they be passed.

Now it can't be both ways. Either he is for the ordinances or he is against them. If he is for them, like almost the whole community is, then he should act to get them passed. If he doesn't act to get them passed, then he is against them, no matter what he says. And if he says he is for them, while acting against them then he is just trying to fool people. And if a man is trying to fool people, then we have to ask ourselves: what is he getting out of it?

This is the same doctor who said a few weeks ago that the Mayor's Bi-Racial Committee was making "progress" toward desegregating Monroe's eating places. The only "progress" we heard anything about took place at two lunch counters after demonstrations were called by the Monroe Youth Action Committee.

So it turns out that the only progfess came as a result of the demonstration called by the MYAC. And this doctor said he "does not approve" of the MYAC and "our children are not taking part in the demonstration."

RICHARD CROWDER
. . . he's not the doctor.

That is true, of course—his children didn't take part in the demonstrations. But what must have embarassed him was that one of his sons went and joined the Monroe Youth Action Committee. The doctor explained that by saying that everyone knows his son "isn't all there." People who heard about that are wondering if the doctor meant that everyone who belongs to the MYAC and supports its program is crazy, or if he just meant that anyone in his family that supports Freedom, Jobs and Justice should have his head examined?

We understand the doctor gets around this by saying that one of his sons went off to another part of the state to join with another group that is travelling around. Some people, who lost money on the deal, remember that this is the same group that breezed into Monroe, demanded that demonstrations start, ran up a bill at different places, raised some money for itself, bought some whiskey, then breezed out of town. A few weeks ago a representative of that group told a meeting the reason the group left Monroe was that they got "scared."

We don't know what they got "scared" of, but the Monroe Youth Action Committee hasn't run out, and some of its organizers have been shot at.

Some people uptown say that the MYAC is "trying to stir up trouble." And the fact of the matter is—this is true. They are trying to stir up trouble for the Klan, for Mr. Charlie, for Miss Ann—for all that have become rich and powerful and content by exploiting the Negro, by grinding him down, by beating and robbing and raping. The MYAC says these things can be set right, and naturally this means trouble, and is dangerous, for the rich and powerful and content white man. And it also means trouble, and is dangerous, for any Negro who has been able to benefit personally by helping Mr. Charlie do his dirty work.

So when some people heard that this Negro doctor said to the MYAC, "I don't know whether you want to help or not. You could be trying to stir up unwarranted trouble in the Negro community," they began to wonder which side this doctor was really on.

When people saw that this doctor told an uptown newspaper that his organization thought the Monroe Youth Action Committee was "dangerous" they began to think back a little:

When Roscoe Funderburk was shot in the back of his head and murdered by a white man, and the white murderer went free, this doctor and his organization didn't think that was dangerous enough to make statements in the paper.

When Tommy Funderburk was jailed for 20 years for supposedly beating up a white woman (even though the woman testified in court that Tommy didn't do anything but help defend her from someone else) this doctor and his organization didn't think that was dangerous enough to make a statement in the paper.

When Ben Poston was shot in the hip by a white man, and the the white went free this doctor and his organization didn't think that was dangerous enough to make a statement in the paper.

When Albert Rory was jailed for up to seven years for shooting a cop, even though another cop testified that Rory didn't have a gun, this doctor and his organization didn't think that was dangerous enough to make a statement in the paper.

When a Negro woman, sick with tuberculosis, with no income and two children to care for, tried to get Public Welfare and was refused (though a white woman with a car was given money to help with her car expenses), this doctor and his organization didn't think that was dangerous enough to make a statement about in the paper.

People are wondering why this Negro doctor took the lead in saying that ordinances outlawing segregation were "unreasonable." Maybe the doctor thinks there is something reasonable about segregation?

This doctor says he is concerned and working to the best of his ability. If he is telling the truth about being concerned, then the truth must also be that he has no ability.

NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT:
It's Rough All Over

No sooner does a young man graduate from high school in Monroe then he is thinking of packing up for New York City to get a job. Not only do young people in Monroe look toward New York for jobs, Negroes all over the South do.

What chances does a Negro have of finding a job in New York? What is unemployment like for Negroes generally? Is it too much different in Monroe than elsewhere? Here are some of the answers:

How many in Monroe realize that the rate of unemployed Negroes in the U.S. is at least triple the rate of unemployed whites and probably more? The government is not very upset about this fact; and what's worse, the so-called Negro leaders don't seem to be either.

The job situation (or rather the no-job situation) in New York City is an important example. A recent survey showed New York to be 19th in wages among the 21 largest industrial cities in the U. S.

Statistics show that one out of every 10 workers in New York is out of a job, but there is good reason to believe that the truth is much worse than even this. When one visits the many unemployment offices in New York, it becomes quite obvious that the overwhelming majority of the unemployed are Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and the employment offices are filled to overcrowding with people who are desperate for work.

Harlem streets during the day are filled with idle men playing checkers, leaning against the buildings, and feeling dissatisfied. The State employment offices do not even bother to send the unemployed out to jobs any more-there are no jobs to send them out to. Many Negroes are willing to sign away paychecks in advance to buy jobs for outrageous prices at unemployment agencies.

In addition, we find that many high school students are forced to drop out of school because their families can't keep them there. Many of these people, and others who are high school graduates, never become unemployment statistics because they have never worked at all. Statistics are compiled about those who have lost their jobs, and never mention the people who have never had them.

There are now 77,000 unemployed men and women in New York City between the ages of 16 and 25. Of these, 60% are Negro and Puerto Rican, and it is estimated that this figure will double in the next two years. But the figures will never be able to measure the human suffering, deprivation and humiliation hanging like a cloud over the Negro community.

For most unemployed Negroes in New York, as in Monroe, there is little hope of finding a job at all-much less of finding one that pays enough to provide a decent living for a family.

It's all very well for the government to talk about how much money each working man should be making, but what has the government done about what workers are making-which is nothing at all for a large number of Negroes? It should be clear that the government is doing nothing; and that if it is interested in Negro problems at all, the only solution it offers is inviting a few to sit next to white bosses at lunch counters, or to use their rest rooms.

City	Negro Workers	Negro Unemployed	%
Chicago, Ill.	447,100	77,200	17.3
Cincinnati, Ohio	70,720	7,125	10.0
Cleveland, Ohio	80,000	16,000	20.0
Detroit, Mich.	285,000	112,850	39.0
Fort Wayne, Ind.	4,500	2,000	44.0
Gary, Ind.	20,000	8,000	40.0
Kansas City, Mo.	48,000	12,000	25.0
Louisville, Ky.	37,261	14,820	39.8
New York, N. Y.	817,780	80,000	10.0
Philadelphia Penn.	240,500	67,340	28.0
Pittsburgh, Penn.	55,000	13,600	24.0
SSt. Louis, Mo.	173,000	35,000	20.0
South Bend, Ind.	7,700	5,000	71.0
Washington, D. C.	232,000	19,000	8.0
Baltimore, Md.	225,000	23,000	10.0

This is not the answer, and leaving Monroe to look for jobs in the North (which don't exist) is not the answer, and waiting patiently in the shadow of City Hall is not the answer. Negroes must not wait for the government or the whites to do them favors, nor allow certain well-fixed Negro professional men to make deals with whites. What Negro workers must do is organize and do what must be done **themselves**. No one else will help Negro workers because workers' poverty makes bosses rich. This is the Negro workers' battle.

These are just some of the things Negroes must demand of the Government, and keep on damanding until they get what they need:

1. adequate unemployment payments, to be received by anyone who is out of a job-for **as long as he is unable to find work.**

2. surplus **food** with no strings attached, to be given to all who need it in Negro communities across the country

3. **no taxes** for workers earning less than **$6,000 per year**

4. **rents to be cut** to 5 per cent of the unemployment payments

5. installment payments should **not** have to be paid by unemployed workers who are buying their own homes.

To win these things Negroes must unite.

WHITE HOODS ATTACK MYAC ORGANIZERS' CAR· F B I, POLICE DO NOTHING

Two whites attacked and shot at a car carrying three organizers of the Monroe Youth Action Committee June 25. The Union County Sheriff's office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation refused to look into the incident.

Bob Apter, driver of the car said the shooting took place at night at a deserted stretch of road on highway 601, about 10 miles from Monroe.

Apter said the two whites sped past his car in a 1955 Ford and pulled off to the side of the road, near a clump of trees. As he drove by spot, Apter said one of the to whites shot at his car with a pistol. The bullet hit the back door of his car, Apter said, but did not hit anyone.

Union County Sheriff Shirley Griffin, immediately notified of the attack, said he would send and investigator out, Apter said. When two days passed without any action from the Sheriff, Apter said, he called the FBI office in Charlotte, collect.

FBI agents refused to accept his call, Apter said, referring him to the Sheriff's office.

"A staff reporter for the Associated Press who was checking on the shooting told me Sheriff Griffin had said two deputies had investigated the attack and didn't find anything," Apter said. "All I know is, I have a description of the car and I remember part of the license plate number, and they never came around to talk to me or anyone else at Freedom House," Apter said. "I don't want to call the Sheriff a liar, but I don't see how they could have made any kind of investigation without seeing us."

OUR 'PROTECTORS' — While local police and the FBI have done nothing to solve crimes committed against Monroe Negroes or the MYAC, these "law enforcers" have been busy harassing visitors to Newtown, and illegally insisting that all visitors be photographed. Here, the tables—and the cameras—were turned.

MYAC organizers were told by the Union County Clerk of Court that there had been a run on gun permits in early June, when MYAC demonstrations began. The Clerk refused to issue a gun permit to the MYAC organizers.

DATES IN NEGRO HISTORY

June

18, 1822 South Carolina hangs 37 slaves of Denmark
1910 NAACP founded.
Vesey revolt.
22, 1937 Joe Louis beats J. J. Braddock to become heavyweight champion.
22, 1938 Joe Louis knocks out Nazi champion Max Schmeling in first round.
1956 Autherine Lucy tries to enter University of Alabama

July

17, 1862 Congress arms Negroes to take part in Civil War.
1, 1863 Dutch West Indies abolishes slavery.
13, 1863 Anti-slavery riots in New York City
4, 1952 A Negro woman, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, nominated for Vice-President of the United States by Progresive Party.

Friendly Ice Cream and Sandwich Shop
Candies - Smokes - Drinks
CARL FUNDERBURKE Mgr.
"We Serve Only the Best"
912 Winchester Ave. Monroe, N. C.

THE ESQUIRE BARBER SHOP
at 405 N. Church St.
Is now back in operation. It is also open from 8:00 till 7.00 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. Friday and Saturday 8:00 till 9:00.
OPERATED BY ALLEN HATHAWAY

Domestic Workers. . .

(Continued from Page 1)

aptitude test. But Miss Ann in the training office failed to call her in to work. She went to see her and found a government inspector was also visiting her prospective employer.

Miss Ann spoke very sweetly and told our friend that she'd be hired the next week (Allen Overall must do something to protect their government contract by pretending to hire Negro workers once in a while.) But the next week came, and the next, and Miss Ann still failed to call her. Recently an uptown paper reported that Allen Overall needed 30 employees. Women's League members are wondering why, if the company was so short of help, they failed to hire their friend?

Another company recently refused to hire a Negro high school graduate and took on an illiterate white woman instead.

We asked Mrs. Simpson: What is the UCWL going to do about the job problem for women in Monroe? "Many of us feel that the answer is to be found in the **Union County Women's League,**" "Mrs. Simpson said "It's important that we all work together; not each woman on her own."

"Joining the Women's League means organized action; that is what is desperately needed." Women's League members agreed. "No worker, whether she is a domestic or not, can win by herself the higher wages and shorter hours that we all must have," one woman said. The main reason that this is true, the woman said, not only in Monroe but all over the country, is that **the White bosses are organized.**

"They have their Citizen's Councils, or the Bi-Racial Councils with which they try to fool us, and what's worse they have the government and its "Unemployment Security Commission." a League member explained.

A woman told us that she knows of deals that have been made between the Commission and white employers so any domestic worker who is given a job through the Commission will be paid $3 a day or even less! The Commission even hoodwinks some people into working for as little as $11 for a five-day week.

The point the League makes is that if the white bosses are organized, **the women must organize in return.** No other solution is possible because no other will work.

The woman who has been trying to get a job at Allen Overall had a few suggestions. The personnel manager at the company told her that she really shouldn't try to get a job there because people would "expect the impossible of her" since she would be the only Negro there. Her answer is that instead there should be many Negroes working there. This League member foresees two kinds of action to be taken. "I'd like to get lots of Negroes to pass their test, and then we would keep worrying them until they couldn't hold out."

This woman has written to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities in Washington, and she says that if the Committee gets nough complaints pressure may be brought to bear on Allen Overall.

In addition, she proposes that a committee from the League be formed to go to Governor Sanford and demand fair employment practices!

These are just some of the things League members have in mind. That is why they want more and more Negro women to join and take an active part.

Mrs. Simpson has some ideas about winning fair wages and working conditions for domestic workers. She plans large demonstrations as a futher course of action the Women's League will take. "Once we get a demonstration organized, make signs, and march from one end of town to the other, we'll make Mr. Charlie and Miss Ann know we mean what we say," Mrs. Simpson said. "Working for nothing is slavery!"

●

The immediate gain Mrs. Simpson expects from the work of the Women's League is wages in Monroe equal to that domestics get in other North Carolina cities. There are places where the pay is $6 or $7 a day, which the League admits is not so good, but is much better than the rate being paid in Monroe now.

One problem the League sees is that a lot of people would rather sit around and wish for higher wages and shorter hours than work for them."Many people are afraid to speak up, and afraid to stir up trouble," a member told us. "We don't want trouble-we've already got trouble. We just want our rights. The only thing is, that seems to trouble Miss Ann."

The League feels this is a time for all Negro women to realize that this trouble for Miss Ann needs to be stirred up; that they are deprived, robbed, and cheated by the white boss and his councils and commissions.

"We cannot tolerate this indignity any longer; we cannot let the white man decide how he will treat us," a member said. "We must face the fact that it is up to us to bring about the change, not to hope that he will treat us better. This power is in our hands."

Another League member summed it up: "We're not going to take what our parents took. They always said, 'The Lord will provide.' But we say, The Lord gave you good sense, **now use it!"**

AN OPEN LETTER ON THE JOB AHEAD

To the people of Monroe and Union county:

I am talking to two ladies now and from what I have heard it is clear that it is time for us to take part and work together so we can organize a strong group that no one can break—not even the Governor or all the big shots in the White House.

And I say: we the people who are supposed to rule the government—we should start controlling it so that we can get better jobs.

So I say to you my brothers and sisters, let's go all the way to get our Freedom and our civil rights.

I had a job at a saw mill, sometimes up to $70 a week. But I quit it because I knew that I had a better job lying before me.

I am writing this for you whom we haven't gotten in touch with yet. In the near future we hope to get in touch with you; that way our movement will grow.

It has been said that a great deal of people follow rich folks. Let me say this, my brothers and sisters: those men are out for themselves. They have nice homes and cars. But are they helping you? The answer is: "No!" Why follow someone who is out for himself? Help yourself!

Then there is the question: where do the jobs come from? But I know that if we press hard enough we will get jobs in factories, stores and other places.

But we can't get these jobs if we don't stick together. So I use an old slogan used by Abe Lincoln years ago: "together we stand, divided we fall."

I say to the sharecroppers and tenant farmers: you know your biggest problems and so do we. If we join together we can solve them. This is true also for domestic workers.

Let us all unite and fight for Freedom, Jobs and Justice.

Sincerely,
James Barrett

The Beauty Box
707 Winchester Av.
dial - 283 - 5287
Managers
Miss H. Campbell
Mrs. L. Vinson
Operators
Miss J. Wentz
Miss R. Morrow
Mrs. T. Williams

YES, I WANT FREEDOM, JOBS, AND JUSTICE

☐ I am interested in the Union County Women's League.
☐ I am interested in the Monroe Youth Action Committee.
☐ I am interested in the classes in Negro History and current events.
☐ I am interested in the Progressive Farm Workers League.
☐ I want to help the movement for Freedom, Jobs, and Justice. Tell me what I can do.

Check the items you are interested in. Mail or bring to: Freedom House.

605 Brown Street
MONROE, N. C.

My name is.....

My address is.....

file N.C. Reg. data

JUL 17 1963

FREEDOM

605 Brown Street
Monroe, North Carolina

July 15, 1963

Dear friend,

Enclosed is the first issue of FREEDOM, which we are publishing in Monroe, North Carolina. To the best of our knowledge, this is the only publication of its kind in the South today.

FREEDOM was founded because of the need for an organ for the movement in Union county; a movement designed not merely to protest, but to create a better life for the Negro community through independent political action.

We are sending you this first issue for three reasons. First, we want you to know that Monroe still exists; we want you to know what is happening here. Second, we want to improve the paper, and we would like you to help us do this. If you can spare the time, we will appreciate receiving any comments and criticisms you care to make that will help improve the content and appearance of FREEDOM. Third, we need money to contimue publication, which we intend to do. If we sell a copy to every Negro family in Monroe (and we have done just about that in the last two days) we still do not make enough to pay the printing bill. Advertising makes up part of the deficit, but some still remains. Any help we can get in making up this deficit is a direct contribution to bettering the way of life for the Negro community in Monroe. We are asking you to help us in this effort.

We trust that we can count on your cooperation. We are looking for your contribution--in criticism and in cash.

Yours for freedom,

Editorial Board, FREEDOM

Bob Apter
Richard Crowder
James Barrett
Edward Lemansky
Jake Rosen

P.S. Checks should be made payable to Jake Rosen.

State of North Carolina

Department of State

Raleigh

THAD EURE
SECRETARY OF STATE

E. S. ESKRIDGE
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE
CLYDE SMITH, JR.
CORPORATIONS ATTORNEY
R. F. JOHNSTON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS
WM. W. COPPEDGE
SECURITIES DEPUTY

Rec'd 7-26-63

July 25, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

In reply to your letter of July 23, I regret to advise that the information you requested is not available for this State.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

THAD EURE
Secretary of State

CS:jc

Reg. Data
North Carolina
4- ~~Others Bid~~

file North Carolina V-R data

WILLIAM JOSLIN
CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND C. MAXWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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October 14,1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
P.O. Box 564
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

You asked me over the telephone today for an interpretation of the registration provisions of G.S. 163-31 relating to the days that the registration books are required to be open for the registration of voters prior to an election. That section provides that the books shall be open on the fourth Saturday before a primary or election and close on the second Saturday before such election, and that the registrars shall attend the polling places for the purpose of registering voters on the fourth, third and second Saturdays, and on other days during the week during this period the registration books must be kept open by the registrars at their home or place of business. This does not include Sundays. This confirms the information I gave you over the telephone today.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Maxwell

R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary

RCM:m

Note:

This, of course, means that we will have thirteen (13) days for registration when the governor sets the date for the election on the school bond issue.

We have good reason to believe that this election will be called for some time in late November or early December.

Randolph T. Blackwell

file N.C. V-R data

NORTH CAROLINA

CHAIRMEN COUNTY BOARDS OF ELECTIONS - NOVEMBER 1963

Alamance	H. Clay Hemric, Burlington
Alexander	Mrs. Harold Price, Taylorsville
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Avery	R. T. Lewis, Minneapolis
Beaufort	Mrs. Andrew J. Taylor, W. 13th St., Washington
Bertie	vacant
Bladen	Herbert Sasser, Rt. #1, Elizabethtown
Brunswick	H. Foster Mintz, Bolivia
Buncombe	Clyde W. Bradley, Room 313 Court House, Asheville
Burke	Carl P. Giles, 108 Woodbine Terrace, Morganton
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Carteret	Charles C. Willis, Morehead City
Caswell	W. D. McMullen, Yanceyville
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Chowan	P. S. McMullan, Edenton
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Currituck	Edwin F. Morgan, Shawboro
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Davidson	Thurman Briggs, Box 329, Lexington
Davie	Dr. Ramey F. Kemp, Mocksville
Duplin	J. M. Smith, Chinquapin
Durham	Sigmund Meyer, 320 Wachovia Bank Bldg., Durham
Edgecombe	George M. Britt, Tarboro
Forsyth	Richard G. Badgett, Room 10 Court House, Winston-Salem
Franklin	Taylor W. Boone, Rt. #4, Louisburg

Gaston	Mack Davis, Court House Office, Gastonia (Box 231)
Gates	Willis P. Taylor, Gatesville
Graham	Herve Cody, Robbinsville
Granville	John N. Watkins, Jr., Oxford
Greene	James H. Potter, Snow Hill
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Halifax	W. D. Harden, Scotland Neck
Harnett	Dougald McRae, Lillington
Haywood	Charles Beall, Box 387, Canton
Henderson	Mack Aiken, Hendersonville
Hertford	P. B. Woodley, Pembroke Ave., Ahoskie
Hyde	Fred A. Mason, Swan Quarter
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Jones	W. F. Hill, Trenton
Lee	W. H. Ray, Box 908 Sanford
Lenoir	F. E. Wallace, Jr., Kinston
Lincoln	J. Robert McNeely, Box 333, Lincolnton
Macon	J. Lee Barnard, Box 69, Franklin
Madison	Roy Freeman, Rt. #5, Marshall
Martin	C. D. Carstarphen, Williamston
McDowell	V. E. Price, Marion
Mecklenburg	Mrs. Samuel C. Hair,710 E. 4thSt., Charlotte
Mitchell	Arthur H. Bailey, Penland
Montgomery	Joe D.Steed, Candor
Moore	Sam C. Riddle, Box 565, Carthage
Nash	Johnny Vick, Box 96, Nashville
New Hanover	Otto K. Pridgen,II., Odd Fellows Bldg., Wilmington
Northampton	Russell H. Johnson, Jr., Conway
Onslow	Fred L. Gore, Box 1182, Jacksonville
Orange	S. T. Latta, Hillsboro
Pamlico	L. C. Brinson, Arapahoe
Pasquotank	Forrest V. Dunstan, Elizabeth City
Pender	W. R. Marshburn, Maple Hill
Perquimans	William L. Tilley, Hertford

Person	Dolian D. Long, Roxboro
Pitt	D.S. Spain, Jr., Greenville
Polk	Walden Thompson, Columbus
Randolph	Walter C.Craven, 139 Law Bldg., Asheboro
Richmond	John H. Yates, Sr., Rockingham
Robeson	William F. French, Box 313, Lumberton
Rockingham	P. D. McMichael, Box 457, Reidsville
Rowan	J. Giles Hudson, Sr., Salisbury
Rutherford	R.E. Price, Rutherfordton
Sampson	J. L. Austin, Clinton
Scotland	Floyd Nichols, Laurinburg
Stanly	Frank B. Patterson, Albemarle
Stokes	Sam L. Lawson, Rt. #2, Mount Airy
Surry	Edward Swanson, Pilot Mountain
Swain	Donald Cooper, Whittier
Transylvania	Ralph Lyday, Brevard
Tyrrell	Henry L. Reynolds,Columbia
Union	J. Burns Simpson, Box 138, Monroe
Vance	George T. Blackburn, Henderson
Wake	C. Woodrow Teague, Box 695, Raleigh
Warren	Wiley G.Coleman, Warrenton
Washington	Herbert R. Chesson, Mackeys
Watauga	R. T. Greer, Boone
Wayne	John B. Hooks, Court House Office, Goldsboro
Wilkes	John E. Walker, Hill Street,North Wilkesboro
Wilson	Robert S. Griffin, Box 1252, Wilson
Yadkin	H. Earl Stryker, Yadkinville
Yancey	T. A. Buchanan, Rt. #1, Burnsville

DEC 13 1963

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

December 6, 1963

Mr. John B. Hooks, Chairman
County Board of Elections
Courthouse Office
Goldsboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hooks:

We are doing research on voter registration in several southern states. A part of our research is to determine the number of persons registered between selected dates in 1963.

Could you tell us how many Negroes, and how many whites were registered in your county between August 26 through September 2 inclusive, and between October 9 and October 23?

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

~~Aug. 26 through Sept. 2~~

JM:js

Aug. 26 through Sept. 2 **None**

Oct. 9 through Oct. 23

Negroes 3
Whites 5

December 6, 1963

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County Board of Elections
Courthouse Office
Goldsboro, North Carolina

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Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

WB
RTB

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
112 NORTH IRWIN AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA 28202

TELEPHONE: 376-6909

Make file N.C. Statewide (first)

DEC 26 1963

December 26,1963

Attorney Wiley A. Branton,Project Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Room 206
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I appreciate your communication of December 21, and we are in North Carolina about to begin a very comprehensive voter registration campaign.

On Saturday,December 28th, I will be in conference with John M. Brooks,Director of the NAACP Voter Registration Committee and in January I will discuss the North Carolina project with John Morsell in New York.

The State Conference Voter Registration Committee will meet on December 28th to complete definite plans concerning the campaign and we will in January submit our plans in detail as requested.

I want to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the leadership you have given the civil rights struggle through the years. I am confident of the fact that the Voter Education Project will be a success under your leadership.

I would like for you to visit and speak in North Carolina when we get the campaign off of the ground.

It is my wish that you and yours had a most enjoyable holiday season and I do wish you a very Happy New Year.Regards to Mr. Blackwell.

Respectfully,

Kelly M. Alexander,President
N.C.State Conference of Branches

KMA:mg

12-28-63

December 21, 1963

Mr. Kelly M. Alexander, President
N.C. Conference of Branches
N.A.A.C.P.
112 North Irwin Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Kelly:

Your letter of December 17, comes as welcome news to us here at the Voter Education Project as we were beginning to wonder when NAACP would start some massive registration campaigns in North Carolina.

As a general rule, we do not enter into financial arrangements with local chapters or state conferences of NAACP but prefer to handle these matters through the national office. If the North Carolina program is going to be organized on a state level, with work going on in several different counties, with some general supervision under the direction of the state conference itself, then it would seem to me that we might possibly make an exception in this case and consider making a grant to the North Carolina Conference of Branches.

The Voter Education Project is not prepared to underwrite the entire cost of all voter registration programs and I am assuming that your state conference will put in some money (and possibly some from your branches) and that the national office will contribute to the cost of this project. I would suggest that you prepare your plans as quickly as possible together with a budget and then determine what assistance NAACP will provide (local, state and national) and then see what you will need from VEP. It might be well for you to discuss all of this with John Brooks before presenting any financial request to us. I am sure we would be

influenced by the wishes of the NAACP national office as to the manner in which any financial support is given.

VEP does not have a Field Secretary who could be made available during your campaign but I am sure that our Field Director, Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, will be pleased to work with you in any way that he can and could possibly arrange his schedule to spend a good bit of his time in North Carolina during the campaign.

In making your plans you should determine exactly when the registration office will be open in each of the counties where you propose to work so that campaigns can be conducted during times when you are certain that people can actually be registered. In submitting these plans to us it is important that you furnish the following information:

1) The counties where you propose to work and the dates of the campaign.

2) Information regarding the dates when registration is possible in each county.

3) Statistics pertaining to the present registration (both Negro and white) in each county and give some indication of the goal you expect to reach in each county, and

4) An overall budget in as much detail as possible including a breakdown by counties as much as possible.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Dr. John Morsell
Mr. John Brooks

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
112 NORTH IRWIN AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA 28202

TELEPHONE: 376-6909

WBB
RTB

FROM: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 17, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project of the
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is to inform you that the North Carolina State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, will sponsor a vigorous state-wide Voter Registration Campaign beginning January 1, 1964.

The campaign is organized within the framework of more than ninety (90) branches throughout the state of North Carolina. We are having a Voter Registration Meeting in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, on Saturday, December 28, 1963 to evaluate the campaign with our branch Voter Registration Committees throughout the state. Our goal is to secure 100,000 Negro voters during 1964.

I would appreciate information concerning the procedure that an NAACP State Conference is to utilize to secure financial assistance. I received a letter from Mrs. Eva M. Clayton of Warrenton, N. C., concerning working in the field of voter registration in Eastern North Carolina. I have written Mrs. Clayton concerning working with the NAACP in some capacity with the NAACP Voter Registration Campaign. I would also like to know if there is any possibility of financial assistance for such a position from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Please inform me as to what extent a Field Secretary from your office, who is assigned to voter registration may be utilized during a campaign. I would appreciate an early reply to this communication.

I wish you and yours a very Merry Christman and a Happy New Year.

Yours truly,

Kelly

Kelly M. Alexander, President
N.C. Conference of Branches
NAACP

KMA:vt

278 new voters

GRENSBORO, N. C. — Officials of the Voter Registration and Political Education Campaign recently announced the addition of 278 persons to the list of eligible voters during the first month of a scheduled three-month drive being conducted in Greensboro and Guilford County, N. C.

Afro-American
12-21-63

CIVIL RIGHTS U.S.A.

Public Schools

Southern States

1963

NORTH CAROLINA

Staff Report Submitted To

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

and Authorized for Publication

March 13, 1964

Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee
419 Hillsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your letter of February 24 describing your voter registration program in Chapel Hill. We wish to commend you for your interest and activity in trying to get the unregistered voters in your area qualified to vote.

I regret to inform you that we do not maintain a supply of materials relating to voter registration and education as we are, primarily, a research organization engaged in making a study of voter registration problems; but we do contribute funds to various organizations with which they may pay for materials, salaries, transportation, etc., relating to a non-partisan registration program.

The American Heritage Foundation (11 W. 42nd St., N.Y.) maintains a number of materials which are quite suitable for voter registration activity, and you might write them for a description of their materials together with a price list.

Our Field Director, Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, has been doing a great bit of field work in North Carolina and I am asking him to get in touch with you at an early date when he is near Chapel Hill in the hope that we

North Carolina Statewide

might be of some assistance to your local effort. In the meantime we would appreciate your keeping us fully informed of your activities and plans.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

Worthy of further exploration

BW
WBL

Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee
419 Hillsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

WB (interesting)

February 24, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee read with considerable interest the Council's news release dated February 12, concerning the progress of your Voter Enrollment Project. The Committee feels that because of the similarity of goals between our respective enrollment projects, you would be interested in the following report.

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee was conceived in mid-December, 1963, out of a pressing need to make Chapel Hill's Negro citizens more active politically. With a small group of energetic, hard-working Negro and white volunteers, the Committee conducted a house-to-house survey and registration drive throughout the Negro communities in the township during the latest registration period. The results of both the canvass and the enrollment drive were, we feel, most gratifying. Of some 1,430 Negro adults contacted twenty-one and older, some 717 were found to be registered. The registration campaign added 122 more new names to the voting lists.

note for Voter Education

The frequency of such comments as "Idon't know what I'm voting for," or "What good is my vote anyway?" has prompted the Committee to organize itself into a permanent registration and education body. We have since divided the township into small units, each of which has a block captain. These block workers are now distributing regularly issued newsletters of objective abstracts of issues and platforms. We believe that these informative abstracts will induce previously inactive citizens to consider becoming a part of the electorate.

Since its inception, the Committee has grown to include over 80 people. Several faculty members from the University of North Carolina, some precinct registrars, ministers, and government and civic leaders have begun to contribute their talents in an effort to make the Committee as effective as possible in its work. Nevertheless, most of us involved in

this type of work are rather inexperienced. Consequently, the Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee would be most appreciative of any materials which the Southern Regional Council might have concerning voter registration and education.

The Committee itself is independent; its personnel and financial basis is local in nature. Accordingly, the Committee has, on occasion, found itself hard-pressed from the monetary standpoint. Although a recent and successful solicitation has temporarily brightened the financial outlook of the Committee, we should also like to inquire about the stipends mentioned in your February 12 newsstory.

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee would be most grateful for any information from you.

Cordially yours,

W. E. Mason III

W. E. Mason III

Edwin Caldwell Jr.

Edwin Caldwell, Jr.

Dodi Donnelly

Dodi Donnelly
(Mrs. Tom G. Donnelly),
Co-chairmen

Charleston

Microfilm Co. No.

SERS Library

CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S. C.)
P B1
Date APR 8 1964

107 New Voters Register At County Office

County voting registrars yesterday signed up 107 new voters — 88 of them white and 19 Negro.

Registration continues today—the final day for this month — at the registration office in Room 125 of County Center. Hours are 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Residence requirements are one year in the state, six months in the county and three months in the precinct.

N.C. Reg.

Edenton

Microfilm Code No.

Suff-NC

SERS Library

RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER (N. C.)

P18

Date APR 8 1964

Stepup Sought For Integration

18

EDENTON—A board of directors meeting was held Tuesday night by officers of the Edenton Integration Movement to decide on a plan of action to intensify integration and voter registration in Edenton.

Voter registration goal is announced as 504 in time for the May primary in Chowan County. The meeting, attended by Golden Frinks and the Rev. Fred LaGarde discussed, among other things, further school integration.

The Rev. LaGarde declared that it will begin with himself as he attempts to register his daughter into the Edenton Elementary School. So far that school has only one Negro pupil.

N.C.-Reg.

WILLIAM JOSLIN
CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND C. MAXWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
RALEIGH, N. C.

MEMBERS
WILLIAM JOSLIN, RALEIGH
WARREN R. WILLIAMS, SANFORD
JOSEPH E. ZAYTOUN, NEW BERN
ROBERT S. EWING, SOUTHERN PINES
C. BRUCE HAWKINS, BRYSON CITY

May 15, 1964

MAY 18 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

Your letter redeived requesting the latest registration figures in each county in this state, and also a racial breakdown if available.

We are sorry we are unable to furnish these figures since we do not have them in this office. The registration for the May 30th primary does not close until tomorrow, May 16th, but even after the close of the registration we doubt that we will be able to get an accurate count since it takes a great deal of time, and the figures are obsolete before they can be obtained.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Maxwell

R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary

RCM:m

Reg. N.C.
Reg. Dir.

Raleigh News-Obs.
5-24-64

New Registrations Bolster Negro Vote

By OLIVER WILLIAMS

Civil rights organizations in the State are counting on a considerably larger bloc of Negro votes than existed in previous election years to play an important role in the outcome of top races in Saturday's Democratic Primary.

The Negro bloc has been bolstered in recent months by an intensive registration campaign. The drive has been successful both in rural eastern counties and in large cities in the rest of the State.

As a result, as many as 30,000 to 40,000 Negroes who were ineligible to vote in 1960 have become potential voters this year, according to Kelly Alexander, State president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

125,000 Votes

Negro leaders are confidently predicting that 125,000 Negroes will vote. Some believe the Negro vote could reach 150,000.

It was estimated that 90,000 voted in 1960 when Terry Sanford defeated I. Beverly Lake. Negro leaders claimed the minority vote payed a decisive role in the outcome of that election.

Alexander said the potential new voters added across the State in a campaign spearheaded by the NAACP have been thoroughly schooled in voting procedures.

"We have not stressed registering but registering to vote," he said.

Other Negro leaders were more specific in stating the objective of the registration drive. The effort is meaningless until results are shown next Saturday, one said.

In 1960, 210,450 Negroes were registered in the State. In the 1964 registration campaign, directed at urban areas and the large concentration of unregistered Negroes in the northeast, civil rights groups say an additional 40,000 may have qualified.

First Months

The Rev. Charles W. Ward of Raleigh, chairman of the statewide drive, said upwards of 20,000 Negroes registered during the first months of the campaign. These mostly were in cities and counties where registration books are open the year round, he said.

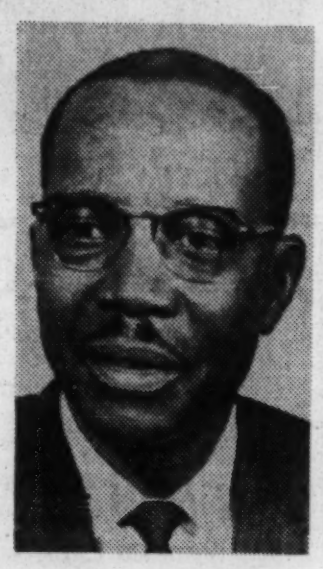
This number, they say, was matched during May when an intense effort was made in the eastern counties. Registration in most eastern counties was confined to the first three Saturdays of the month.

Throughout the east, registrars reported the heaviest registration of both whites and Negroes in many years. In a number of northeastern counties, it was the heaviest ever remembered, except during a complete purge of books requiring all voters to register again.

In Halifax County, where registrars were under a court order to speed up registration and keep books open daily during the final week of the registration period, Negroes were able to more than double the number of qualified Negro voters that had existed on books during preceding years. Halifax, where there has not been a complete new registration for years, had registered only 1,622 Negroes, or slightly less than 14 per cent of potential nonwhite voters.

During the three-week period, 2,022 Negroes were added, raising nonwhite registration to 3,644. Some 15,469 whites are registered, in spite of the fact that Negro population exceeds white in the county.

Negroes were able to actually exceed the white registration in two precincts of the county and bolster nonwhite registration to near whites in several others. The concentration of new Negro registrations in some precincts has made it appear likely that a Negro will be elected to the Halifax County board of education. Voting for board seats is on a district basis. But because of the large white registration that exists over the county, officials there say it is unlikely that a Negro will be elected to an office where voting is countywide, although 11 Negroes are seeking offices.



REV. C. W. WARD
. . . more registering

In Halifax and nearby counties where Negro registration efforts were widely publicized, registrars reported a heavy turnout of whites also. In several counties, now white registration equalled or exceeded Negro registation.

In Halifax, 1,924 whites registered for the first time to nearly offset the 2,022 Negroes.

"Some people 60 and 70 years old who had never registered before came out this time," said elections board chairman Robert Shields.

In Warren County, where Negroes staged a campaign similar to the one in Halifax, 750 qualified to vote. Some 600 white registered for the first time also.

Exceed Whites

New Negro registration exceeded white in Hertford and Bertie counties, where 937 Negroes registered. Whites registering in the two counties totaled 631. In Lenoir County, 1,227 whites registered, compared with 547 Negroes, and in Greene County only 80 of some 250 new registrats were Negro.

An exception to whites offsetting heavy Negro registration occurred in Northampton County. There 1,032 Negroes registered for the first time, while only 80 whites were added.

Negroes in Northampton actually compose a third of the county's potential voters in spite of the fact that the percentage of the white potential registered in 1960 was 108 per cent. This occurred because books have not been purged of dead persons and those that have moved from the county.

The heaviest concentration of Negro registration occurred in nine counties of the Second Congressional Districts. Negroes concentrated on this district because of the large number of non-registered Negroes there.

KELLY ALEXANDER
. . . more voting

In five counties where new registration has been compiled by county elections boards, 4,431 Negroes registered for the first time. In the same counties, (Greene, Halifax, Lenoir, Northampton and Warren), 4,099 whites registered.

New Registration

These figures exclude Vance County where there was a complete new registration. In that county, 7,419 whites registered and 2,081 nonwhites.

New registration was not available in other counties of the district.

Negro leaders at the voter registration headquartrs in Raleigh have compiled figures for other areas of the State showing heavy registration in urban areas. Among them are 6,000 Negroes who have registered in the Greensboro area since the drive began in January, 2,500 in the New Bern area and 2,500 during a new registration at Rocky Mount.

Figures released by the Wake County Board of Elections shows 2,874 Negroes added to registration books since January 1. Total Wake registration now includes 57,625 whites and 11,226 Negroes.

New registration in Durham included about 985 in predominantly Negro wards in a 4,300 new registration for the entire city.

Heavy Negro registration and voter activities are being viewed as a drive that could increase considerably the total vote cast in the Primary and General Election. Elections officials, particularly in the northeastern counties, are anticipating a heavy vote not only by Negroes but by whites as well.

Note Offset

In fact, most feel that the increase in the Negro vote will be offset by an increase in the number of whites who normally cast ballots.

Heavy voting could be stimulated more by races for local offices than those for statewide posts. Negroes have filed for offices in at least five northeast counties.

In addition to county posts, Negroes are running for seats in the State Legislature in Warren, Vance, and Halifax counties. A Negro is seeking a State Senate seat in he Eighth District which includes Warren and Halifax.

WILLIAM JOSLIN
CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND C. MAXWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
RALEIGH, N. C.

MEMBERS
WILLIAM JOSLIN, RALEIGH
WARREN R. WILLIAMS, SANFORD
JOSEPH E. ZAYTOUN, RALEIGH
C. BRUCE HAWKINS, BRYSON CITY
HIRAM H. WARD, DENTON

November 2, 1964

NOV 3 1964

JM

Mrs. Jane Bond Moore
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Your letter received this morning advising that you would like to have an official list of registered voters in North Carolina, by race and by county, and if unavailable, an estimate of the total number of voters in the state.

The estimated total registration in this state is approximately two million, ~~two~~ hundred thousand, which is the only figure we are in position to furnish at this time.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Maxwell

R. C. Maxwell
Executive Secretary

RCM:m

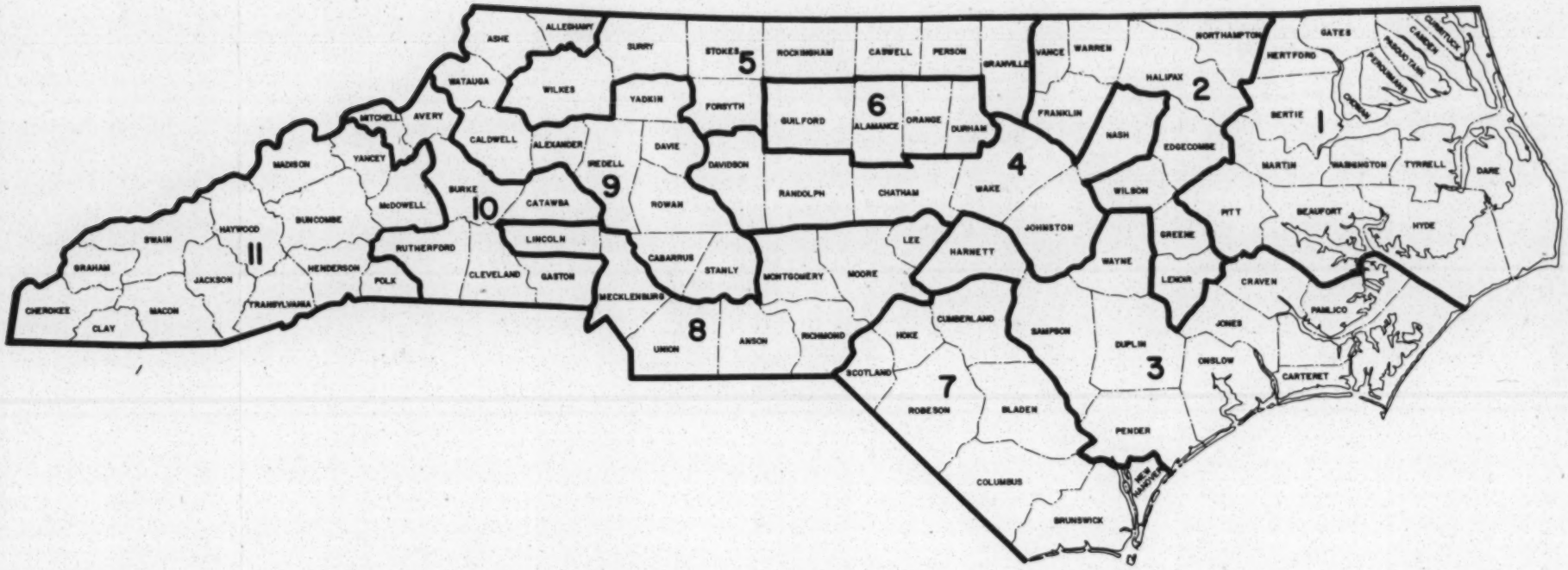
file N.C. Reg. data

1961 REDISTRICTING

FOR

The State's Eleven Congressional Districts

(CH. 864—N. C. SESSION LAWS—1961)



ADDENDUM

Pages 134—135
1961 N. C. Manual

The Office Of
THAD EURE
SECRETARY OF STATE

POPULATION AND REGISTRATION STATISTICS FOR NORTH CAROLINA BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

County	Whites over 21	Negroes over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
District No. 1				
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	16,212	3,319
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,915	187
Chowan	3,825	2,507	3,465	550
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,739	177
Dare	3,467	237	3,725	75
Gates	2,714	2,344	2,654	351
Hertford	5,606	6,102	6,415	537
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,949	173
Martin	8,052	5,683	8,040	1,253
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	7,527	1,894
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	3,559	610
Pitt	22,621	13,575	23,441	2,520
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,976	298
Washington	4,365	2,643	4,700	600

County	Whites over 21	Negroes over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
District No. 2				
Bertie	6,156	6,261	6,242	713
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	11,129	1,787
Greene	4,793	3,268	4,882	385
Halifax	16,496	13,766	15,406	1,954
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	14,603	2,220
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,700	1,300
Warren	4,439	5,490	6,123	881
Wilson	20,566	10,770	14,256	2,662
District No. 3				
Carteret	16,030	1,932	16,620	812
Craven	22,994	8,242	10,950	2,150
Duplin	14,477	6,955	14,923	1,539
Jones	3,248	2,251	3,336	562
Onslow	33,988	5,015	13,574	1,303
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	4,017	442
Pender	5,631	4,085	6,240	889
Sampson	17,378	8,203	23,790	5,726
Wayne	29,349	15,754	18,779	3,165

County	Whites over 21	Negroes over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
District No. 4				
Chatham	11,227	4,026	12,062	800
Franklin	9,842	5,554	8,600	1,600
Johnston	28,259	6,395	43,883	4,252
Nash	21,761	10,573	25,914	2,015
Randolph	33,477	2,591	34,000	1,000
Vance	11,005	6,520	13,912	1,526
Wake	76,799	22,856	53,625	6,576
District No. 5				
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,177	1,240
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	73,992	14,798
Granville	11,584	6,996	8,550	1,487
Person	9,994	4,227	10,098	2,042
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	19,250	4,800
Stokes	11,786	1,025	13,574	562
Surry	26,796	1,423	27,042	469
District No. 6				
Alamance	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801
Durham	47,098	19,475	46,213	13,201
Guilford	116,748	27,292	81,816	10,296
Orange	19,385	4,978	13,988	1,510

County	Whites over 21	Negroes over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
District No. 7				
Bladen	9,173	5,147	8,277	954
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	9,900	2,100
Columbus	17,830	7,382	14,185	2,992
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	25,173	5,097
Harnett	20,061	6,150	12,207	600
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	31,421	7,353
Robeson	20,851	21,424	25,537	11,994
District No. 8				
Anson	7,847	5,218	7,600	600
Davidson	41,462	4,491	42,385	2,484
Davie	8,898	1,080	8,475	669
Hoke	3,998	3,747	4,454	650
Lee	12,041	2,803	9,267	947
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	9,988	812
Moore	15,733	4,803	17,022	1,750
Richmond	16,019	5,514	14,349	1,793
Scotland	7,812	4,686	11,903	1,045
Union	20,044	4,423	15,582	2,098
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	27,116	1,374
Yadkin	13,039	576	11,480	1,314

County	Whites over 21	Negroes over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
District No. 9				
Alexander	8,370	506	8,300	200
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,458	54
Ashe	11,276	115	12,293	67
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	27,067	1,019
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	26,150	1,181
Iredell	31,094	5,517	31,180	3,106
Rowan	42,866	7,209	47,074	4,798
Stanly	22,056	2,164	24,625	1,500
Watauga	9,639	126	9,535	65
District No. 10				
Avery	6,507	124	7,507	68
Burke	29,506	1,921	38,000	2,000
Catawba	38,542	3,296	45,312	2,670
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	14,068	978
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	96,074	14,729
Mitchell	7,977	29	6,127	13

County	Whites over 21	Negroes over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
District No. 11				
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	29,239	1,792
Gaston	64,154	8,365	72,671	4,954
McDowell	14,693	755	20,095	785
Madison	9,574	75	12,200	200
Polk	6,104	766	10,103	705
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	24,500	1,050
Yancey	7,856	76	6,935	51
District No. 12				
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	53,036	4,523
Cherokee	9,102	226	7,450	100
Clay	3,112	37	3,471	35
Graham	3,324	125	4,025	0
Haywood	23,055	500	24,889	329
Henderson	21,062	1,170	33,838	629
Jackson	9,227	841	8,570	1,531
Macon	8,573	180	9,045	55
Swain	3,878	756	4,650	150
Transylvania	8,687	405	11,435	478

NORTH CAROLINA REGISTRATION AND POPULATION STATISTICS

County	Whites over 21	Neg. over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
1. ALAMANCE	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801
2. ALEXANDER	8,370	506	8,300	200
3. ALLEGHANY	4,588	119	6,458	54
4. ANSON	7,847	5,218	7,600	600
5. ASHE	11,276	115	12,293	67
6. AVERY	6,507	124	7,507	68
7. BEAUFORT	13,737	6,196	16,212	3,319
8. BERTIE	6,156	6,261	6,242	713
9. BLADEN	9,173	5,147	8,277	954
10. BRUNSWICK	7,602	3,170	9,900	2,100
11. BUNCOMBE	72,249	8,510	53,036	4,523
12. BURKE	29,506	1,921	38,000	2,000
13. CABARRUS	35,165	5,380	27,067	1,019
14. CALDWELL	25,520	1,723	26,150	1,181
15. CAMDEN	1,988	1,054	1,915	187
16. CARTERET	16,030	1,932	16,620	812
17. CASWELL	6,026	4,129	5,177	1,240
18. CATAWBA	38,542	3,296	45,312	2,670
19. CHATHAM	11,227	4,026	12,062	800
20. CHEROKEE	9,102	226	7,450	100
21. CHOWAN	3,825	2,507	3,465	550
22. CLAY	3,112	37	3,471	35
23. CLEVELAND	30,356	6,474	29,239	1,792

County	Whites over	Neg. over	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
24. COLUMBUS	17,830	7,382	14,185	2,992
25. CRAVEN	22,994	8,242	10,950	2,150
26. CUMBERLAND	58,279	18,789	25,173	5,097
27. CURRITUCK	2,845	1,076	2,739	177
28. DARE	3,467	237	3,725	75
29. DAVIDSON	41,462	4,491	42,385	2,484
30. DAVIE	8,898	1,080	8,475	669
31. DUPLIN	14,477	6,955	14,923	1,539
32. DURHAM	47,098	19,475	46,213	13,201
33. EDGECOMBE	15,515	12,330	11,129	1,787
34. FORSYTH	87,219	24,952	73,992	14,798
35. FRANKLIN	9,842	5,554	8,600	1,600
36. GASTON	64,154	8,365	72,671	4,954
37. GATES	2,714	2,344	2,654	351
38. GRAHAM	3,324	125	4,025	0
39. GRANVILLE	11,584	6,996	8,550	1,487
40. GREENE	4,793	3,268	4,882	385
41. GUILFORD	116,748	27,292	81,816	10,296
42. HALIFAX	16,496	13,766	15,406	1,954
43. HARNETT	20,061	6,150	12,207	600
44. HAYWOOD	23,055	500	24,889	329
45. HENDERSON	21,062	1,170	33,838	629
46. HERTFORD	5,606	6,102	6,415	537
47. HOKE	3,998	3,747	4,454	650
48. HYDE	2,201	1,100	1,949	173

County	Whites over 21	Neg. Over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
49. IREDELL	31,094	5,517	31,180	3,106
50. JACKSON	9,227	841	8,570	1,531
51. JOHNSTON	28,259	6,395	43,883	4,252
52. JONES	3,248	2,251	3,336	562
53. LEE	12,041	2,803	9,267	947
54. LENOIR	19,260	10,293	14,603	2,220
55. LINCOLN	14,893	1,546	14,068	978
56. McDOWELL	14,693	755	20,095	785
57. MACON	8,573	180	9,045	55
58. MADISON	9,574	75	12,200	200
59. MARTIN	8,052	5,683	8,040	1,253
60. MECKLENBURG	123,787	34,150	96,074	14,729
61. MITCHELL	7,977	29	6,127	13
62. MONTGOMERY	8,119	2,075	9,988	812
63. MOORE	15,733	4,803	17,022	1,750
64. NASH	21,761	10,573	25,914	2,015
65. NEW HANOVER	31,641	10,569	31,421	7,353
66. NORTHAMPTON	6,178	7,304	6,700	1,300
67. ONSLOW	33,988	5,015	13,574	1,303
68. ORANGE	19,385	4,978	13,988	1,510
69. PAMLICO	3,708	1,593	4,017	442
70. PASQUOTANK	9,409	4,936	7,527	1,894
71. PENDER	5,631	4,085	6,240	889
72. PERQUIMANS	3,083	2,027	3,559	610
73. PERSON	9,994	4,227	10,098	2,042

County	Whites over 21	Neg. Over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
74. PITT	22,621	13,575	23,441	2,520
75. POLK	6,104	766	10,103	705
76. RANDOLPH	33,477	2,591	34,000	1,000
77. RICHMOND	16,019	5,514	14,349	1,793
78. ROBESON	20,851	21,424	25,537	11,994
79. ROCKINGHAM	33,438	7,398	19,250	4,800
80. ROWAN	42,866	7,209	47,074	4,798
81. RUTHERFORD	24,020	2,572	24,500	1,050
82. SAMPSON	17,378	8,203	23,790	5,726
83. SCOTLAND	7,812	4,686	11,903	1,045
84. STANLY	22,056	2,164	24,625	1,500
85. STOKES	11,786	1,025	13,574	562
86. SURRY	26,796	1,423	27,042	469
87. SWAIN	3,878	756	4,650	150
88. TRANSYLVANIA	8,687	405	11,435	478
89. TYRRELL	1,597	849	1,976	298
90. UNION	20,044	4,423	15,582	2,098
91. VANCE	11,005	6,520	13,912	1,526
92. WAKE	76,799	22,856	53,625	6,576
93. WARREN	4,439	5,490	6,123	881
94. WASHINGTON	4,365	2,643	4,700	600
95. WATAUGA	9,639	126	9,535	65
96. WAYNE	29,349	15,754	18,779	3,165
97. WILKES	23,779	1,444	27,116	1,374
98. WILSON	20,566	10,770	14,256	2,662

County	Whites over 21	Neg. over 21	Whites Registered	Negroes Registered
99. YADKIN	13,039	576	11,480	1,314
100. YANCEY	7,856	76	6,935	51
			1,861,430	210,450

100

NAA:

Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Fayetteville, Elz - City, Pasquotank
Wake, Durham, Mecklenburg

Rocky Mt. - Edenton - Wilmington
NASH-EDGECOMB CHOWAN NEW HANOVER

Chowan, Pasquotank, Bertie, Hertford, Northampton = 23782
SCLC ~~Chowan city - Camden city~~, Eliz. City - final 2000.00

NUL winston-salem
FORSYTH 26412 - 11614 - 15.5 - 1565.50

74583

Bertie	6629	5916
Anson		
Caswell		
Gates		
Greene		
Halifax	14644	12690
Hertford	6439	5902
Hoke		
Jones		
Martin		
Northampton	7781	6481
Pender		
Perquimans		
Warren	5774	4893

NAA.	Pasquotank	3402	
	Camden	9.25	28.6
	Perquimans	2402	2688.60
	Gates	2163	
	Hertford	5902	
	Northampton	6481	21355
SCLC	Chowan	2091	
	Bertie	5916	55.7
	Martin	4765	
	Edgecombe	11259	6325.70
	Halifax	12690	
	Warren	4893	1614

Wake	17694		
Mecklenburg	21464		
Pasquotank	3482	1.3 - 434.30	
Nash	9298		686.80
Edgecombe	11259		
Chowan	2091	2.5 - 252.50	
New Hanover	3677		
Forsyth	11614	14.4 - 1654.40	
	98,878		

SRC Exp Checked
Aug 7, 1963

15.7
47.6
3709

OFFICE: RAYMOND 2-8397 RESIDENCE: TULIP 4-9982

JOHN H. WRIGHTEN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
230 COMING STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

WBV
JM

September 30, 1963

OCT 1 1963

Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please find enclosed copy of the Complaint as requested.

This matter is still pending in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina.

As you know, the people in Williamsburg County are in dire need of financial assistance in this matter. We have estimated that this law suit will cost in the neighborhood of $3,000.00 to $5,000.00. If there is any assistance forth coming from any organizations that are interested in this matter, please contact and solicit support on our behalf.

You no doubt know that this is one of the worst areas in South Carolina, and we could appreciate any help your office or any other organization can give us.

Thank you, I remain

Very truly yours,

John H. Wrighten

John H. Wrighten

JHW/ams

Enclosure: 1

Resistance
South Carolina
(Pink)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE
EASTERN DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA

FLORENCE DIVISION

JOHN H. WILSON, ALMA MAE WILSON ROSA WILSON, MABLE RICH AND LILA P. NELSON, Plaintiffs, -versus- FANNIE D. SULLIVAN, ALBERT ARD, RUTH McCLARY, as members of the Board of Registration for Williamsburg County, Defendants.	COMPLAINT CIVIL ACTION NO._____

FIRST: (a) The Jurisdiction of this Honorable Court is invoked under Title 28, U.S.C.A. Section 1331, this being an action which arises under the Constitution and Laws of the United States, via Fourteenth Amendment and Fifteenth Amendment of the said Constitution of the United States and the laws of the United States namely, Title 42, U.S.C.A., Section 1981 as hereinafter more fully appears. The matter in controversy exceeds exclusive interest and costs, the sum or value of $10,000.00 Dollars.

W+C

(b) Jurisdiction of this Court is also invoked under Title 28, U.S.C.A., Section 1343. This being a suit in equity authorized by law to be brought to redress the deprivation under color of law, statute, regulation, custom and usage of a State of rights, privileges and immunities secured by the Constitution of the United States providing for equal rights for Citizens and for all other persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, as hereinafter more fully appears.

SECOND: (a) Plaintiffs show further that this is a proceeding for a Declaratory Judgment and injunction under Title 28, United Code, Section 2201 for the purpose of determining a question in actual controversy between the parties to wit: WHETHER THE PRACTICE OF THE DEFENDANTS IN DENYING PLAINTIFFS AND OTHER NEGROES SIMILARLY SITUATED, ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR RACE AND COLOR, THE RIGHT TO REGISTER IN WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY, CONSTITUTES A DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PLAINTIFFS AND OTHER NEGROES SIMILARLY SITUATED THE EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION?

(b) Plaintiffs further show that this is a proceeding for a Declaratory Judgment under Title 28, United States Code Section 2201 and Section 2202 and Rule 57 of the Rules of Civil Procedure of the District Court of the United States and for the purposes of determining a question of actual Controversy by and between the parties to wit: WHETHER THE PRACTICE OF THE DEFENDANTS IN DENYING PLAINTIFFS, AND OTHER NEGROES SIMILARLY SITUATED, ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR RACE AND COLOR, THE RIGHT TO REGISTER IN WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY, CONSTITUTES A DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PLAINTIFFS AND OTHER NEGROES SIMILARLY SITUATED; THE EQUAL PROTECTION AND DUE PROCESS UNDER THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, AND THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES?

THIRD: The jurisdiction of this Court is also invoked under Title 28, United States Code, Section 1343, this being a suit in equity authorized to be brought for the deprivation under color of law, statute, regulation, custom usage of the States rights, privileges and immunities secured by the Constitution of the United States via Section 1981 and Section 1983 of Title 42 of the United States Code and the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the right of suffrage for all citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside and prohibits the denial of these rights on account of race, color or previous condition or servitude.

W & C. 2

FOURTH: All parties to this action are residents and citizens domiciled of Kingstree, Williamsburg County, State of South Carolina and the United States.

FIFTH: This is a class action authorized pursuant to Rule 23 (a) of the Rule of Civil Procedure, District Court of the United States. The rights herein involved are of common and general interest to the member of the class represented by the Plaintiffs, namely Negro Citizens, who are residents of Williamsburg County, State of South Carolina and the United States, who have been denied the right to register in Williamsburg County, in the same manner as white persons of Williamsburg County. These members of the class are so numerous as to make it impractical to bring them all before the Court and for this reason, the Plaintiffs prosecutes this action in and on behalf of the class which they

represent without specifically making the said members thereof, individual Plaintiffs.

SIXTH: The Plaintiffs, John H. Wilson, Alma Mae Wilson, Rosa Wilson, Mable Rich and Lila P. Nelson, all citizens of the State of South Carolina, and of the United States are residents domiciled in the City of Kingstree and County of Williamsburg and State of South Carolina. They are now over the age of twenty-one (21) and are tax payers of the City of Kingstree and County of Williamsburg, State of South Carolina, and of the United States.

SEVENTH: The Defendants, Fannie D. Sullivan, Albert Ard and Ruth McClary are the duly appointed members of the Registration Board of the County of Williamsburg, State of South Carolina, and are charged with supervising, maintaining and registering individuals who present themselves to the Board of Registrars and who meet the qualifications set out in the 1962 Code of Laws of South Carolina, under Title 23 Chapter 2, Section 23-68, of the 1962 Code of Laws of South Carolina.

W.R.C. -3

EIGHTH: That the Defendants are appointed, qualified members of the Board of Registration for Williamsburg County, and as such, the instrumentality of the State of South Carolina and Williamsburg County, with authority to maintain, supervise, control and operate the Voter Registration Board of Williamsburg County, under authority vested in them, pursuant to Title 23 Chapter 2, Section 23-51 through 23-55 of the 1962 Code of Laws of South Carolina.

NINTH: All of the Defendants are being sued in their individual, official and representative capacities as such.

TENTH: That on June 3, 1963, or on some date prior thereto, the Plaintiffs herein named presented themselves to the Registration Board to secure a Registration Certificate, but they were denied the privilege to register, solely because of their race and color, while at the same time White persons were permitted to register without any difficulties whatsoever; that on the same date, approximately 209 Negroes presented themselves to the Registration Board to register, and from the time the board opened for business at 9:00 a.m., or sometimes shortly thereafter only 12 or 14 Negroes were permitted to register from 9:00 a.m. to

5:00 p.m. that, heretofore, to wit: the Plaintiffs herein, all members of the Negro race, made applications to become qualified voters, but the said applications were denied by the Board of Registrars without giving the reason therefore and without writing a concise statement on the back of the application forms as required by Title 23 Chapter 2 Section 23-69 (4) of the 1962 Code of Laws of South Carolina in that said Section requires that a concise statement be written on the application to show the reason why the applicants applications were rejected by the Board of Registrars.

ELEVENTH: That over a period of years, several conferences with the Board of Registration were sought by the local Negroes of Williamsburg County, but the said Board refused to meet and discuss the voting problems with the local Negroes of said area. Although the Plaintiff and others have attempted to converse with the officials of Williamsburg County in regards to registration, and, more particularly, the Board of Voter Registration, such efforts have been unavailing.

W&C. 4

TWELFTH: That on July 1, 1963, again approximately 200 Negroes presented themselves to the Registration Board of said County and 96 were permitted to process application for registration and only 65 were qualified according to the Board of Registration of Williamsburg County. That this was the first time in many years that as many as 65 Negroes were permitted to register at a given time. During the month of July 1963, the Registration Board of Williamsburg County was requested under the law and by the authority vested in them under, Title 23 Chapter 2, Section 23-65.1, of the 1962 Code of Laws of South Carolina; to grant additional days to the Negroes of Williamsburg County to register. This was done, by, through and on behalf on the Williamsburg County Voters League, an organization now composed solely of Negroes, that neither the organization nor its representatives received any reply from the Board of Registration; that the Defendants have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying qualified Negro applicants the equal protection of the laws by refusing to admit them to become qualified voters or electors of Williamsburg County, and that this being done solely because of race and color and have continued the policy of refusing

to permit qualified Negro applicants to register to vote in Williamsburg County while at the same time admitting Whites with equal or less qualifications as Negro applicants, the right to register solely on account of race and color. That out of 13,000 White persons approximately 7,500 are registered voters and out of 27,000 Negro persons, approximately 500 are registered voters; it can be shown from the number of white persons registered in this County and the number of Negroes registered in this County, that the Board of Registration for this County has over a period of years systematically exclude, discriminated against and refuse to admit Negroes to register in Williamsburg County, solely on account of their race and color, which is violative of the Fourteenth And Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. That if the Board only allow 65 Negroes to register once per month on registration days, it would take approximately six (6) years including a general election year when the registration book is permitted to remain open several months; it would take six (6) years to register 7,500 Negroes, wherein 7,500 white persons have already been permitted to register in Williamsburg County by the Board of Registration in a much shorter period of time. It can be clearly shown from the acts of the Board in the pass on registering Negroes and Whites, that the procedure used by the Board is highly discriminatory, unjust, unfair, undemocratic and highly prejudicial against Negroes; All in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Plaintiffs herein are informed and believe that the Board of Registration does not require White persons to submit themselves to any testing whatsoever, and, if they do, it is not the same test administered to Negro applicants. Plaintiffs further believes that White persons do not have to come to the Registration Board and stand in line to register in the same manner as Negro Applicants must do in order to obtain a registration certificate; that these discriminatory practices on the part of the Board of Registration is in violation of Equal Protection and Due Process of Law guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

W+C.
5

Plaintiffs and those similarly situated, on whose behalf this suit is brought, are suffering irreparable injuries and are threatened with irreparable injuries in the future, by reason of the acts herein complained of, and will continue to suffer if this Honorable Court does not grant the relief prayed for, they have no plain, adequate or complete remedy other than this suit for an injunction and Declaratory Judgment. Any other remedy to the Plaintiffs and those similarly situated, if could be granted, remitted would be attended by such uncertainties and delays as to deny substantial relief and would involve a multiplicity of suits, vexations and inconveniences not only to the Plaintiffs and other similarly situated but to Defendants and governmental agencies.

WHEREFORE, PLAINTIFFS PRAY:

FIRST: THAT PROPER PROCESS ISSUE AND THAT THIS CAUSE BE ADVANCED UPON THE DOCKET.

SECOND: THAT THE COURT ADJUDGE, DECREE AND DECLARE THE RIGHTS AND LEGAL RELATIONS OF THE PARTIES TO THE SUBJECT MATTER HEREIN CONTROVERSY IN ORDER THAT SUCH DECLARATION SHALL HAVE THE FORCE AND EFFECT OF A FINAL ORDER OR DECREE.

N.F.C. -F

THIRD: THAT THE COURT ENTER A JUDGMENT AND DECLARE THAT THE POLICY, CUSTOM, USAGE AND PRACTICE OF THE DEFENDANTS IN REFUSING TO PERMIT NEGROES TO REGISTER, WHILE PERMITTING WHITE PERSONS TO DO SO WITHOUT QUESTION, SOLELY ON ACCOUNT OF RACE AND COLOR, IS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDEMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

FOURTH: THAT THIS COURT ISSUE A PERMANENT INJUNCTION FOREVER RESTRAINING THE DEFENDANTS AND EACH OF THEM OF THEIR SUCCESSORS IN OFFICE FROM DENYING TO THE PLAINTIFFS AND OTHER NEGROES SIMILARLY SITUATED IN WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY, THE RIGHT TO REGISTER, SOLELY BECAUSE OF THEIR RACE AND COLOR.

FIFTH: PLAINTIFFS PRAY THAT THIS HONORABLE COURT APPOINT A FEDERAL REGISTRAR THAT WOULD SEE TO IT THAT QUALIFIED NEGRO APPLICANTS ARE PERMITTED TO REGISTER IN THE SAME MANNER AS ANY OTHER RACIAL GROUP OR NATIONALITY IN WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY.

SIXTH: PLAINTIFFS PRAY THAT THEY MAY HAVE COSTS AND ATTORNEYS FEE FOR BRINGING THIS CAUSE OF ACTION.

SEVENTH: PLAINTIFFS PRAY THAT ALL OF THE INDIVIDUAL APPLICANTS, MEMBERS OF THE NEGRO RACE WHO WERE DENIED THE RIGHT TO REGISTER SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF THEIR RACE AND COLOR AND THAT THERE WERE NO CONCISE STATEMENT, WRITTEN ON THE APPLICATIONS TO SHOW OR TO INDICATE THE REASON WHY THEIR APPLICATIONS WERE REJECTED, AND THEREFORE, THIS HONORABLE COURT SHOULD ADJUDGE AND DECLARE THESE INDIVIDUALS TO BE LEGAL AND QUALIFIED ELECTORS AND VOTERS OF THE COUNTY OF WILLIAMSBURG, BASED ON THE FAILURE OF THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS TO COMPLY WITH TITLE 23, CHAPTER 2, SECTION 23-69 (4) OF THE 1962 CODE OF LAWS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

WRIGHTEN & CAIN
Attorneys for Plaintiffs
113 Jackson Street
Kingstree, South Carolina

John H. Wrighten

JOHN H. WRIGHTEN
230 COMING STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Frank E. Cain Jr.

FRANK E. CAIN
BENNETTSVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

DATED: Aug. 13, 1963.

file S.C. Reint.

Palmetto Education Association, Inc.

Office of the Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Telephone: ALpine 2-9383

Hudson L. Barksdale, President
331 N. Dean Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

December 6, 1962

Rec'd 12-7-62

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research, SRC
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

On Saturday, December 1, I talked with some of the persons that gave me information on voting identity. These persons said they were simply told that it was known how they voted. They were not threatened with loss of jobs, but to know that a public employee, particularly your superior, knew how you voted was shocking enough.

I have not talked with any persons from Lee County who have been personally involved with the invisible ink business. Those contacted made comments the same as the other persons. They did not know how individuals could tell them the candidates they voted for.

If I find out how the ink was used I will be glad to let you know. We may have to wait until the court hearing.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon,
Executive Secretary

WES/bfb

SPECIFIC LOCAL GOALS

1. Appointment of a bi-racial Committee with a view to ending racial discrimination and segregation.

2. Removal of all signs indicating racial segregation in public buildings, and stories.

3. Desegregation of lunch counters and all other eating places that open to and licensed by the public or supervised by and inspected by the State Board of Health.

4. Desegregation of all hotels and motels open to the public.

5. Banning racial segregation in all school districts in keeping with the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision.

6. Banning racial discrimination in all County and City educational institutions, and penal institutions.

7. The practice of merit-employment and upgrading opportunities in stores, utility companies, distributors, commission of public works, law enforcement agencies, department of Welfare, the public housing authority, department of Education, Library Commission, parks and playground Commission, and transportation facilities.

8. Appointment of Negroes to Standing Municipal Committees.

9. Desegregation of public libraries, recreational and park facilities.

10. Opening of The Sumter Technical Education Center on a non-racial basis.

So.
Car.
Statewide

Motel in Florence

Mrs. Wall's Tourist Home
near ACL R.R. Station
Wm W. Bennett - atty

in Columbia
Royal — about 1500 Block on Hendrix St.

Simbeth Motel — Hi Way 1
8 mi N of Columbia

Delorea Motel — Hi Way 1
2 Mi N. of Col.

773-9738 — Firing
Sumpter

Rev. J. Herbert Nelson
Pastor of Presbyterian Church
in Orangeburg — lives in
Sumpter — on S.C. Advisory
Comm of CCR

Elgin Thompson is lawyer
in Spartanburg in office
formerly maintained by
Matthew Perry.

P.O. 52211

REV. E. WARREN HAGANS

MT. OLIVE BAPTIST CHURCH, ORANGEBURG, S. C.
GOODWILL BAPTIST CHURCH, EASTOVER, S. C.

P. O. BOX 3057 COLUMBIA

C. N. Thomas
Box 278
South Car St Coll
Orangeburg, S C

Note: this was handed to me by LWD following a trip he made to Columbia, S.C.
WAB.

file under S. Carolina (?)

~~September 20,~~ 1962

Rev. DeQuincey Newman
Post Office Box 1204
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Rev. Newman:

This is in reply to your letter of May 4, 1962 and we beg your indulgence for such a late reply.

The following is a breakdown of the financial budget which we feel it will take to promote a voter registration campaign:

Home Worker at $35.00 per week ×15 = 500.00		
For 7 weeks	$245.00	+ 105.
Car Pools	20.00	
Publicity	30.00	
Committee Workshop	20.00	
Transportation of Workers	10.00	
Clerical Help	50.00	
Stamps and Stationary	12.00	+132.00
Field Secretary's Supervision	100.00	
Miscellaneous	13.00	
Total Budget Requested	$500.00	

15
7
105.

132.00
~~132.00~~
105.00
737.00

We have been conducting a door to door campaign in our effort to get persons registered to vote.

Best wishes for success in all your endeavors and pursuits.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Gloria Rackley

GREENVILLE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
125½ Falls Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear

The Greenville Non-Partisan Voters Registration Committee is working diligently to set up a system whereby non-registered Negro citizens of the City of Greenville and Greenville County are to become oriented in the ways of registration and voting. A concentrated effort is being put forth to get every Negro over 21 years of age, living in the Greenville area, registered and ready to vote in the November election.

It is the committee's aim to organize each ward and precinct; to have captains so oriented that they may teach registered persons how to vote and to the best of their ability inform the Registrant of the attributes and traits of candidates running for office.

There are two (2) things you can do to support the work of the committee:

1. Register and/or encourage others to register.
   Our next and only opportunity to register before the November election is October 1, 2, & 3, from 9:00 A.M. - 5:00 P.M. each day at the Court House.

2. GIVE $ $ $
   In order to operate any going concern money is needed, and since the GNPVRC has been organized by Negroes--this is a job that can best be done by Negroes. As one of the group your financial support is urgently needed.
   All contributions will be handled in the following manner:
   The committee will deposit all money received in the S. C. National Bank. An accounting system has been instituted and disbursements are made at the discretion of the committee by check with the signatures of the Vice-Chairman and Treasurer affixed. An accounting statement of monies received and disbursed will be issued periodically to persons making a contribution of five dollars or more.

Attached is a blank for you to fill in the name - address - and telephone number of each person from your organization making a contribution. Please make contact with your group members at once and return the names of the contributors along with their contributions no later than October 1, 1962, in order that we may not lag behind in our work.

Please have all checks made to the GREENVILLE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS REGISTRATION COMMITTEE and mail to - Attorney Willie T. Smith, Jr.
125½ Falls Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Very sincerely,

Willie T. Smith, Jr.

Willie T. Smith, Jr., Esq.
Treasurer
Donald J. Sampson, Esq., Chairman
Rev. C Hayes, Co-Chairman

Orangeburg Movement for Civic Improvement

THE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

The following is a tentative schedule of brief workshop sessions to be held on the dates indicated in an effort to help public spirited citizens help others to become registered voters and active participants in their government's daily operation.

Get body organized Aug

complete listing

July 9

Qualifications of a voter
Why register? Why vote?

How to become a registered voter

August 13

Political parties and political subdivisions
National, state, county, city, precinct, ward and polling places

September 10

When and where to vote and terms used in South Carolina elections
The political convention, primary and general elections.

October 8

Candidates and how to evaluate them

November 12

Review of workshop topics

Each of the above sessions will be held at Trinity Methodist Church and will not last longer than one hour.

The Citizenship Steering Committee

HOW TO BECOME A R'GISTERED VOTER...

It is very easy to become a registered voter. You may register any 1st Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday of any month during regular office hours in the basement of the Orangeburg County Courthouse. The registration books are closed, however, 30 days prior to any election but are open for a full week immediately prior to such closing. The phone number of the County Board of Registrars is JEfferson 4-7040 which number may be called on appropriate days for any information concerning voter registration.

Won't you take a few minutes of your time to improve your status and that of your children by taking an active part in the daily operations of your government?

S. C
Centennial, etc.

P. O. Box 1204
Columbia, South Carolina
May 9, 1963

Dear Fellow-Citizen:

This is your invitation to be present for a mammoth Political Action Meeting of Negroes residing in the second Congressional district. (Aiken, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Lexington, Orangeburg, Richland and Sumter Counties.)

The Meeting time is Saturday, May 25 at 10:30 A. M. O'clock. The place is St. Paul Baptist Church in Lexington. Rev. Paul Drummond is the Pastor. The Church is located on U. S. Highways # 1 & #378.

You are one of the outstanding leaders in your County. The Negro race, therefore, will prosper and progress if you measure up to your civic responsibility in this great era of social change. While Sit-In students, Freedom Riders, and Freedom walkers are blazing new trails of freedom the least we can do is to attend to every day citizenship chores such as attending meetings, knocking on doors and paying dues for others to carry the fight into places where we cannot.

The Main purpose of the Meeting is to organize the Centennial Voter Registration drive on the Congressional District level, and on the County and Precinct level where this has not been done. We wish to do our part in putting 1000 new registered voters on the books for each year since the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.

You are one of the hundred leaders being invited to this meeting from your County. We need you, your people need you, your precinct, county, State and Federal government need you. When your name is called in Lexington, please answer present. If you cannot attend, please drop us a line and tell us that you will support the registration drive.

Civic and Centennially yours,

I. S. Leevey, Convener
Columbia

Chas. H. Thomas, State Chairman
Orangeburg

L. E. Crumlin, State V. Chairman
Columbia

I. DeQuincey Newman,
State Corresponding Secretary
Columbia

July 12, 1963

Dr. Charles Thomas
Box 278
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Thomas:

Thank you for coming down to talk with us yesterday. We hope that the difficulty with plane travel did not inconvenience you too much and that you were able to get back for your meeting.

Our check in the amount of $41.42 (to reimburse you for travel expenses) is enclosed.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.1

2- S.C. Centennial Comittee

NYT 10-17-62
p. 36

ORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY,

Columbia, S. C.

Files C. Resist.

Laws, Morals and Business in South Carolina

By JAMES RESTON

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 16—The tragedy of the integration struggle at the University of Mississippi is that it has distorted and vilified the South. And nothing illustrates the point better than a drive down U.S. Highway No. 1 from the Potomac River to the Savannah River on the Georgia-South Carolina border.

Highway No. 1 runs through the three state capitals of Richmond, Va., Raleigh, N. C., and Columbia, S. C., and unlike Mississippi it is a symbol not of resistance to change but of the changing South.

This highway bypasses the lovely Capitol building of Virginia in Richmond, but flies over the heart of the city, like a roller coaster, feeding commerce into industries of the new industrial South. It carries on through the pines to Raleigh, N. C., in the heart of the new "industrial triangle," based on Duke University, North Carolina State University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. And it proceeds southward, through the dune country of South Carolina into the heart of the aristocratic South.

Yet, even in South Carolina, where no Negro attends a single public school or state university; where the taxpayers pay academically qualified Negroes to attend universities outside the state; where it is illegal to allow Negroes to work in the same department of a factory with whites; and where there are no laws to keep anybody in school at all—even here there seems to be general agreement that the sad events of Little Rock, Ark., and Oxford, Miss., could not happen in South Carolina.

And the reasons given for this are interesting. For South Carolina is not convinced that the integration of the races is bad morals or bad law, but there is an increasing feeling here that it is bad business.

For example, the Governor of South Carolina, Ernest F. Hollings, is not here in Columbia, S. C., weeping for Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi. He is in Milan, Italy, this week talking over the Italian radio about the possibilities of trade between the state of South Carolina and the European Common Market.

Naturally, Governor Hollings was asked in Europe about Mississippi, since the University of South Carolina, back of the state Capitol here, is not integrated, and Clemson College in South Carolina has another James Meredith case pending. His reply was that South Carolina was not going to have another Little Rock, Ark., or Oxford, Miss.

Means and Ends

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Means and Ends

The leaders of this community seem to agree. They do not differ with the objectives of Governor Faubus of Arkansas and Barnett of Mississippi, who did not submit to the power of Washington until the Federal troops came into their communities, but they still insist that "it can't happen here."

They give a number of reasons for this. First of all, South Carolina has a sense of style. It identifies itself not wtih the mob but with the aristocracy. Second, its leaders are privately critical of Governor Barnett of Mississippi for creating a situation he could not control. But perhaps most important of all, South Carolina does not want to create an atmosphere of rebellion that would discourage the economic development of the state.

Governor Hollings's trip to Europe dramatizes the point. He is aware of the economic revolution taking place in the world. He wants to bring new industry here from the North and from elsewhere in the world.

Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina is also conscious of the fact that the economic growth of his state depends on being part of the new commercial relations of the rest of the nation and the Atlantic community. Therefore, he, too, is sending a delegation to the Common Market countries of Europe and arguing that business will not come to the South if the South is in a turmoil of racial controversy.

In short, what the battle of Oxford, Miss., has done is to make the leaders of this part of the South realize not only the futility but the economic consequences of opposition to Federal law.

The South is still united in opposition to racial integration, but it is divided about defending segregation at the cost of economic prosperity.

For a time, large industries in the North were willing to put factories here in the South in the belief that this part of the country could "control labor" and maintain industrial peace. But increasingly Northern industrial leaders have been asking whether the South could guarantee that the schools would remain open and the racial question would not lead to chaos in the factories.

Also, industry wants to know whether it will be able to count on a dependable supply of skilled labor capable of operating the new automatic machinery of modern factories—and this in turn has forced the South to consider the problem of adequate education of the Negro.

The question in the South, therefore, is no longer whether it wants segregation but whether it can have both segregation and prosperity.

Confronted with this problem, at least some leaders here are beginning to reconsider their assumptions of the past. They may agree with Mississippi in legal terms, but in economic terms they are not so sure that they want to pay the price of total opposition.

The Afro American

SC suit appeals for vote referee

Sept 28, 63

KINGSTREE, S.C. —Five Williamsburg County residents have filed suit in federal court asking that county registration officials be permanently enjoined from discriminating against colored applicants.

Filed Sept. 9 in the U.S. District Court at Florence, S.C., the suit charges county registrars have systematically prevented non - whites from registering by using standards not applied to white people.

The plaintiffs asked the court to appoint a federal referee to oversee registration in the county and ordered placed on the voter list nearly 100 persons recently rejected without being given the required written reason.

* * *

BRINGING THE SUIT for for themselves and all other colored persons similarly situated in the county, were John H. Wilson, Alma M. Wilson, Rosa Wilson, Mable Rich, and Lila P. Nelson, all live in Kingstree.

The defendants, Fannie D. Sullivan, Albert Ard, and Ruth McClary are duly appointed members of the Registration Board of Williamsburg County, according to the brief filed for the plaintiffs.

The brief noted that of the county's 13,000 white residents, approximately 7,500 are registered. But only 500 of the 27,000 colored people can vote. It charged nonwhites have been deliberately denied their rights.

* * *

TO REGISTER, colored residents are required to meet standards and go through procedures not applied to white people, the brief charged. It said special versions of tests are given to colored and other tests times are not given to whites at all.

The brief said colored people are required to stand in line to receive a registration certificate when whites do not have to appear before the board to get them. It said the board has refused to discuss the problem with nonwhites.

When 200 persons appeared before the board to register July 1, the brief said only 65 were approved. This was the first time so many had been permitted to register, it contends.

* * *

"IT WOULD TAKE six years to register 7,500 colored people," at the rate of 65 per registration day, the brief charged, "wherein 7,500 white persons have already been permitted to regster in Williamsburg County.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs are John H. Wrighten, whose law office is in Charleston, S.C., and Frank E. Cain, located in Bennettsville, S.C. The joint Wrighten - Cain firm is headquartered in Kingstree.

S.C. resistance

HEAVY TURNOUT OF NEGRO VOTERS

Negro voters turned out to vote in large numbers at Columbia yesterday. Large numbers also turned out at Greenville and Orangeburg. Negroes in all three areas. were running for the state House of Representatives. (UPI Telephoto.)

Gettys, Coleman Headed For Runoff; Dorn Ahead

COLUMBIA (UPI) — Tom L. Gettys and George F. Coleman apparently won berths Tuesday night in a Democratic Primary runoff for congressman from the fifth district.

Gettys, a Rock Hill lawyer, and Coleman, a solicitor from Winnsboro, built up commanding leads over the man who had been regarded as the third contender — State Rep. J. B. (Bate) Harvey of Clover.

It appeared that the two would meet in the June 23 primary runoff to determine which would oppose Republican Robert L. Doster for the seat vacated by Robert W. Hemphill, now a federal judge.

Two veteran congressmen — Robert T. Ashmore of Greenville and William Jennings Bryan Dorn of Greenwood — each easily won new terms over opponents who had claimed they were too conservative. Neither will have a Republican opponent.

In the fifth district, with 137 of 276 precincts reported, Coleman held a slim lead with 5,359 votes to Gettys' 5,301. Harvey trailed badly with 2,796. Camden farmer Harold Hough, who campaigned against socialism and integration, was out of the running with 846.

In the third district, with 183 of 328 precincts reported, Dorn defeated Calhoun Falls Mayor T. M. Tucker 12,266 to 4,409.

In the fourth district, with 99 of 261 precincts reported, Ashmore soundly defeated textile worker Gordon Weathers of Fountain Inn, 18,519 to 3,334.

The fifth District runoff apparently will pit two veteran campaigners. Each showed pockets of substantial strength in the first primary count.

Coleman ran strong in Chester and Fairfield counties while Gettys was carrying Cherokee and York. Close races were shaping up between the two in most of the four other counties in the district.

Harvey, who had been counting on strong support from mill workers, was running a good second in his home county of York but faring poorly elsewhere.

In the fifth district race, Gettys had the advantage of having built up support in an earlier run. He lost to Hemphill in a 1956 race.

Gettys argued his experience as an aide to former Rep. James Richards in Washington would be valuable to the district.

Coleman also had politicked before in much of the district. He was elected solicitor in 1956 of a judicial circuit comprised of half the district's counties. Coleman voiced opposition to centralized government.

Harry, a veteran legislator, hoped to pick up strong support among the district's numerous mill workers. He identified himself with Sen. Olin D. Johnston, whom he once served as an aide. Harvey pledged to "fight for the working man."

Hough told voters he mortgaged his cattle to run for Congress and voiced opposition to socialism and integration. He often praised Alabama Gov. George Wallace and claimed South Carolina Gov. Donald Russell promoted integration.

In the third district, Tucker charged that Dorn was more of a Republican than a Democrat. Tucker pledged support for numerous proposed programs of the Johnson administration. Dorn campaigned against the civil rights bill and for public school prayers.

Ashmore did little campaigning for his Fourth District seat. Weathers accused him of being a do - nothing congressman who had accomplished little for working people.

S.C. Statewide

How the Balloting Went Across South Carolina

State, 6-10-64

Abbeville

ABBEVILLE — Charles L. Po l, with 2,233 votes, defea incumbent William F. Snip in the Democratic primary for state House of Representatives Tuesday. Snipes received 1,721 votes.

In the race for U. S. House of Representatives, W. J. Bryan Dorn, incumbent, won 2,262 votes to 1,700 for his opponent, Mayor T. M. Tucker of Calhoun Falls.

Sheriff Harold W. Vandiver was renominated with 3,208 votes. His opponent, Glenn Ashley, received 752 votes.

Also renominated was George A. McMahon, supervisor, who won over James T. Hester by a vote of 2,379 to 1,576.

A runoff election is indicated in the race for coroner. In Tuesday's primary, the incumbent, L. J. Strickland, received 1,895 votes. His opponents were Dr. Horace C. Lewis, with 1,485 votes, and Aaron B. McCurry, with 449 votes.

Allendale

ALLENDALE — Unofficial returns Tuesday indicated Rep. G. A. Kearse was upset in his bid for Democratic renomination to the State House of Representatives.

The unofficial totals showed W. Edward Mixson leading Kearse, 1,182 to 1,022. Mixson is an Allendale merchant who ran unsuccessfully against Kearse two years ago. Mixson is a graduate of Wofford College. Kearse, a graduate of The Citadel and attorney in Allendale, was seeking to serve his second term in Allendale's lone House seat.

Anderson

ANDERSON—Incumbent Rep. E. J. Wright took the lead in the Anderson County House of Representatives race Tuesday night with 25 of 73 precincts reporting.

Totals in the race were Wright, [illegible]68; Thomas E. Garrison Jr., incumbent, 896; M. E. McDonald, 790; Harold S. Murdoch, incumbent, 778; Fred T. Moore, incumbent, 751; Lewis Ashley, 708; D. Chapman, 641; Daniel Castles, incumbent, 572; Harvey Banister, 545; John C. 1,192, in the clerk of court's race.

Sheriff A. L. Strickland, 2,257, won renomination, defeating R. F. Lee, 1,502.

Barnwell

BARNWELL— Veteran House Speaker Solomon Blatt won renomination handily in Tuesday's Democratic Primary.

Blatt, who has served 33 years in the State House of Representatives, had a 3,338 to 896 lead over W. H. ("Sparrow") Grimes in unofficial totals.

Blatt was first elected House speaker in 1937, and has held that porsition continuously since 1951. For Barnwell County Sheriff, incumbent A. E. Corley apparently faces a run-off with Marvin L. Carroll. Sheriff Corley, seking his second term, had 1,442 votes to Carroll's 1,324. Carroll is a member of the Williston Police Force, and a former county deputy.

In the race for coroner, a run-off appears between G. B. Goodwin and Joe M. Ridgeway. They led a seven-man ticket to succeed Ms. Doris Grubbs, who had served since the death of her husband. Clerk of Court P. H. Buckingham held a decisive lead over challenger R. E. Sanders.

Beaufort

BEAUFORT — Beaufort County Sen. James M. Waddell was renominated to the state senate here in Tuesday's Democratic primary with a close victory over Lou M. Neale. Waddell received 1,860 votes to Neale's 1,714 in the relative light turnout for this coastal county.

For the county coroner's race, incumbent Roger Pinckney with 1,722 votes led two other candidates into a run-off. Vying in the run-off with Pinckney will be Dr. Donald E. Gatch who polled 732 votes and Frank J. Modica who received 809 votes.

Berkeley

MONCKS CORNER — W. A. (Bill) Watts was apparent winner in Wednesday's Democratic Primary race for county auditor. With 22 out of 26 precincts reporting, Watts led incumbent John O. Edwards by a vote of 2,106 to 1,550.

Calhoun

primary.

Reps. Wade S. Weatherford Jr. and Henry L. Jolly received 2,665 and 2,675 votes respectively. Their opponents were David Peeler whose votes totaled 1,869 and Victor Sarratt, who got 2,415 votes.

In the race for county supervisor, incumbent Herbert Blanton led the primary with a total of 3,136 votes. His opponents, Clint Hill and James Campbell received 1,221 and 806 votes respectively.

Chester

CHESTER—Jimmy E. Nunnery led the ballot in Chester County's race for House of Representatives with 4,091 votes in Wednesday's primary. Incumbent L. C. Wright Jr. received 3,563 votes and Joe W. Collins, 3,017.

In the race for sheriff, incumbent A. W. McKeown was nominated with 4,260 votes. His opponents were C. T. DeLancey with 1,151 votes, and Jack L. Elliott, with 355.

Chesterfield

CHESTERFIELD — Incumbents H. F. Bell and L. R. Redfearn led in Wednesday's primary race for state House of Representatives, with 3,133 and 4,679 votes respectively over Thomas E. Ingram, who won 2,886 votes.

Ben W. Mangum, in his third try for the office of clerk of court, won 2,880 votes over his opponent, W. Leland Rivers who had 2,825 votes. The incumbent clerk has retired.

In the race for county coroner, Bernard Stubbs won over incumbent Ogden Sutton by a vote of 3,168 to 2,502. Both men are funeral directors.

Clarendon

No countywide races; incumbents unopposed.

Colleton

WALTERBORO — Sheriff John I. Seigler of Colleton County was renominated in Tuesday's primary, receiving 3,512 votes. His opponent, T. Lucas Hiott received 2,858 votes.

In the race for superintendent of education, Senis M. (Cy) Padgett received a majority, with votes totaling 3,428. C. Move

Incumbent Sheriff J. D. (Pete) Rogers, 2,880, will be faced in a run-off race by D. Dixon Lee, 2,287, a former senator and sheriff. James Ray Wallace polled 667 votes in the race.

C. C. Thomas Jr., 3,332, was renominated as clerk of court over Walker E. Allen, 2,561. Incumbent Coroner Robert J. Robers, 3,769, won renomination over Thomas H. Fletcher, 2,036.

Dorchester

ST. GEORGE — Dorchester County voters renominated Herbert H. Jessen, with 2,975 votes, as senator Tuesday night. He defeated William S. Horne, 2,308.

Sheriff Carl Knight, 3,596, won renomination over Jack A. Horne, 1,549. John Henry Behling Jr., incumbent, 3,156, defeated T. E. Hinson, 1,953, in the clerk of court's race.

Incumbent Ersie H. Patrick, 3,345, won renomination as auditor over Roy L. Weathers, 1,785. Coroner Robert H. Clayton, 2,697, defeated Wilbur S. Canaday, 2,325, in his bid for renomination.

Edgefield

EDGEFIELD — Sen. Frank E. Timmerman was un-seated in his bid for a third term in the South Carolina Senate by former House member and Edgefield Mayor W. A. Reel Jr. here Tuesday in the Democratic primary.

Timmerman, a close friend of Senate monarch, Edgar A. Brown of Barnwell, trailed Reel by over 200 votes with all 17 precincts reporting — 1,621 to 1,403. Timmerman had served in the Senate since 1957.

Incumbent Sheriff C. R. Jackson Jr. will meet H. H. ("Hubey") Griffis in a run-off on June 26. Jackson polled 1,128 votes and Griffis ran up 1,133. Stuart Parkman had 322 and U. T. Mobley had 175 votes.

Mrs. John Reece will become the first woman to ever serve as an elected official in Edgefield County if she wins in the general election. She beat Boyd Griffis in the primary magistrate's race in district one.

J. T. ("Jimmie") Harling won the clerk of court race — 2,111 votes to 894 — over W. A. ("Duck") Seigler. Incumbent superintendent of education W. G. Yarborough was renominated with 1,966 votes to Curtis Trot- [illegible] 997. Incumbent County

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Incumbent E. L. Griffin lead in the race for clerk of court, with 959 votes to C. J. Burdette's 858.

Totals in the voting for coroner were Wesley Page, 787; Cleo Broadwell, 321; Harold Patterson, 304; Boyce Black, 145; Glenn Coleman, 130; and Leonard Meredith, 107.

Incumbent W. J. Erskine, 648 votes, led in the sheriff's race. Other candidates' totals were James H. Williams, 292; Jack Gerrard, 256; C. Tom Jolly, 249; C. R. "Micky" McGuire, 172; J. C. McDonald, 74; Grady Gray, 55; Horace Strickland, 50; and Fred McMinn, 16.

Roger C. Richey, 281 votes, led incumbent supervisor John T. Ashley, 141, in his bid for renomination. W. J. Prater had 46 votes in the race.

Incumbent Frank W. Griffin had 1,358 votes to 654 for Calhoun Cole in the race for treasurer.

Bamberg

BAMBERG — Sen. P. Eugene Brabham, 1,388 votes, was defeated here in his bid for renomination by Frank R. Hartzog, 2,393 votes.

Incumbent Rep. R. W. Kemp, 2,168, was renominated over Edgar V. Hightower, 1,587. Incumbent N. Fletcher Kirkland, 2,622, defeated F. Wilbur Free, 1,192, in the clerk of court race.

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Calhoun

ST. MATTHEWS — Sheriff M. H. Rowell of Calhoun County lost to Elliott Rucker in Tuesday's primary by a difference of 24 votes. Rowell said he intends to demand a recount.

In the race for sheriff, Rucker received 816 votes, while the incumbent received 792.

In the contest for clerk of court, C. R. (Dick) Banks, incumbent, won over Andrew Rucker. Banks amassed a total vote of 901. Rucker received 710 votes.

Charleston

CHARLESTON—Seven incumbents and three new political aspirants in the race for House of Representatives from Charleston County led in Wednesday's Democratic Primary.

Apparent nominees were Julian LeaMond, Arthur Baker, Clyde Dangerfield, Charles Gibson, Robert Scarborough, Robert W. Turner and Miss Ruth Williams, all incumbents; and Thomas F. Hartnett, Theodore B. Guerard and Abney A. Smith.

There were approximately 11,000 votes cast out of over 50,000 registered voters.

Cherokee

GAFFNEY — Cherokee County's incumbents were nominated to the House of Representatives in Wednesday's Democratic Reps. Wade S. Weatherford Jr. and Henry L. Jolly received 2,665 and 2,675 votes respectively. Their opponents were David Peeler whose votes totaled 1,869 and Victor Sarratt, who got 2,415 votes.

In the race for county supervisor, incumbent Herbert Blanton led the primary with a total of 3,136 votes. His opponents, Clint Hill and James Campbell received 1,221 and 806 votes respectively.

Chester

CHESTER—Jimmy E. Nunnery led the ballot in Chester County's race for House of Representatives with 4,091 votes in Wednesday's primary. Incumbent L. C. Wright Jr. received 3,563 votes and Joe W. Collins, 3,017.

In the race for sheriff, incumbent A. W. McKeown was nominated with 4,260 votes. His opponents were C. T. DeLancey with 1,151 votes, and Jack L. Elliott, with 355.

Chesterfield

CHESTERFIELD — Incumbents H. F. Bell and L. R. Redfearn led in Wednesday's primary race for state House of Representatives, with 3,133 and 4,679 votes respectively over Thomas E. Ingram, who won 2,886 votes.

Ben W. Mangum, in his third try for the office of clerk of court, won 2,880 votes over his opponent, W. Leland Rivers who had 2,825 votes. The incumbent clerk has retired.

In the race for county coroner, Bernard Stubbs won over incumbent Ogden Sutton by a vote of 3,168 to 2,502. Both men are funeral directors.

Clarendon

No countywide races; incumbents unopposed.

Colleton

WALTERBORO — Sheriff John I. Seigler of Colleton County was renominated in Tuesday's primary, receiving 3,512 votes. His opponent, T. Lucas Hiott received 2,858 votes.

In the race for superintendent of education, Senis M. (Cy) Padgett received a majority, with votes totaling 3,428. C. Moye Padgett, incumbent, received 2,342 votes and D. Weston Bennett garnered 393 votes.

Renominated in the coroner's race was incumbent P. J. Maxey, with 3,605 votes. His opponent was Jake S. Godley who received 2,704 votes.

Darlington

DARLINGTON — In the race for county sheriff, Duncan Huntley was slightly ahead of four opponents in Wednesday's primaries with only 15 out of 40 precincts reporting.

Huntley had 278 votes, Cephas Howell, 254; Harley Odom, 103; Forrest Morrison, 234, and James Griffin, 269.

In the race for House of Representatives, votes for the three incumbents were as follows: Jack Gardner, 736; Dick Beasley, 770 and Thad Saleeby, 807.

Their opponents are M. G. Williams, with 433 votes; W. Albert Atkinson wtih 357, and Malcolm K. Johnson with 549.

Dillon

DILLON—A. W. (Red) Bethea won renomination to the House of Representatives here with 3,588 votes.

Charles Allen, 3,189 votes, was nominated to the county's other House seat. Defeated candidates were Woodrow Carter, 377; Horace Jackson, 1,957; and Lanneau Miller, 1,644.

Rogers, 2,880, will be faced in a run-off race by D. Dixon Lee, 2,287, a former senator and sheriff. James Ray Wallace polled 667 votes in the race.

C. C. Thomas Jr., 3,332, was renominated as clerk of court over Walker E. Allen, 2,561. Incumbent Coroner Robert J. Robers, 3,769, won renomination over Thomas H. Fletcher, 2,036.

Dorchester

ST. GEORGE — Dorchester County voters renominated Herbert H. Jessen, with 2,975 votes, as senator Tuesday night. He defeated William S. Horne, 2,308.

Sheriff Carl Knight, 3,596, won renomination over Jack A. Horne, 1,549. John Henry Behling Jr., incumbent, 3,156, defeated T. E. Hinson, 1,953, in the clerk of court's race.

Incumbent Ersie H. Patrick, 3,345, won renomination as auditor over Roy L. Weathers, 1,785. Coroner Robert H. Clayton, 2,697, defeated Wilbur S. Canaday, 2,325, in his bid for renomination.

Edgefield

EDGEFIELD — Sen. Frank E. Timmerman was un-seated in his bid for a third term in the South Carolina Senate by former House member and Edgefield Mayor W. A. Reel Jr. here Tuesday in the Democratic primary.

Timmerman, a close friend of Senate monarch, Edgar A. Brown of Barnwell, trailed Reel by over 200 votes with all 17 precincts reporting — 1,621 to 1,403. Timmerman had served in the Senate since 1957.

Incumbent Sheriff C. R. Jackson Jr. will meet H. H. ("Hubey") Griffis in a run-off on June 26. Jackson polled 1,128 votes and Griffis ran up 1,133. Stuart Parkman had 322 and U. T. Mobley had 175 votes.

Mrs. John Reece will become the first woman to ever serve as an elected official in Edgefield County if she wins in the general election. She beat Boyd Griffis in the primary magistrate's race in district one.

J. T. ("Jimmie") Harling won the clerk of court race — 2,111 votes to 894 — over W. A. ("Duck") Seigler. Incumbent superintendent of education W. G. Yarborough was renominated with 1,966 votes to Curtis Trotter's 997. Incumbent County Supervisor William T. Bell won renomination with 1,890 votes over Charles H. Jones' 1,185.

Florence

No countywide races; incumbents unopposed.

Greenville

GREENVILLE — All incumbents were apparently successful in seeking renomination to the State House of Representatives from Greenville County in Tuesday's Democratic Primary.

With 96 of 106 boxes in, the top vote-getter was Rex L. Carter, speaker pro-tempore of the House. The lone Negro candidate on an 18-man ballot trailed the ticket. He was Donald J. Sampson, a Greenville attorney.

Unofficial returns indicated Lloyd E. Hunt will join the 11-man House delegation. Hunt succeeds Sam H. Hendrix, who did not offer for reelection. Others winning renomination are Reps. Harry A. Chapman, Fred A. Fuller Jr., Charles Garrett, Herbert C. Granger, Beattie E. Huff, Clyde D. Jenkins Jr., Fred N. McDonald, Richard W. Riley and Nick A. Theodore.

Sheriff J. R. Martin swept to a commanding victory over challenger W. C. Murrell, holding a 12,379 to 1,860 lead in unofficial returns.

(See RESULTS, 4-B)

S. C. Statesville

Integration Has Been Slow But With Respect for Law

Atl. Const. 5-17-64

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution
The Columbia State

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, S.C., May 16—Ten years ago Sunday, May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its far-reaching decision that upset the long-established separate, but equal, facilities rule, and declared segregation in the public schools illegal.

One of the basic cases before the Court arose from District No. 1, Clarendon County, S.C. which has a predominately Negro population.

Today, a decade later, there are several suits pending, but only two public school systems in the state are integrated or scheduled to be. Last August Charleston was ordered on short notice to inaugurate token mixing at the start of the 1963-64 term starting a few weeks later, and to integrate the entire system by the beginning of the 1964-65 term. The board appealed but complied without incident to the decree. There have been no untoward incidents. Recently a plan submitted by the trustees to Federal Judge Robert Martin was approved, and this process will be used. Last month the Greenville school board submitted a plan to Judge Martin, which he accepted, thus avoiding a court hearing. Token integration will be effective starting Sept. 1.

On the college level, two of the state's institutions of higher learning have registered Negro students. The first admittance was at Clemson. The color line has also been broken at the University of South Carolina, where there are three at the seat in Columbia and one at the branch at Beaufort. At both Clemson and Carolina, law and order prevailed as the barrier was broken. Clemson had never before had a Negro enrollee; the university not since Reconstruction days.

South Carolina has fought integration of the schools with every legal weapon at its command but in no instance has there been defiance of the law.

That there will be more public school integration next fall, in addition to extending mixing at Charleston and Greenville, seems inevitable after the suits now on file are reviewed, since in the main the arguments used in these cases were recognized in the Charleston suit. But whatever be the order, no defiance is anticipated.

S. Car. Statewide

Appeal for Negroes Breaks Up Convention

COLUMBIA, S.C. (AP) — The South Carolina Democratic Party convention adjourned abruptly Wednesday amid an appeal that Negroes get a more active vote in Party affairs.

John Bolt Culbertson of Greenville brought a hugh over the more than 600 delegates when he noted the state has 92,000 Negro voters and suggested they have a bigger voice in the Party.

The dozen or so Negro delegates applauded the former state legislator. There were catcalls from some of the white delegates.

When Mrs. Albert H. Holt a Pickens County delegate, took the floor to read a prepared statement with a similar view, the convention adjourned.

S. C. Statewide

S. Car,
Pol.

UNBORN? OR DEAD?

Is You Is Or, Is You Ain't?

By JOHN H. McCRAY
(World Associate City Editor)

"Is you is or, is you ain't a citizen? The way you're acting sure has me in doubt. Is you is or . . .".

The words are obviously a parody from an old tune made popular by Louis Jordan and his Tymphany Five years ago but, this story has nothing at all to do with dancing.

It's a good story. It's a story which, if understood, should cause a great many of our people to stop, check out themselves within their own conscious, and answer the question.

The story has to do with a civic meeting some years back in a lower-state South Carolina county. Some 300 persons in the small town sat in the church and heard the speaker say:

"Every colored person who can, and who isn't registered, is like the unborn or the dead. The unborn and the dead don't count. They just can't help themselves."

When he finished, six pretty young women came to the pulpit. Four collected into a quartet; one sat at the piano, the other lifted her muted trumpet.

"Is you is or is you ain't my baby? The way . . .", they began.

The audience chuckled. The tune was real popular just then.

The first chorus over, the group began their parody. It covered several verses. When they finally sat down, thunderous applause rocked the edifice. Then, for a full minute or so, there was absolute silence. Nobody so much as breathed hard. The message had sunk in.

"It don't matter to whom you give your ballot, but please go register because it means a lot . . . And when you do ole Bilbo'll get to love you, and grin for you with all the teeth he's bought. Is you is or is you ain't . . ." Bilbo, of course, was then U. S. Senator from Mississippi. The beat was good and the people were "sent."

The sextet, a contribution of a civics class in the local high school, sang on to say in song:

A registration certificate in a citizen's wallet or purse is like a loaded .44 pistol as protection against a selfish, inconsiderate politician. It's like re-writing, in person, all laws the citizen thinks unjust and wrong or objects. Present plans are for sharing some of the legislative delegations seats in the state General Assembly with colored.

Incidentally, South Carolina's last member of the House Representatives was out of Georgetown, back around the turn of the century.

BUT NOW YOU IS

There is a sister, similar story, around which is also an "I is" answer. That is, "I is a citizen." It locale was Columbia, capitol of South Carolina.

The U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals had just upheld U. S District Judge J. Waties Waring's outlawing of the White Primary in South Carolina.

The phone rang at an editor's desk. On the other end was a member of city council. He asked:

"Can you get a small committee three to five people—to come to Council tomorrow and ask that colored policemen be employed here?"

The editor: "What's the joke? We had 25 people on the first committee and seven on the second. You fellows turned us down flat both times."

Then, the Councilman: "That was before you people could vote. It's different now, and we want to start off right from the start."

Next day: Mayor and councilmen vie to see which should be listed as "first" for the record to vote for colored lawmen. Since, there've come firemen, memberships on most city commissions and presently, a desegregation campaign during which the Mayor himself has vowed to head the line of pickets and demonstrators should there be any store or business, in the end, still segregating.

This isn't the end of the total story. It has chapters a great many other places. But they say the same thing—"yes" when somebody asks: "Are you a registered voter?"

Are you among the unborn or among the dead—unregistered?

Is you is or is you ain't?

fair and wrong. It's like building a needed school house yourself, hiring and firing policeman, the garbage man; like putting tape over the mouths of the race and color flame spewers.

What happened later?

By request this sextet covered the county n a short while. After a bit folk were all humming the tune and unconsciously singing the words, "Is I is or is I ain't? . . .".

Today, Georgetown county, where the story took place, has the highest percentage of colored adults registered or any South Carolina county—about 55 percent.

Shortly after Gov. Donald S. Russell took office in January of 1963, Georgetown County Sheriff Carris Cribbs died unexpectedly. In such cases, the Governor, on recommendation of the county's legislative delegation, names an interim sheriff—who serves until an election fills the vacancy.

The legislative delegation favored one of two candidates colored voters didn"t want. Their leaders simply picked up the phone and talked long distance with the Governor, 126 miles away in Columbia. They got what they wanted just that quickly, plus this reported remark:

"I want you to know that I really appreciate the confidence you folk expressed in me down there. Let me know any time you think I can help you."

Georgetown county had answered "I is", of course. For the first time it got several colored Deputy Sheriffs, colored policemen and policewomen. Public officials began consulting with colored leaders before undertaking of rejects. Present

Assembly Faces 2 Problems: Integration and Republicans

Atl. Const. 5-3-64

SOUTH CAROLINA

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, May 2 — Though the 1964 General Assembly goes down in history as the first to put on the statute books, though mild be the break, a law recognizing integration in public facilities in South Carolina. It also was the first since Reconstruction to take obvious recognition of the Republican party as a factor in state politics.

When it was ruled last year that South Carolina could not operate its state parks on a segregated basis, they were closed, for by state law they could not be mixed. The question was whether to leave them closed or reopen them on a full or restricted basis, and the solution was one of the main issues of the session. Finally both houses passed versions which permitted reopening, but with certain phases of the former full operation, such as swimming and use of cabins, to be eliminated. It took a conference committee to work out the details. A local option plan was defeated but certain parks have special provisions as to use.

THE COURT ORDER did not say the state had to operate a system of integrated parks, but that if a park is operated its facilities must be open to both races. Or at least that is the interpretation put on the ruling.

Whether the new law will be tested in the courts remains to be seen. The court order was based on a complaint by the NAACP. An action several years ago was directed at one park, and it has been closed ever since. Even under the new plan it is not anticipated that it will be revived. The general order as to 26 parks was based on a later court case.

ON THE political front, the Republicans, who protested loudly certain restrictions as to an earlier deadline for nominations, even trying to get the governor to veto the act, could not explain why they waited almost a year to take issue, the bill having been introduced in 1963. Under the law as passed, any party (meaning the GOP) that does not nominate by primary must now name its candidates by the time entries close for a primary and this is the procedure followed this year. The GOP said this gave the Democrats an advantage: the latter retorted that for all too long the shoe has been on the other foot, with the Republicans able to wait until after the Democrats had had their primary to pick candidates.

However, the so-called loyalty oath requiring one taking part in a primary to support the nominee of that primary in the general election was repealed. For it, there was substituted a rule that no one who has participated in the affairs of another party can cross the line to vote in a primary. A voter must take an oath as to his status. There is no limitation to voting in the General election, even split tickets being permissible.

S. Car
Statewide

CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S. C.)
p. 1A
Date MAR 26 1964

State Democrats Caught Off-Guard By Rights Issue

Session Ends In Disorder

By HUGH E. GIBSON
Roving Reporter

COLUMBIA — The monkey wrench of civil rights wrecked the smoothly functioning machinery of the State Democratic convention here yesterday and threw it into disorderly adjournment.

Tossing the racial issue into the well-oiled cogs was a small, blonde housewife, Mrs. Albert H. Holt, whose husband is an English instructor at Clemson.

She did it with an unscheduled motion to table a just-adopted resolution praising South Carolina's congressional delegation for its efforts to block passage of President Lyndon B. Johnson's civil rights bill.

White delegates surged to their feet on the crowded floor of Township Auditorium, shouting that the resolution already had been adopted and that Mrs. Holt's motion was out of order.

State Treasurer Jeff B. Bates, presiding as convention president, hurriedly ruled Mrs. Holt outo of order and went along with clamoring demands that the convention adjourn.

The 1964 Democratic Party convention ended with the slender Mrs. Holt still at the mid-aisle microphone and a Negro delegate, Charles Coles of Cheraw, towering behind her with one arm raised in a vain bid for recognition from the chair.

The collapse came shortly before 2:30 p.m., in the final moments of the convention. It followed almost on the heels of another civil rights protest raised by an upper state delegate.

Moments earlier, Greenville Attorney John B. Culbertson had stood at the same microphone to praise the loyalty of Negro democrats and to urge that they be given a greater voice in party leadership.

He, too, was gaveled down on a point of order raised in an uproar of shouts and cat-calls.

The two incidents wrecked the harmony that had prevailed from the time the convention opened at 11 a.m.

Previously, with not a whisper of dissent, the nearly 700 delegates had:

—Cheered a fighting keynote address by Gov. Donald S. Russell.

—Re-elected their national executive committeeman and committee woman.

—Elected a new state chairman and vice chairman.

—Picked delegates and alternates to attend this summer's National Democratic convention.

—Adopted a platform along with several other resolutions and rules changes.

Then Mrs. Holt, appeared suddenly at the middle-aisle microphone and began to read a typed statement attacking the civil rights resolution just adopted by a thundering voice vote.

She prefaced her statement by acknowledging that it was "a little unfair" for the Pickens delegation to supply all the notoriety—an allusion to the investigation into the affairs of Pickens native Bobby Baker. But, said Mrs. Holt, she was "morally committed" to express the "minority view" on the civil rights resolution.

"I believe that the complexion —literally—of this convention is indicative of a situation that we cannot condone and continue," she said in a thin, clear voice. (This was in obvious reference to the small number of Negro delegates present. It was estimated that no more than 50 Negroes were on hand, including spectators.)

"Where are the Negro delegates?" she demanded, charging South Carolina Democrats were "dragging their feet" and missing a chance to encourage "first class citizenship" for Negroes.

"Is it not time we recognize the Negro leadership in our state and party and encourage it to participate in party affairs?" she asked.

Only such a step could "patch up communication lines between ourselves and our Negro citizens," Mrs. Holt declared. She said it should have occurred 10 years ago.

As Mr. Bates gaveled the convention into a hasty adjournment, Negro delegates swarmed around Mrs. Holt to thank and congratulate her for her stand.

But to newsmen, who converged on her quickly, firing questions, Mrs. Holt insisted, "I'm not anybody important. I'm just one little delegate."

She identified herself as a "good, Kennedy Democrat" and a member of the S. C. Council on Human Relations. Mrs. Holt said she was a South Carolina native but was educated at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Culbertson, who also labeled himself a "good, Kennedy Democrat," said he made his plea for a greater Negro share in Democratic affairs "because I just wanted to get it off my chest."

The Democratic Party cannot hope to win without the support of this state's 93,000 Negro voters and union labor, the Greenville lawyer argued. But he charged that Democratic leaders were reserving all the "plums" for white party members.

Mr. Culbertson had no kind words for the Republican Party on racial matters. He said South Carolina's Republican Party was the "lily-white party" and noted that no Negro delegates attended its state convention here last week.

Up to the point where Mr. Culbertson came to the microphone, the convention had been a model of party harmony. By acclamation, delegates had elected Columbia Attorney Yancey A. McLeod to succeed retiring State Chairman E. P. (Ted) Riley of Greenville.

Also elected by acclamation was Mrs. Taylor H. Stukes of Manning, who stepped into the vice chairman post vacated by the retirement of Mrs. Caroline McKissick Belser of Columbia.

State Sen. Edgar A. Brown of Barnwell had no opposition for another term as national executive committeeman nor did the incumbent national committee woman, Mrs. Anne Agnew of Columbia.

The convention unanimously adopted an updated version of its 1962 party platform and agreed that the legislature should look further into the question of requiring voter registration.

Adopted without question were several rule changes made necessary by recently-enacted laws bearing on elections.

S.C. Pol.

South Carolina Democrats Adjourn After Racial Plea

Press Black Comm.

3/26/64, p. 6.

COLUMBIA, South Carolina —The South Carolina Democratic Party convention adjourned abruptly yesterday amid an appeal that Negroes be given a more active voice in party affairs.

John Bolt Culbertson of Greenville brought a hush over the more than 600 delegates when he noted the state had 92,000 Negro voters, and suggested that they have a bigger voice in the party.

The dozen or so Negro delegates applauded the former state legislator. There were catcalls from some of the white delegates.

When Mrs. Albert H. Holt, a Pickens County delegate, took the floor to read a prepared statement with a similar view, the convention adjourned. Culbertson and Mrs. Holt are white.

Earlier, in the keynote address, Governor Donald Russell told the convention he thought no Republican presidential nominee could match President Johnson "in experience, personal qualification and understanding of national and international problems."

Yancey McLeod, a Columbia lawyer, was unopposed in succeeding E. P. (Ted) Riley of Greenville as state chairman. Mrs. Taylor H. Stukes of Manning was unopposed in succeeding Mrs. Irvine Belser of Columbia as vice chairman. All other officers, headed by National Committeeman Edgar A. Brown of Barnwell and Mrs. Anne Agnew of Columbia, both unopposed, were re-elected.

Delegates — the state has 38 votes in the national convention— were chosen for the August convention in Atlantic City.

Eight of the 42 delegates have a half-vote, and the other 24 have full votes. No effort was made to instruct the delegates.

S.C. Statewide

SC Contact File

May 31, 1963

To : Mr. Wiley Branton

I am 1 submitting herewith a list of contacts taken from a college survey that might be of some help in planning a filed trip into the State of South Carolina.

(A sample of the questionaire is also supplied)

R. T. Blackwell

PEOPLE TO CONTACT IN SOUTH CAROLINA

AIKEN: (Pop. 81,038 - 26.3)

Name	Occupation
R. B. Brooks	Mortician
S. Bradley	Principal
Rev. J. Kelley	Pastor, Second Baptist
Alfred T. Lee, Sr.	Retired-North Augusta, S.C., 417 Barton Rd.
Tommie Johnson	Dupont-North Augusta, S.C..518 LeCompt Ave.
Rev. Simon O'Neal	Minister
Rev. J. M. Kelley	-Hampton Ave. (Aiken)

ALLENDALE: (Pop. 11,362 - 63.2)

ANDERSON: (Pop. 98,478 - 19.5)

Rev. Rich	Minnister
Dr. Youngq	Medical Dr.
J. Gresbom	Mortician and Lawyer
Rev. J. S. Maddox	Minister -Williamston, S. C.
Mrs. Nadine Williams	Teacher-Willimmston, S.C., 17 Mattison St.

BERKLEY (Pop. 38,196 - 49.6)

Rev. Robert Spann	Minister-Cross, S.C.
G. Holman	Undertaker-Monks Corner, S.C.
Reston Anderson	Farmer-Cross,S.C.

CHARLESTON: (Pop. 216,382 - 36.5)

Rev. B. J. Glover	Pastor-529 Rutledge Ave.	
James Brown	Lawyer	
Bernard Fielding	Lawyer	
Thomas Colleton	Contractor-McClellanville, S.C. 170 Ashley	
Arthur Brown	Real Estate	
Mrs. J. Edwards	N.C. Mutual-Coming St.	
E. Jenkins	Transportation-Coming Street	
J. A. Brown		-Kennedy St.
Mr. Mozeak		-109 America St.
Calvin James		-Mt. Pleasant, S.C.-Greenwick St.
Rev. J. A. Sabb, Jr.	Minister	
Mr. John Johnson		-Union Heights
Mr. Arthus Guest	Electrician	-Jenkins Terrace
Mr. Waring	Navy Yard	St. Andrew's Pl.
Mr. Jordan	Navy Yard	-Ashleyville
Mr. Arthur Ellison	Disk Jockey	

CHEROKEE: (Pop. 35,205 - 21.2

Mr. T. Robertson	Gaffney, S. C.-Logan St.

CHESTERFIELD: (33,717 - 37.1)

Henry White	Retired-Camden Rd.
John McCall	Lawyer-Camden Rd.
William Reid	Mortician-Founder's Hill

CLARENDON: (29,490 68.3)

B. Q. Butler	Principal-Summerton, S. C. -P.O.
C. M. Hammett	Teacher-Summerton, S.C.-Rte. 1
J. W. Carter	Teacher-Manning, S.C.

COLLETON: (Pop. 27,816 - 51.5)

Stalla Ruth	Teacher-Islanton, S.C.
Talmadge Wiggins	Teacher-Islanton, S.C.
Edna Boles	-Islanton, S.C.
Rev. J. Summers	Pastor-Principal-St. Stephens, S. C.

DARLINGTON: (Pop. 52,928 - 44.4)

W. T. Hunter	Food Store-Main St.
Arthur Stanley	Service Station-Main St.
G. P. Gandy	Service Station-Main St.

DILLON: (30,584 - 46.5)

Agustus Clark	Fork, S. C. - Rte. 1
S. D. Clark	Teacher-Cake View, S. C.

DUVAL: (Pop. -)

Richard Lockwood	Service Station Manager-Jacksonville, S.C. Lockhart Drive.

FLORENCE: (84,438 - 43.2)

J. J. Abbrey	Minister
Mr. J. W. Miller, Sr.	Funeral Director
Rev. D. J. Lunn	Minister-Fl
Rev. Sharpe	Minister
Luther Greene	Undertaker-Lake City, S.C.
John H. Gibbs	Merchant-Pamlico, S.C.
Johnny Mannerly	Barber & Farmer-Pamlico, S.C.
R. R. Jones	Teacher-Pamplico, S.C.

GREENWOOD: (44,346 - 29.6)

Rev. Span	Minister-Hodges, S.C.
Mr. Sanders	Principal-Hodges, S.C.

GEORGETOWN: (34,798 - 52.1)

Titus Brown	Paper Company-Rte. 3, Box 207
Daniel Jiles	Int. Paper Co.-Rte. 3, Box 216
Mr. Hudson	Hudson Motor Co.-Georgetown City

GREENVILLE: (209,776 - 18.8)

A. J. Writtenburg	Greenville, S.C.-600 Anderson Road
Donald Sampson	Lawyer
Tony Shelton	Lawyer

HORRY: (68,247 - 26.7)

Earnest A. Finney	Principal H.S.-Conway, S.C.-Highway 378
Peter C. Kelley	Doctor-Conway, S.C.-9th Ave.
W. P. Johnson	Agr. Agent-Conway, S.C.-Highway 378
Dr. C. P. Kelley	Med. Dr.-Conway-Highway 378
Rev. A. W. Stockhouse	Funeral Dir. -Conway, Highway 380
Imos Aimes	Mortician-Conway
B. M. Johnson	Teacher-Conway
Mr. Latimer	Mortician

JASPER: (12,237 - 62.3)

Ransoon Stiney, Jr.	Funeral Dir.-Hardeeville, S. C.
Rev. M. B. Randall	Minister-Hardeeville, S. C.

KERSHAW: (33,585 - 39.8)

Mrs. Patrice Jones	Teacher-Ridgeway, S. C.
Mr. E. Watson	Principal-Camden, S. C.
Mr. W. Williams	Mathes Academy-Camden, S. C.

LANCASTER: (39,352 - 27.0)

LEE: (21,832 - 65.8)

William Dannelly	Brick Layer-Bishopville, S. C.-Church St.
Mr. Reese Thomas	Construction-Bishopville, S. C.-Murrerlyn St.

MCCORMICK: (8,629 - 61.6)

MARLBORO: (28,529 - 48.8)

Russell Kenney	Retired Farmer-Clio, S. C. Rte. 1, Box 67
Minnie Gandy	Retired Teachers-Clio, S. C., P. O. Box

ORANGEBURG: (68,559 - 60.1)

Orangeburg (dont)

Dr. Thomas	Education-S. C. State
Rev. McCullough	Minnister-P. O. Box 423, Waterburg, S. C.
Mrs. G. Rackley	Teacher
Rev. H. Rolland	Minister
Dr. H. Hill	Druggest-Seneco, S. C.
A. L. Code	Principal-Seneco, S. C.
C. B. Watson	Teacher-Seneco, S. C.
Rev. C. M. Davis	Minister

PICKENS: (46.030 - 10.1)

Rev. J. C. McDowell	Minister-Pendleton, S. C.
Mr. Lowrence Reid	Clemon, S. C.
Rev. Samuel Kay	Minister-Clemon, S. C.

RICHLAND: (200,101 - 32.6)

Robert Fergueson	Columbia, S. C. 1304 Youman St.
Estelle Kerkhaw	Columbia, S. C. 1214 McDuffie Ave.
Jesse Johnson	Brick Mason-Columbia, S. C.
I. S. Leavy	Mortician-Columbia, S. C.
Joseph Stroy	Barber-C olumbia, S. C.
Rev. Lindsey E. Crumlin	Columbia, S. C. 50 Bethune Ct.
Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman	Columbia, S. C. 919½ Wahhington St.

Name	Address	Occupation
Mr. Carl Lofters	Inman, S. C.	
Rev. James Nelson		
Miss Goldie McDuff	Sumter, S. C.	Home Dem. Agt.
Mr. Frank James	Eastaciam. C.	Mortician
Robert Logan	P. O. Saluda, S. C.	Undertaker, Business
Barnett Townsend	Saluda, S. C.	Merchant
Rev. Roston	Saluda, S. C.	Minister
W. Hollis Plinton	W. Broad St., Westfield, N. J.	Mortician
Walter Dimery	Hemingway, S. C.q	Undertaker
Al L. Walker	Hemingway, S. C.	Agriculturist
Rev. Small	Greenwood, S. C.	Minister

Population

Inman, S. C.
Sumter, S. C.
Saluda, S. C.
Hemingway, S. C.
Westfield, N. J.

This questionnaire is submitted to you with the sincere hope that you will answer each question as honestly and accurately as you can. While name and address are made a part of this form, you are assured that the information that you supply will be held in the strictest confidence, and that it will not be used in any way to reflect unfavorably upon you or the community that you describe.

Name_____ Age_____ Class standing _____

Address _____
County City or Town Street or Route

Discussion of the subject of registering and voting in my community is:
_____ never heard _____ seldom heard _____often heard

Attitude of the white community toward Negro voting:

____encouraged ____reluctantly accepted ____ignored ____discouraged

What seems to you to have been the greatest influence on the Negro people of your community causing them to register?

_____

_____

What seems to you to have been the greatest influence on the Negro people of your community causing them <u>not</u> to register?

_____

_____

The following persons have worked at trying to get Negro people registered in my community:

Name	Business or Occupation	Address

The following organizations have worked at getting Negro people registered in my community:

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

The following organizations seem to be the largest and most influential organizations in my community, whether or not they have worked on registration and voting:

Name of Organization	President or Member

The three largest churches in the community:

Names of Churches	Pastors

CHURCH PHONE: 225-8004

RESIDENCE PHONE: 226-2108

WB ✓
JM ✓
RB ✓

St. Paul First Baptist Church

THE REV. JAMES O. RICH, PASTOR
324 WEST REED STREET
Anderson, South Carolina

June 28, 1963

Mr. Blackwell
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

In regard to our talk a few weeks ago when you were in Anderson, I have talked with one person on the registration board; however it was necessary for the board as a unit to meet before any answer could be given. There should be an answer after July 1, 1963 when the board meets.

You should expect to hear from me after July 9, 1963. We pray for your work.

Yours truly,

James O. Rich

James O. Rich

with response to Mississippi registration in Anderson

BOARD OF DEACONS:
JOSEPH RUCKER, CHAIRMAN
DOBBINS BRIDGE ROAD
DIAL 224-1817

BOARD OF TRUSTEES:
J. E. THOMAS, CHAIRMAN
BROADWAY LAKE
DIAL 225-5551

CLERK:
T. B. WILLIAMS
302 BROYLES STREET
DIAL 225-5270

VEP 3-16

WB ✓

November 14, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

I talked to Senator ~~Legree~~ LEGARE in Charleston this morning. I explained to him that we were a research project, and that it was vital to our program that we obtain an accurate enumeration of persons registered by the projects we support. I told him that I had talked to Mrs. Townsend some time ago (she's the chief registrar), and she had spoken very highly of him and that, therefore, I wanted to ask him if he wouldn't try to persuade Mrs. Townsend to permit project personnel to get in out of the cold while they were enumerating registrants. He was friendly, congenial, concerned, and committed irrevocably to the propositon that all persons should be registered without fear or favor, he said. However, with deep regret, he informed me that it was county policy that no one but registrars and their employees could be permitted inside the registration office. He said a number of groups such as the League of Women Voters, the NAACP, and various political factions had wanted to place observers inside the office and, since there was not that much room in the registration office, the county had established the policy that no one could do so.

He said he was sure Mrs. Townsend would be happy to provide me with up-to-date figures on both Negro and white registration. I suggested to him that we would like to avoid placing upon Mrs. Townsend the burden of making frequent enumerations from her records. He assured me that was part of Mrs. Townsend's job, and that she would give me any reasonable information we wanted. I'm writing her today to get whatever she'll give me.

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis

JM:js

South Carolina
Reg. Data

...ation that

Primary to Draw Many New Voters

6-3-62 SC Suffrage

The Columbia State
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, S.C., June 2 — When South Carolina's primary is held a week from Tuesday some 50,000 new voters will be entitled to participate.

Several factors enter into the strikingly large increase. First, of course, are the younger men and women who have become 21. Another is the registration of people coming to South Carolina from other states because of new industry. They have completed the two-year residency requirement.

BUT THE most potent reason for the upsurge is the number of Negroes who, though eligible, had not registered before. There has been a drive by leaders of their race to get them to qualify.

When all the deaths that have occurred are considered, and many removals to other states, especially the migration of Negroes, the increase of 50,000 is all the more revealing.

SOUTH CAROLINA

How many of the more than 800,000 persons who are on the rolls will vote is unpredictable. Generally there is a tremendous absenteeism.

If 425,000 go to the polls in the forthcoming election ten days hence the percentage, as interpreted by past performances, would be excellent. But if ever there was a year to induce citizens to exercise their right of suffrage, this is it, with races for all top offices as well as for hundreds of lesser ones.

THE REPUBLICANS at a well-attended reassembled state convention in Columbia voted to sanction participation by members of the party in the Democratic primary provided they voted only in the races where there will be no GOP contenders in November.

Under the state-law oath, which the Democrats had decreed must be administered, a voter swears to support the nominees of the primary. The Republicans point out that this relates to the races in which one votes.

On this view there is a difference of opinion. At the same sitting the GOP, after a tense floor fight, refused to say Democrats, if they chose to do so, couldn't run on the Republican ticket in the general election next fall.

Only two counties show fewer voters now than in 1960—Henry and Beaufort. The decrease in the former is not immediately explainable; in the latter the cause apparently is Negro departures. The largest enrollment is in Greenville County with 58,106, an increase of 4,072.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S all-purpose registration certificate is good for 10 years (or the remaining portion of the 10-year period).

It is good in all elections, primary or general, but must be issued at least 30 days prior to any given election to be used in that voting.

July 10, 1962

Mr. John H. McCray, Chairman
South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McCray:

According to a UPI dispatch dated June 6 of this year, you have recently compiled Negro registration figures for 27 counties in South Carolina. We should be very interested in having a copy of these figures if you would be kind enough to send it to us.

Please bill us for any reproduction charge.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

July 10, 1962

Secretary of State
State of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please send me the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of South Carolina by counties and independent cities. I should like these figures broken into white and Negro if you have such data. If there is any charge, you may either send the data collect or bill me.

If your office is not the appropriate place from which to request such information, will you inform me as to how I may go about getting it?

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

SOUTH CAROLINA

STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

COLUMBIA

July 17, 1962

Mr. John W. Walker
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

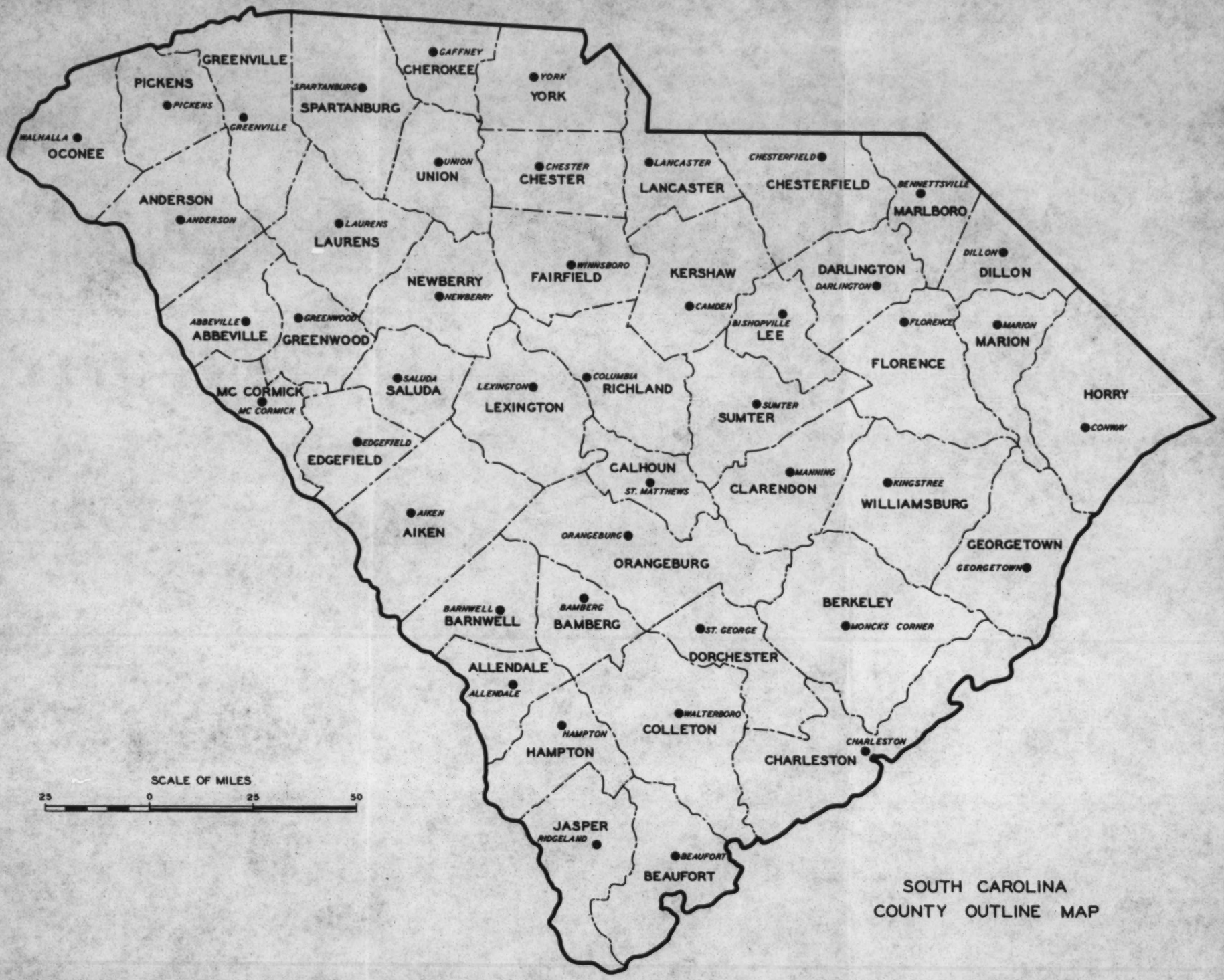
With reference to your letter dated July 9, 1962, we do not have maps showing boundaries of political subdivisions smaller than counties. It would be necessary for you to contact each of the cities or counties in South Carolina for ward or precinct lines as I do not believe that this information is available in one publication.

Attached are copies of our county outline and state maps.

Yours truly,

W. W. Bradley

W. W. Bradley
Traffic and Planning Engineer



S.C. STATE HIGHWAY DEPT. – 1952

J.D.T.

S.C. V-R file

WB
JM
JL

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CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S.C.)
p. 3-A
Date: AUG 10 1962

Negro Interest Runs High In Registering For Vote

Negro interest in voter registration reached such a peak here this week that a county policeman was assigned to keep down the congestion in the County Center office.

In the past four days, more than 200 Negroes have registered to vote in comparison to 151 white persons.

Mrs. John C. Townsend, chairman of the registration board, also noted, however, that "there has been a greater percentage of persons to apply this week who couldn't pass the registration test or did not have a tax receipt."

She said the Negro applicants are being brought to the office in large numbers. "We had 31 at one time from McClellanville," she said, "and approximately 10 of them could not read or write."

In order to become a qualified voter, a person must be able to read a selection from the state Constitution or produce a tax receipt from the previous year showing property evaluated at $300 or more. Other requirements are 21 years of age, residence in the state for two years, the county for one year, and the voting precinct for six months.

Two Negro youths, who said they were employes of the Registration Information Center at 41 Cannon St., were posted outside the county office to keep a tally of the Negroes who register.

Esau Jenkins, chairman of the Citizen's Committee and also head of the registration center, said the recent effort is definitely not backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He said he was merely interested in seeing that those who are not registered do so. He also said the drive is not necessarily aimed at the November general election.

"As long as we find people not registered we plan to keep it up," he added.

The county registration office will open today from 9 a. m. until 5 p. m. and Saturday from 9 a. m. until noon. It will also be open Monday through Wednesday from 9 a. m. until 5 p. m.

SEP 27 1962

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Dear Wiley Branton —
Thought you would be interested in the editorial on voting. Looks as if the VEP is making itself felt in the Holy City.

Courtney

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

The News and Courier
South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper
Thomas R. Waring, Editor | Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor | Anthony Harrigan, Associate Editor
FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

The Voter Statistics

South Carolina voter registration statistics supply clues to the political complexion of the state.

The most interesting piece of information is that voter registration has increased by 70,705 since the 1960 election. Registration today stands at 666,694, compared with 595,989 two years ago.

This increase in the number of registered voters signifies rising political interest in South Carolina. Only two counties — Horry and Chester — failed to gain new voters. In Charleston, the increase was from 43,419 to 48,786. Greenville moved from 54,084 to 60,000, making it the county with the largest number of voters. Spartanburg rose to 52,057 from 47,519. Richland County was another county with a large increase—from 43,802 to 50,734.

What lies behind the statistics? Who are the new voters? What are their views?

Part of the increase in the Lowcountry can be attributed to voter registration drives conducted by the NAACP. As soon as the Kennedy administration took office, Atty. Gen. Robert E. Kennedy determined that the best way to crack the South was to build up a bloc of herded voters. In Charleston County, busloads of Negroes have been brought into the city to be registered. Before the election, these voters will go to their churches to be told how to vote.

Increase in voter registration also reflects concern felt by conservative citizens. For two years, we have seen South Carolina automobiles with bumper stickers bearing the words: "Don't blame me; I voted GOP." Today, "Win With Workman" stickers can be seen in all parts of the state.

Election of Republicans Charles Boineau in Columbia and Fred Worsham in Charleston provided samplings of conservative voting strength in two major urban areas.

These and other urban areas in South Carolina are the home of strong local conservative movements. Suburbanites, generally conservative in their politics, are ready to join in organized political activity.

Charleston County, for example, is being organized almost on a block-to-block basis. Conservatives have organized committees to handle various phases of the Workman campaign. Many of these conservative groups around the state have taken a page from the Kennedy campaign handbook of 1960. They are prepared to work a political revolution in this state.

Towns and cities of South Carolina have received many new citizens in recent years — citizens who don't worry about party labels. To them the Workman candidacy spells good government and quality citizenship.

The News and Courier believes that much of the increase in voter registration can be attributed to new, active conservatives who mean to win with Workman this November.

Microfilm Code No.
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CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S.C.)
p. 1A
Date: OCT 5 1962

Voter Registration Office Busy Right Up To Deadline

1A

Charleston County got an addition of 1,393 new voters during the last three days of registration this week.

Registration officials were busy steadily as 322 white persons registered Oct. 1 and 42 Negroes; 426 white persons and 57 Negroes registered Oct. 2; and 450 white persons and 96 Negroes qualified Oct. 3.

The officials also handled 649 changes of address, and an untotaled number of duplicate certificates were issued. It is estimated the county will have more than 50,000 voters when the figures are tallied.

Mrs. John C. Townsend, board chairman, expressed her gratitude to members of the League of Women Voters who helped out during the last three hectic days.

Books will be closed until after the Nov. 6 general election. The office will remain open, however, to those persons who need a duplicate certificate.

NYT p. 28. 10-19-62

YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OCT

Columbia, S. C.

Files C

How They Fight Elections in South Carolina

By JAMES RESTON

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 18—President Kennedy may not know it, but he's running for the Senate again—this time not in Massachusetts, but in South Carolina.

Since he sent the Federal troops into Mississippi, the President has become the villain of the "Never-never" land of the old Confederacy.

Here in this state, Senator Olin D. Johnston, the Democratic incumbent, is running for re-election against William Workman, a journalistic Goldwater Republican, and while Mr. Johnston has more shortcomings than most Senators, he is being attacked here not because he is a modern equivalent of Senator Claghorn but because he has supported President Kennedy.

"The need of the hour," said The News and Courier in Charleston, S. C., this week, "is to defeat Johnston, not simply because of his 'liberal' record, but because he is the man that the Kennedys want in the Senate."

The editor of The News and Courier is Thomas R. Waring, probably the most talented newspaperman in South Carolina, but his theme is that a vote for Johnston is "a vote of confidence in the Kennedys, including the policy in Mississippi," while a vote against Johnston is a vote against "the Kennedy Master State."

The Anti-Kennedy Mothers

Not since the days of violent personal opposition among conservatives to Franklin D. Roosevelt in the thirties has there been such feeling against a President and his family as exists here among many leaders of the Democratic party.

Most of the press is not as outspoken as Waring in Charleston, but what he said publicly one hears privately from others in the Democratic establishment.

When Senator Johnston arrived in Charleston this week, he was greeted by an advertisement paid for by the "Workman for Senate Committee." It said:

"We South Carolina homemakers and mothers are scared. The left turn our country is taking and the huge debt we're piling up for our children alarm us. . . .

"We're really scared when we think of Communist troops being only 90 miles from our country.

"Bill Workman's approach to government gives us hope. He talks about simple, old-fashioned things like thrift, honesty, courage, work, and morality. . . . Vote right—Vote Workman."

A visitor hears this theme wherever he goes and it has a lot of support. In fact, the political leaders of this state are obviously closer in spirit to the conservatives of the Republican party than to the national leadership of the Democratic party, and there is much to be said for Republican control of a state like this.

The political paradox of South Carolina, however, is that it wants to enjoy the power of the Democratic party without supporting it; it wants to support the objectives of Gov. Ross Barnett in Mississippi without suffering the consequences, and it would like to benefit from Federal contracts while opposing the cost of Federal programs or meeting Federal standards of equal employment for the Negroes.

The Primary Oath

Maybe this campaign against Kennedy through Senator Johnston will succeed, but even in this election there is an interesting paradox.

For in the Democratic primary election which took place before the Mississippi riots, the party leaders put in a political oath which obliged those who voted Democrat in the primary to support the party's nominee in the November election.

This oath was given in many precincts of the state but ignored in many others—and now the pro-Workman faction is wondering just how many voters will feel bound by the oath to vote for Johnston.

Probably quite a few will. Many of the leaders of the Democratic party here obviously feel no loyalty either to Johnston or Kennedy, but an oath probably means more to your average South Carolina voter than it means to voters elsewhere in the Union.

He is a traditionalist. He has voted Democratic for so long that voting for Workman on the Republican ticket will not be easy. Besides, the state is doing fairly well economically and while the Negro vote is not large, it is rising and it is almost all Democratic.

Thus, Johnston may still win, but either way it will not say much for the politics of South Carolina.

AMISH MARKET DAY

At sunrise
Triptolemos walks with them
into vineyard; he gently nips
vermilion, sour-honeyed, blistered fruits
into baskets woven on November nights.
Then to the fields to harvest corn—
sun-chromed corn,
kernels lacquered with Maryland rain.

Under the parhelion
and white-simmering sun,
Triptolemos rides with the men
in the front of the buggy;
behind them, bonneted women, shy and pink-faced,
cradle bread-wheels against black wool.

DAIMA TURNER

November 30, 1962

Mr. John H. McCray, Chairman
South Carolina Progressive Democrats
P.O. Box 4012
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear John:

I like very much your idea of using cartoons to stimulate interest in voter registration and participation. I would strongly suggest that the cartoons be primarily humorous rather than moralistic. Some of the Mauldin and Herblock cartoons which referred to the Oxford, Mississippi affair are perfect cases in point. If you want to stimulate teachers, for example, I would suggest that you avoid any attempt to make them feel guilty. The record of success accumulated by history's moralistic movements is not, in my view, any recommendation for basing grass roots politics on a similar morality. I think a message is much more likely to be effective if it carries with it the balm of humor rather than the pain of guilt. I would very much like to see the cartoons you come up with.

I'm glad to know that your proposed registration drive is shaping up. I want to stay pretty close to it and for this purpose I wonder if you could send me a precinct map of Columbia and, if available, of Richland county. My very best regards and thanks so much for keeping me informed.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

JOHN H. McCRAY—Chairman
MRS. A. B. WESTON—Secretary

DR. W. M. EVANS—Vice Chairman
J. C. ARTEMUS, SR.—Treasurer

JOHN S. COLE—Vice-Chairman
ATT'Y JOHN H. WRIGHTEN—Ex. Sec.

South Carolina Progressive Democrats

P. O. Box 4012---Columbia, South Carolina

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REV J. J. ALSTON
DAVID BETHEA
HAROLD T. BLACKMAN
LEE A. BLACKMAN
REV. E. W. BONNER
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ROSS STAFFORD
MARK B. TOLBERT
A. J. WHITTENBERG
REV. J. S. WRIGHT
WILLIAM YOUNG

November 19, 1962

Dear Jack:

I've come up with an idea, the potential of which is self-explanatory, I thought to ask you to evaluate and advise me if it is both sound and possible.

It is this:

Prepare a booklet of cartoons aimed at Negroes in those states where programs of registration are underway. The cartoons would, respectively and individually, be aimed at sections of the ethnic group. For example, one might show a child saying to his teacher, "You are teaching me to live in our society. I understand that a vital step towards being prepared is to be registered and able to vote. Miss Teacher, are you registered?"

Similar questions would include ministers, shopkeepers, farmers - especially sharecroppers and tenant farmers, taxi drivers, etc.

These drawings, done in the simplest language, could be put in a booklet, printed on newsprint for economy reasons - if necessary - and distributed through church, fraternal, political action, social clubs and other organizations. Near the end the qualifications required in each state, the dates (general) and places of registration could be printed, in capsule form.

I venture that publication costs would be wormed out of the two major parties - from the national level. Too, other groups concerned with this subject might be able to defray some costs of the publication.

The idea sprung up on the weekend. We're laying groundwork for a massive initial registration drive in this (Richland) county first of the year. There are about 33,000 persons old enough to, but only 9,000 who vote. Our temporary slogan is "33 (Thousand) in '63". In other counties we are urging the number three's use to rhyme with '63. For example, in a small county it might 23 (hundred) in '63.

Our promised support - along lines we talked - is most heartening in Richland county.

Mr. Jack Minnis
5 Forsyth St.,N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Sincerely,
John
John H. McCray

REGISTRATION
AND
ELECTION LAWS
OF
SOUTH CAROLINA
1962

Carrying Statutes Through the 1961 Session of the General Assembly

Published by

O. FRANK THORNTON

Secretary of State

Reprinted from the Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1962

THE MICHIE COMPANY
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.
1962

Microfilm Code No.

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file S.C. Leg. Data

THE STATE
(Columbia, S. C.)
S B
Date: JAN 25 1963

Supp. S.C.

Study Says No Negro Bloc Vote

By The Associated Press

A University of South Carolina professor says a study of Negro voting habits in the state shows they don't vote in blocs.

Prof. John B. McConaughy drew this conclusion from interviews with 530 Negroes in a study of voting in three presidential and two gubernatorial elections, 1948 through 1958.

He defines bloc voting as voting in which at least two-thirds of a group vote the same way.

The survey covered the urban areas of Darlington, Columbia, Spartanburg, Charleston and Greenville, and he concludes urban Negroes vote almost twice as heavily in the Palmetto State as in the rest of the nation.

The national average is 32 per cent of the registered Negroes voting. The South Carolina sampling showed 62 per cent voting.

Issues of importance to the Negroes interviewed, in order, were better jobs, better city services, lower taxes, integrated schools, and better housing.

The educated, better-income Negroes in the groups interviewed mostly said they feel inferior to whites, but some two thirds of all Negroes interviewed said only they feel equal to whites. Seven per cent—all in the poorly educated, low income group — said they feel superior to whites.

Bloc voting showed up in the 1948 election, in which the state Democratic party, and the state, went heavily for Strom Thurmond, then governor, as the States Rights Democratic candidate for president. In no other elections was any bloc voting shown, using the two-thirds rule.

S. Carolina study shows race does not 'bloc vote'

COLUMBIA, S.C.— A University of South Carolina professor says a study of colored people's voting habits in the state shows they do not vote in bloc.

Prof. John B. McConaughy drew this conclusion from interviews with 530 persons in a study of voting in three presidential and two gubernatorial elections, 1948 through 1958.

He defines bloc voting as voting in which at least two-thirds of a group vote the same way.

Issues of importance to non-whites interviewed, in order, were better jobs, better city services, lower taxes, integrated schools, and better housing.

Afro-American 2-2-63

VEP

3- S C. Rep Cata

2-9-63

Centennial Voter Registration Body In South Carolina

file S.C.V.R.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Presidents and Secretaries of several Statewide organizations met in Columbus in response to an invitation extended by the South Carolina Emancipation Proclamation Centennial Commission to lay the ground work for a massive and intensive, "Centennial Voter Registatiorn Campaign."

Dr. Charles H. Thomas, a Graduate School Professor of Education of South Carolina State College, who had been appointed Convener of the Meeting by the Emancipation Centennial Steering Committee was subsequently elected chairman of the Central Committee for the voter registration drive.

Participating organization heads included the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge F. and A M, Palmetto Education Association, S C Conference of Branches, NAACP, P. T A. Congress Palmetto, Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association, Progressive Democrats, Palmetto Voters Association, Baptist Laymen's Convention, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, and Daughter Elks.

The three hour long orientation and organizational meeting had as guest consultants John M. Brooks of Richmond Virginia and NAACP National Director of Voter Registration, and Miss Ethel Payne of the Staff of the Democratic National Committee, Washington D. C.

The Project aims at 100,000 additional Negro voters in the State this year, 1 thousand for each year since issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.

B'ham World
2-9-63 P. 7

[illegible] IN SOUTH CAROLINA [illegible]

[illegible] Frazier
Forum College
February, 196[illegible]

When Harvey Gantt registered at Clemson College in late January, South Carolina, the first state to secede, became the last to integrate. Escorted by a hundred highway patrolmen, Gantt, son of a Negro shipyard worker in Charleston, walked across soil once tilled by Calhoun's slaves to carry out a court order that he be admitted without delay. With the Governor determined to handle the situation "peaceably, according to our standards of justice and decency," as he promised a few days earlier at his Inauguration, there were no incidents.

Editorialists throughout the United States have lauded Governor Donald Russell's firm moderation, in contrast to Governor Barnett's bungling of the Meredith case in Mississippi last fall. The contrast is to some extent justified. Russell, a former Assistant Secretary of State under James F. Byrnes and university president, is infinitely more intelligent than doltish Ross Barnett. Unlike Barnett, moreover, Mr. Russell is not a racist demagogue. A self-made millionaire in automobile finance, Governor Russell's membership in South Carolina's ruling Bourbon clique is symbolized by his white-columned mansion in Spartanburg,---though the thousands of books that line his study do set him somewhat apart. As a Bourbon, feeling himself bound by the code of benevolent paternalism toward both buckrah and black, Governor Russell and his colleagues feared mob violence like that at Oxford last October. One Negro at Clemson would make little difference to the members of the Establishment. But if the Bourbons stood aside while the buckrah shed blood in the streets, their own position of leadership would crumble, as Federal troops returned to impose a new Reconstruction.

In spite of this tradition of responsible, moderate Bourbon rule, however, South Carolina has had more than her share of racist demagogues: "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, "Coley" Blease, "Cotton Ed" Smith, and "Stand-On-Head" Thurmond. The radical racist politicians have never done very much for the white farmers and workers; except for the paranoid Mr. Blease, they have all eventually joined the Establishment. But the racism in South Carolina politics is nevertheless very real. No politician can afford to ignore it.

While Governor Russell's handling of the Gantt case does demonstrate his Bourbon paternalism, Russell is, after all, a politician, with the ambition and drive of a self-made man and a keen sense of changing political realities. In the past a Governor of South Carolina could have built a pol-

4- So. Car. - Reg. Data

itical career around the noble gesture of going to jail in fighting the Federal courts. Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith marched up the aisle and out of the 1936 Democratic Convention when a Negro minister rose to deliver the invocation. As Governor-elect Russell told me last December in an interview, in subsequent campaigns when "Cotton Ed" neglected to tell a crowd about "that man, as black as melted midnight," the crowds insisted and he willingly complied.

In 1962, however, the three major state-wide elections made it clear that a new era was beginning in South Carolina politics. Bridging the chasm of the race issue, a neo-Populist alliance of white workingmen and Negroes swept all three elections, and emerged as the most powerful single force in South Carolina politics. In the June primary they renominated Senator Olin Johnston over aspiring young Governor Ernest Hollings. Then, in the face of the first serious opposition from a Republican since Reconstruction, the liberals returned Johnston to the Senate by a reduced but still potent 57% of the votes over Goldwaterite Bill Workman. Finally, the liberals elected Donald Russell over then Lieutenant-Governor Burnet Maybank, Jr., son of the late Senator.

All three losers in 1962 made the mistake of thinking they could win without liberal support. Because of Johnston's solidly pro-labor record in the Senate since 1944, Governor Hollings had no chance of assistance from labor. Although when he defeated Russell in the 1958 gubernatorial primary, Hollings sought and got Negro backing in his native Charleston, this time he did not. It proved a fatal mistake. Johnston contacted the state's Negro leaders and got their endorsement. The Negroes were angry over Johnston's action in delaying confirmation of Thurgood Marshall's federal judgeship, but the Senator's largely pro-Kennedy voting record---combined with Hollings' aloofness---led the Negroes to support him with vigor.

In an attempt to counter Johnston's strength on the left, Hollings, who is actually a middle-of-the-roader, tried to present himself as a staunch conservative. In nearly every campaign speech Hollings attacked the "labor goons" who backed Johnston. When his campaign slogan made him sound anti-Kennedy, ("Our senator should represent South Carolina in Washington, not Washington in South Carolina"), Hollings frantically stressed his "close cooperation" with the President on textile problems, and his personal friendship with the Attorney-General, but it was too late.

Hollings succeeded only in stirring labor leaders from South Carolina and neighboring states to campaign feverishly for Olin Johnston. Unwittingly, Hollings helped them by having mill-owners (many of whom he had persuaded to come to South Carolina) at his side when he visited plants.

(Johnston wisely waited at the gates.) Though South Carolina's workers are still largely non-union, when the labor leaders spoke of Johnston's support for a higher minimum wage and for medicare, the mill-workers listened.

Hollings' strategy proved to be founded on two false assumptions: first, that the Negroes and white workers were irredeemably lost; and, second, that Hollings could win by appealing to the right-wing middle-class without invoking the race issue. The primary returns tell the story. In industrial Anderson County, Johnston, himself a former mill-worker, won by a margin of 3 to 1. In a typical Negro precinct in Charleston, Johnston got 141 votes to 23 for Hollings. The statewide totals were: Johnston 210,918; Hollings 110,023. As one Hollings' supporter concluded, "There simply aren't enough right-wing voters in South Carolina to win a Democratic primary with their support alone."

After the June primary Johnston returned to Washington as Republican Bill Workman launched a heated attack on the Administration,---something Hollings had been unable (and perhaps unwilling) to do. There were three main issues in the Johnston-Workman fight. Cuban relations figured most prominently until the President's quarantine abruptly plucked it from the political arena, much to the chagrin of Workman's backers. Workman's second issue was a vague appeal to preserve "states' rights" against the Kennedys' "cold blooded, premeditated attempt to concentrate all power in Washington." "States' rights" is not a new issue in South Carolina; Strom Thurmond, in particular, has used it successfully. Thurmond, however, has never campaigned purely on the basis of "states' rights" doctrine, but has always incorporated it in a more emotional, racist appeal. Workman, author and political novice, did not raise the race issue except to denounce the "invasion of Oxford." Although the members of the Citizens' Councils were solidly behind Workman, the race issue was muffled in a discussion of ancient cliches of political theory made starkly irrelevant by the President's decisive action in the Oxford crisis. As his third major issue, Workman spoke out for a "two-party system" in South Carolina. This issue won him many middle-class amateurs, but lost the seasoned local politicians who fear Republican opposition for themselves,---a fear Johnston used to some advantage.

In the November general elections the white workingmen combined with the Negroes once again to return Olin Johnston to the Senate. For reasons of economic self-interest the white workers and Negroes should in any election vote for a supporter of the Welfare State. Among the whites, Johnston also used his position on the three most important patronage committees to some advantage, though gratitude for past patronage is never as significant as outsiders think;

volunteers' enthusiasm and to a lesser degree the promise of future patronage is far more important. (Johnston is chairman of Post Office and Civil Service, and on Judiciary and Agriculture). The Negroes, on the other hand, who get extremely little patronage in any event, voted for Johnston in November because South Carolina Negroes----especially after Oxford---are extremely pro-Kennedy. Negro leader John H. McCray admitted after the election that at present he simply could not swing his state-wide organization behind any Republican, and continued: "We Negroes love the Kennedys and before it's over, history will show the Kennedys were greater friends to the Negroes of the nation than was our beloved President Roosevelt."

The extent of the Negroes' devotion to all Democrats, including Johnston, was revealed on November 6. In Columbia's bellwether Negro Ward 9, Workman got only 74 votes to Johnston's 1,093. Republican candidates for the legislature from Richland County (Columbia) did no better; in Ward 9 they received from 62 to 80 votes each, compared with from 985 to 1,015 for each Democrat, and the Democratic slate won easily. Even in the Congressional race in the Second District, where Nixon-backer and arch-conservative Albert D. Watson opposed the equally conservative, anti-Communist crusader Floyd D. Spence, the Negroes gave Democrat Watson a thousand-vote margin over Republican Spence, thereby sending Watson to Washington.

Of greatest significance in the desegregation process, however, was the gubernatorial contest in the June primary between Donald Russell and young Burnet Maybank. Like Johnston, Russell had extensive backing from labor and Negroes. Early in the primary campaign the state's labor leaders invited both Maybank and Russell to meet with them. Maybank replied indignantly that his father never needed labor support to win, and neither did he. Russell, who had done poorly in the mill-towns in his 1958 defeat, went to the meeting. His margin of victory in June was about the same as Johnston's: 2 to 1. Russell had no Republican opposition in November.

Out of a total vote of about 325,000 in South Carolina in 1962, it has been estimated that labor can control about 80,000 and the Negroes from 40,000 to 60,000. Since Negroes in South Carolina are allowed to register freely in most areas, Negro leader McCray hopes to triple the current registration total of 96,000 Negroes by the end of 1963. Even at 1962 levels, however, it is clear that the alliance has enormous force at its disposal: from 120,000 to 140,000 out of a total of about 325,000. Other elements, such as localism or personality differences, could readily provide

the additional 25,000 to 42,500 votes needed for victory in a two-man contest.

The consequences of a strong Democratic alliance of white workers and Negroes were clearly revealed in 1962, and undoubtedly were in the back of Governor Russell's mind in recent months. Bourbon paternalism, considerations of economic progress, and other motives were also present. But Governor Russell is far too intelligent and shrewd to ignore the revolutionary implications of the 1962 elections.

Three conclusions can be drawn concerning the nature of this revolution. In the first place, the Democratic Party in South Carolina will become gradually but increasingly more liberal. With younger conservatives zealously deserting the Democrats for the G.O.P., leaving moderates and liberals in control, the Dixiecrat veterans of '48 will soon be consigned to limbo. Men like Senator Strom Thurmond and Congressman Watson will be the first casualties, for they will be highly vulnerable in the Democratic primaries. Following the example of Georgia's Senator Herman Talmadge, South Carolina Democrats like Johnston and Russell are swinging more solidly behind the Kennedy Administration on domestic issues.

Secondly, the two-party system is a reality in South Carolina. The Republicans can be expected to strengthen their position among professionals, white-collar workers, and the middle-class generally. Regardless of the wishes of Northern Republicans, the South Carolina party seems destined to be a haven for the older Dixiecrat racists, as well as a beacon to young Goldwaterite idealists. Assuming the liberal Eastern wing of the Republican Party nationally retains its dominant position, the national party will tend to become more divided on the race issue----as the Democrats have been for decades.

Finally, it seems clear that the race issue in its traditional form is dead. As Negro leader McCray has said, "Race is no longer the campaign issue it once was. All sensible politicians know they need our support to win statewide or national elections. The Negro has arrived in South Carolina politics. We will be heard from." It is important to note, however, that McCray really means that no sensible Democratic politician can win either a primary or a general election without Negro support; no Republican could carry South Carolina's Negroes now or in the near future. A "sensible" Democrat in South Carolina will therefore try to avoid the race issue, to avoid splitting the worker-Negro alliance either by driving workers to the Republicans or by causing Negroes to stay home. A Republican, on the other hand, might use the race issue to attract enough white workingmen for victory, but he must first offer the voters more than stale cliches; instead, he must offer a realistic way of resisting Washington. As the integration process passes the initial stages and complex questions of "how much integration" arise in a multitude

of areas, the Republicans may score heavily by offering practical, concervative answers to such questions. The probable heavy concentration of Negroes in the Democratic Party will force the Democrats to take more liberal stands. The race issue will never regain its position of dominance in South Carolina politics; it will arise from time to time in connection with the integration process.

With intelligent and persuasible leaders and hard-working organizers Democratic dominance in South Carolina seems assured in the immediate future. There are simply too many white workers and Negroes---and Democratic incumbents at all levels---for the Republicans to overcome. This prospect is no cause for Republican gloom, however, for their strength is also steadily growing, and they can already take a large share of the credit for the recent developments which are re-making South Carolina politics in the typical national pattern of citizen-participation, orientation toward issues and not simply personalities, and division of the electorate along economic and social lines.

Harvey Gantt's admission to Clemson is far more than an isolated incident. It is symbolic of the infinitely more far-reaching rise of Negro political strength in South Carolina. In this sense Governor Russell's handling of the crisis is more than a matter of morality. It is sound politics. McCray's dramatic words were not unjustified. In South Carolina---if not in Mississippi---the Negro has arrived. And, more important, the politicians know it.

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THE STATE
(Columbia, S.C.)
p. 3D
Date: MAR 29 1964

How Strong Does The Negro Stand

By MONT MORTON
Governmental Affairs Staff

An appeal to recognize Negro voting strength in South Carolina was cut short this past week at the State Democratic Convention.

"Is it not time we recognize the Negro leadership in our state and party and encourage it to participate in party affairs?" demanded Mrs. Albert Holt, delegate from Pickens County. Losing the floor on a parliamentary point, Mrs. Holt saw the convention adjourn before she could place any motion before it.

A state convention is one thing. Negro voting strength is another.

Convention happenings are exposed to the public. But the story behind Negro balloting power today in South Carolina is known to few.

Among those who may know how strongly the Negro stands at South Carolina ballot boxes today is Dr. Charles H. Thomas Jr., of Orangeburg.

Dr. Thomas is chairman of the S. C. Voter Registration Committee, and as such he cites statistics that may surprise more persons than Mrs. Holt's appeal.

South Carolina is among 11 southern states in which the Southern Regional Council has been conducting its Voter Education Project (VEP). Within a 21 - month period, a total of 20,727 non-white voters has been newly registered in South Carolina.

That is about 1,000 a month.

According to Dr. Thomas, VEP "seeks to encourage voter registration in the South and to study thereby patterns of Negro voting and arrive at most effective methods for overcoming traditional barriers of discrimination and voter indifferences.

"The program is non-partisan and has the endorsements of both the Republican and Democratic national committees," said Dr. Thomas.

How successful has the voter registration drive been in South Carolina? Here are Dr. Thomas' figures for the period from April, 1962 through December 1963.

—Total number of newly reigstered non - white voters — 20,727.
— Total S. C. voter registration — 814,628.
—Total number of white voters — 703,000.
— Total non - white voters —111, 628.
— Per cent non - white voters are of total — 13.7 per cent.

However, during the 21-month period, Dr. Thomas noted that of the newly registered voters, 30 per cent are non - white.

Since the first of this year, Dr. Thomas disclosed an additional 700 new Negro voters have registered in Aiken County, about 700 have also been registered in Orangeburg County.

And since Jan. 1, approximately 1,100 Negroes have been newly registered in Richland County, he said.

"As chairman of the voter education program, I know that we are completely organized at precinct and ward level."

Dr. Thomas claims VEP in South Carolina has a chairman in each county, that the campaign organization carries down through area supervisors, precinct and ward chairmen, and even to street and block chairmen.

"We have ciphered from registration books every registered individual. We have these filed by streets on file cards.

"These cards may be pulled and given to any of our workers at a moment's notice for going into any area."

VEP in South Carolina has "very few" paid workers, Dr. Tho[illegible] said. In the Second Congressional District, he said there are only two paid workers, with offices established in Columbia and Orangeburg. "We have similar organization in all other Congressional Districts."

What is the potential of such a program in certain areas?

In Orangeburg County, there is a Negro candidate in the Democratic primary for the State House of Representatives. "We have a 62 per cent Negro population in Orangeburg County," Dr. Thomas points out. "We definitely feel he has a good chance."

There are about 5,000 registered Neg[illegible] voters in Orangeburg C[illegible]ty, Dr. Thomas said, compared with about 11,000 registered white voters. There are seven candidates in the primary for Orangeburg's four House seats.

"If we can concentrate on four candidates, we think this is going to do the trick. We definitely hold a certain balance of power. Of those running, it is to our advantage to concentrate on four.

"We don't believe any other candidate can get that many votes."

S.C. Reg.

Atl. J&C 5/17/64

Brief News Items of Intere

Alabama

he Alabama State League of Women Voters met in omery to consider the question of "Today's Woman in row's World." Mrs. Atherton Hastings, of Florence, was ed president. . . . The Alabama Republican, the GOP organ, listed seven of the eight candidates that may Democratic congressmen in the November statewide n; Jim Martin, Gadsden, who almost defeated U.S. Lister Hill in 1962; Jack Edwards, Mobile; Bill Dick- Montgomery; Bob French, Tuscaloosa; Farrell Griswold, d; John Buchanan Jr., Birmingham; Glen Andrews, n. . . . Montgomery County Republicans discovered that ocrats had failed to make nominations for a number ce of the peace and constable posts and immediately e vacancies with a full slate. . . . James Nelson, head Huntingdon College Art Department, was elected presi- the Alabama Art League.

Florida

communications flow between Miami and Cuba is tre- s. Cables average 5,000 daily, telephone calls 1,500 daily, 00 pieces of mail arrive in Miami from Cuba, or leave or the island each week. . . . Northeast Airlines has been d to continue its lucrative Boston to Florida flights for nt. A U.S. Court of Appeals judge said the Civil Aero- Board has failed to hand down clear and distinct rulings ing Northeast an application for continuance of its Florida run. . . . Voters of Duval County (Jacksonville) will cast a straw ballot on May 26 as to whether restaurants, hotels and motels should be integrated. . . . A Miami federal judge has delayed until August, 1965, or later any court action on a suit demanding immediate legislative reapportionment. This means the 1965 Legislature may go into session, as now apportioned, unless it is struck down by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling. . . . The tension of the space race atmosphere at Cape Kennedy has helped create an unusually high percentage of mentally disturbed children in Brevard County, school psychologists report. "We have more unhappy children than other areas our size," said the chief psychologist.

South Carolina

Personal income in South Carolina is up 5.9 per cent over this time last year, a full point better than the national increase of 4.9. . . . The State of Indiana has returned to the State of South Carolina a flag captured by Indiana troops when Columbia was taken by Northern forces in 1865. . . . According to Dr. Charles H. Thomas Jr., chairman of the Voter Registration Committee, interested in increasing Negro registration, there are 111,628 non-white persons on the rolls, or 13.7 per cent of the total enrollment. As to new registration within the last two years, 30 per cent was non-white. . . . Interstate 95, which enters South Carolina from Georgia near Savannah, and which will fork near Florence, S. C., with Interstate 20, which enters South Carolina near Augusta, has gotten a good shot in the arm with the awarding of $1,478,445 in construction contracts in Dillon County, S.C.

S.C.
Reg. Data

BW

July 13, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Barbara I. Whitaker

From: Wiley A. Branton

Re: Tennessee and South Carolina Registration

All registration books in Tennessee closed on July 6 and will remain closed until after the August 6 primary. We should now request complete reports from W. C. Patton and from our separate Nashville project regarding their activities during the month of June and for the first week of July.

I learned on my trip to South Carolina last week that the books were closed in nearly every county throughout the state during the month of June on account of the primary, and therefore, you may find that there was no registration for several counties, but this should be verified by each chairman. It appears that the Sixth Congressional District permitted registration in some counties even though the books should have been closed.

WAB.

js

S.C. Registration Data

101,000 Registered In South Carolina

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP) — A spokesman for the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, the Negro political organization, estimated last week that about 101,000 Negroes are registered to voter in this state.

John H. McCray of Columbia said this represents a jump of 8,000 since September, 1962, and in increase of nearly 11,000 since May, 1962 when the figure was 90,659.

McCray said the biggest increase —a jump of 2,000—was registered in Charleston County over the past year. He added that gains of 600 were reported in Georgetown County and gains of 200 or more were reported in Dorchester, Richland, Greenville, Sumter and Beaufort counties. McCray estimated that about one of every four South Carolina Negro is now registered.

Birmingham World 8-10-63 WP

S.C. Registration Data

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MAY 10 1965

May 5, 1965

William Taylor, General Counsel
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

The Congressional Quarterly of the week ending April 9, 1965, carried a notation of the fact that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights had requested the Census Bureau to gather statistics on voter registration for Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

As long ago as last October, I personally asked you to include South Carolina in any such request, and I was under the impression that this request would be granted.

I would like to repeat this request at this time. You know that the State of South Carolina does not collect such statistics on racial basis, and, of course, you appreciate the need for the possession of such figures.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Miles

RM:sm

cc: Dr. C.H. Thomas
Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Mr. Louis Martin

Charleston County Election Results

S.C. Leg

	SOUTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES															COUNTY COUNCIL AT-LARGE NORTH CHARLESTON			COUNTY COUNCIL NORTH CHARLESTON	
	JOHN GRAHAM ALTMAN	ARTHUR C. BAKER	CLYDE M. DANGERFIELD	CHARLES M. GIBSON	THEODORE B. GUERARD	THOMAS F. HARTNETT	F. JULIAN LeaMOND	JOSEPH H. McGEE, JR.	ROBERT J. MEYER	CARL E. RENKEN	ROBERT B. SCARBOROUGH	A. A. SMITH	ROBERT W. TURNER	RUTH WILLIAMS	LEWIS E. WILSON	MILTON A. CAR SON	ALBERT W. HUDSON	JOSEPH L. RENAU	EUGENE R. OTT	RALPH B. SMITH
WARD 1, CLUB 1	63	138	133	129	133	78	135	128	50	61	131	100	136	127	38					
WARD 1, CLUB 2	49	135	121	130	127	81	128	131	45	67	125	82	121	131	34					
WARD 2, CLUB 1	85	239	238	236	242	165	242	238	72	137	245	150	231	237	76					
WARD 2, CLUB 2	80	198	196	199	190	152	204	200	85	99	214	131	200	202	68					
WARD 3, CLUB 1	25	46	41	46	44	19	41	45	22	24	43	22	42	40	16					
WARD 3, CLUB 2	26	43	46	42	45	29	45	44	29	27	42	28	44	45	17					
WARD 4, CLUB 1	80	76	67	67	66	61	68	63	41	50	71	36	68	71	25					
WARD 4, CLUB 2	107	202	190	179	180	144	195	190	97	125	216	126	187	198	76					
WARD 5, CLUB 1	33	46	41	42	41	41	35	45	31	34	37	35	36	43	27					
WARD 5, CLUB 2	13	28	29	27	22	21	26	25	12	15	25	20	27	27	13					
WARD 6, CLUB 1	52	77	84	86	81	63	80	88	40	51	86	54	80	81	35					
WARD 6, CLUB 2	80	140	137	136	138	84	138	130	55	93	145	89	135	132	51					
WARD 7 CLUB 1	64	77	80	75	69	61	46	74	39	71	59	50	45	62	41					
WARD 7, CLUB 2	38	46	44	42	37	27	37	49	16	39	40	37	37	37	24					
WARD 8, CLUB 1	49	81	80	74	72	61	70	79	39	61	67	52	59	65	34					
WARD 8, CLUB 2	39	65	59	64	62	48	60	70	38	46	64	42	68	74	31					
WARD 9, CLUB 1	77	83	83	81	82	65	60	77	38	56	48	63	35	59	28					
WARD 9, CLUB 2	60	63	67	64	60	50	50	56	28	59	58	45	45	33	21					
WARD 10, CLUB 1	42	64	109	105	106	67	88	101	79	50	68	84	85	91	71					
WARD 10, CLUB 2	81	166	231	209	222	85	210	229	181	118	214	208	197	202	123					
WARD 11, CLUB 1	149	194	198	184	181	132	101	187	51	148	118	154	97	154	121					
WARD 11, CLUB 2	233	342	364	357	343	212	320	355	228	276	254	273	265	331	158					
WARD 12, CLUB 1	330	503	515	514	477	385	406	506	201	378	429	350	394	470	225					
WARD 12, CLUB 2	273	387	383	386	352	256	351	369	177	285	356	230	340	375	159					
WARD 13, CLUB 1	99	159	150	137	138	112	145	152	55	96	154	76	141	146	43					
WARD 13, CLUB 2	177	282	271	263	238	192	266	262	120	184	269	165	254	270	99					
WARD 14, CLUB 1	47	81	81	82	69	52	80	78	40	51	81	43	75	78	30					
WARD 14, CLUB 2	66	116	110	118	100	84	106	113	74	55	112	74	106	109	54					
WARD 15, CLUB 1	67	98	94	92	85	59	93	86	55	73	84	55	97	93	35					
WARD 15 CLUB 2	69	124	128	120	114	98	128	123	67	77	124	82	125	120	63					
WARD 16, CLUB 1	49	81	76	75	69	55	80	72	30	50	80	53	75	72	28					
WARD 16, CLUB 2	91	126	132	124	124	92	127	132	77	85	127	86	125	127	53					
CITY TOTALS	2793	4506	4578	4485	4309	3131	4161	4497	2212	3041	4186	3095	3972	4302	1919					
McCLELLANVILLE	55	65	63	72	46	53	59	47	29	47	52	65	62	62	35					
AWENDAW	22	32	32	28	24	17	26	29	21	20	26	25	28	28	16					
ISLE OF PALMS	77	119	117	111	93	98	114	116	73	64	114	68	118	116	43					
SULLIVAN'S ISLAND	71	144	147	133	110	124	148	135	90	61	146	99	143	145	64					
MOUNT PLEASANT	428	608	613	601	530	468	530	583	287	412	526	420	516	596	268					
GARDEN-KIAWAH	28	67	69	64	55	55	63	64	41	33	69	49	68	63	37	22	45	14		
ST. PHILIP'S, ST. MICHAEL'S	470	631	693	636	583	492	437	590	304	430	430	563	406	582	383	208	443	144		
DORCHESTER-WAYLYN	617	906	948	927	818	687	766	900	574	508	808	736	829	854	616	315	435	412		
NORTH CHARLESTON, NO. 1	597	978	1026	1023	874	635	949	978	602	516	993	963	943	991	546	525	520	163	551	636
NORTH CHARLESTON, NO. 2	496	752	781	763	689	541	673	713	431	406	723	724	732	743	459	385	420	169	517	427
MIDLAND PARK	181	260	261	259	228	167	234	266	141	157	238	235	234	228	147	155	94	71	154	142
LADSON	61	87	89	88	80	55	62	83	34	60	71	83	67	82	53	57	40	20	42	76
ST. ANDREW'S, NO. 2	216	337	350	322	289	247	320	330	192	188	330	211	326	321	157					
ST. ANDREW'S, NO. 3	122	160	159	154	141	105	167	157	101	103	164	98	160	163	84					
ST. ANDREW'S, NO. 4	201	299	310	301	268	221	277	292	206	195	296	183	287	266	156					
JAMES ISLAND, NO 1	208	395	410	389	370	262	382	386	210	204	400	261	389	368	172					
JAMES ISLAND, NO. 2	247	366	380	369	332	273	357	361	202	238	373	212	365	348	163					
FOLLY ISLAND	85	128	125	115	110	88	117	117	79	47	123	78	118	121	42					
JOHN'S ISLAND	174	225	246	254	238	183	196	252	146	150	183	201	184	226	166					
WADMALAW ISLAND	62	84	84	82	85	65	45	78	26	60	50	66	43	76	54					
WARREN'S CROSSROADS	20	23	22	21	3	10	22	21	8	18	20	5	21	20	19					
ADAMS RUN	39	63	62	69	59	36	58	65	33	41	63	63	62	59	30					
MEGGETT	72	128	121	133	112	68	116	125	84	68	128	100	133	120	60					
RAVENEL	44	48	59	62	49	29	34	60	32	39	56	49	56	50	31					
EDISTO ISLAND	19	38	40	40	38	14	30	42	10	34	33	35	32	41	16					
OUT OF CITY TOTALS	4612	6943	7207	7016	6224	4993	6182	6790	3956	4099	6415	5592	6322	6669	3817	1667	1997	993	1264	1281
GRAND TOTALS	7405	11449	11785	11501	10533	8124	10343	11287	6168	7140	10601	8687	10294	10971	5736	1667	1997	993	1264	1281

The NW operators cell shows the proportion of all operators in the county that is non-whites. This designation isthen broken down so that thetable shows thisjproportion for full owners, part owners, managers, andtenants. Thus, in Barnwell County, 39.8 percent of the operators are non-white. The non-white operators have 13.3 percent of the farmland in the country and, in 1959, they harvested 21.2 percent of the cropland that was harvested. Non-white full owners represented 26.3 percent of all full-owners in the county. They had 8.7jpercent of the farmland and harvested in 1959 15.7 percent ofthe cropland harvested.

file S.C. V-R

SOUTH CAROLINA

	% OF FARMS	% OF ACRES	% OF CROP. HARV.
UNDER 10 ACRES	8.6	.3	.9
10 TO 49 ACRES	44.1	9.7	19.3
50 TO 69 ACRES	10.7	5.2	6.9
70 TO 99 ACRES	9.5	6.7	7.3
100 TO 139	8.2	8.1	8.1
140 TO 179	4.8	6.4	6.1
180 TO 219	3.0	5.0	4.8
220 TO 259	2.0	4.0	3.7
260 TO 499	5.2	15.7	15.2
500 TO 999	2.5	14.5	13.2
1000 TO 1999	.9	10.7	8.5
2000 OR MORE	.4	13.0	5.4

	% OF TOTAL	% OF LAND IN FARMS	% OF CROPLAND HARV.
NON-WHITE OPERATORS	39.2	13.1	22.4
FULL-OWNERS	23.8	10.2	14.6
PART-OWNERS	33.5	8.8	11.8
MANAGERS	3.3	1.1	4.2
ALL TENANTS	68.1	44.5	57.1
CASH TENANTS	54.1	28.1	35.3
SHARE-CASH T.	60.3	28.3	20.6
SHARE	60.1	45.1	33.0
CROPPERS	80.5	69.0	58.0
OTHER + UNSPEC.	57.3	27.8	16.3

ALLENDALE COUNTY

	% OF FARMS	% OF ACRES	% OF CROP. HARV.	% OF FARMS REPORTING (# NOT REP.)
under 10 acres	11.4	.1	.1	(40) 21.6
10 TO 49 ACRES	mode 26.2	2.1	3.5	(7) 94.0
50 TO 69 ACRES	7.8	1.4	1.8	(3) 91.4
70 TO 99 ACRES	median 12.5	3.3	3.6	(2) 96.4
100 TO 139 ACRES	7.6	2.5	3.0	(1) 97.0
140 TO 179 ACRES	6.7	3.1	3.3	(0) 100
180 TO 219 ACRES	2.2	1.3	1.3	(1) 90.0
220 TO 259 ACRES	3.1	2.2	2.2	(2) 85.7
260 TO 499 ACRES	6.9	7.6	8.7	(0) 100
500 TO 999 ACRES	5.4	11.4	15.6	(0) 100
1000 TO 1999 ACRES	5.6	23.0	23.1	(0) 100
2000 OR MORE A.	4.5	47.3	33.6	(0) 100

	% OF TOTAL	% OF LAND IN FARMS	% OF CROPLAND HARVESTED
NON-WHITE OPS.	57.1	10.1	14.2
FULL-OWNERS	45.3	13.2	15.4
PART-OWNERS	24.0	4.6	6.6
MANAGERS	0	0	0
TENANTS	81.8	58.7	67.1

AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OWNER = 71.1

AVG. ACRES PER W. OWNER = 388.3

AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OPERATOR = 65.3

AVG. ACRES PER W. OPERATOR = 633.6

AVG. ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAPITA, RURAL POP. = 1.8

AVG. ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER W. POP. = 20.9

BAMBERG COUNTY

under 10 acres	6.4	.1	.2
10 TO 49 acres	mode 30.2	4.7	8.4
50 TO 69 acres	9.9	3.3	4.7
70 TO 99 acres	median 9.9	4.7	5.3
100 TO 139 acres	11.0	7.4	7.2
140 TO 179 acres	7.0	6.4	5.5
180 TO 219 acres	3.6	4.0	3.4
220 TO 259 acres	2.1	2.9	3.2
260 TO 499 acres	12.6	25.9	25.0
500 TO 999 acres	4.7	18.3	18.9
1000 TO 1999 acres	2.0	14.2	11.9
2000 or more	.5	8.1	6.0

NON-WHITE OP'S.	41.9	13.0	16.4
FULL-OWNERS	28.2	11.2	11.6
PART-OWNERS	30.7	9.4	9.8
MANAGERS	20.0	9.4	NA
TENANTS	74.3	48.7	56.9

AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OWNER = 69.8

AVG ACRES PER W. OWNER = 216.3

AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OPERATOR = 54.3

AVG ACRES PER W. OPERATOR = 261.6

AVG. AC. CROPLAND HARV PER N.W CAP - 1.6

AVG. AC. CROPLAND HARV. PER W CAP - 13.9

BARNWELL COUNTY

	All Farms %	Land in Farms %	Cropland Harvested %	NW Op's %	Land in Farms %	Crop. Harv. %	
under 10 acres	6.1	.1	.1	39.8	13.3	21.2	ALL OPERATORS
10 TO 49	27.6	4.3	8.1	26.3	8.7	15.7	FULL OWNERS
50 TO 69	12.3	3.7	5.5	33.9	12.3	14.2	PART OWNERS
70 TO 99	12.1	5.3	7.5	0	0	0	MANAGERS
100 - 139	10.6	6.4	7.6	70.3	43.7	60.2	ALL TENANTS
140-179	7.1	6.0	6.1	AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OWNER = 64.0			
180-219	3.9	4.5	4.4	AVG. ACRES PER W. OWNER = 237.9			
220-259	2.9	3.7	3.4	AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OPERATOR = 62.6			
260-499	8.4	15.2	15.9	AVG ACRES PER W. OPERATOR = 269.1			
500-999	5.3	19.7	20.0	AVG ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAPITA RURAL: 2.4			
1000-1999	2.7	19.5	16.7	AVG ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER W. CAPITA RURAL: 26.6			
2000 or more	.5	11.4	4.5				

CALHOUN COUNTY

under 10 acres	10.4	.3	.5	45.9	12.9	16.9	ALL OPERATORS
10 TO 49	29.3	4.0	6.4	31.8	9.8	12.6	FULL OWNERS
50 TO 69	6.8	2.0	2.2	28.4	9.6	10.1	PART OWNERS
70 TO 99	8.3	3.5	3.5	0	0	0	MANAGERS
100-139	8.8	5.2	5.6	85.5	45.5	57.9	ALL TENANTS
140-179	7.1	5.7	6.4	AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OWNER = 64.2			
180-219	6.0	6.1	6.5	AVG. ACRES PER W. OWNER = 272.9			
220-259	3.6	4.4	5.1	AVG. ACRES PER N.W. OPERATOR = 55.0			
260-499	9.4	17.0	19.7	AVG. ACRES PER W. OPERATOR = 315.4			
500-999	7.1	25.8	26.3	AVG. ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAP = 1.5			
1000-1999	2.4	17.4	13.3	AVG. ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER W. CAP = 132.2			
2000 OR MORE	.7	8.8	4.4				

CLARENDON COUNTY

	ALL FARMS %	LAND IN FARMS	CROPLAND HARV. %
under 10 acres	8.9	.5	.9
10 TO 49	51.5	14.5	23.7
50 TO 69	10.6	6.8	8.5
70 TO 99	7.9	7.1	7.6
100 - 139	6.3	8.1	7.2
140 - 179	3.5	6.0	5.2
180 - 219	2.7	5.9	5.4
220 - 259	1.8	4.9	4.3
260 - 499	3.7	14.5	12.5
500 - 999	2.0	14.8	13.7
1000 - 1999	.7	11.9	8.2
2000 or more	.2	4.8	2.8

	N.W. OP's. %	LAND IN FARMS %	CROPLAND HARVESTED %
ALL OPERATORS	64.7	28.6	38.1
FULL OWNERS	48.9	23.4	30.9
PART OWNERS	46.5	16.4	19.3
MANAGERS	0	0	0
ALL TENANTS	81.9	62.6	70.3

AVG. ACRES LAND IN FARMS PER N.W. OWNER = 52.8
AVG. ACRES LAND IN FARMS PER W. OWNER = 165.3
AVG. ACRES " " " PER N.W. OPERATOR = 39.8
AVG. ACRES " " " PER W. OPERATOR = 182.2
AVG. ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAPITA RURAL = 2.2
" " " " " W. CAPITA " = 8.8

HAMPTON COUNTY

	ALL FARMS %	LAND IN FARMS	CROPLAND HARV. %
under 10 acres	10.1	.2	.3
10 TO 49	34.6	3.5	6.3
50 TO 69	7.4	1.8	2.6
70 TO 99	8.9	3.1	3.5
100 TO 139	7.6	3.6	3.9
140 TO 179	6.5	4.2	5.4
180 TO 219	4.2	3.5	4.7
220 TO 259	3.0	3.0	4.0
260 TO 499	8.3	12.0	16.1
500 TO 999	5.1	14.3	20.4
1000 TO 1999	2.7	15.4	17.7
2000 or more	1.4	35.5	14.8

	N.W. OP's. %	LAND IN FARMS %	CROPLAND HARVESTED %
ALL OPERATORS	39.0	5.8	9.1
FULL OWNERS	30.1	6.0	10.0
PART OWNERS	35.9	3.4	4.2
MANAGER'S	28.6	3.9	—
ALL TENANTS	66.9	28.7	36.5

AVG. ACRES LAND IN FARMS PER N.W. OWNER = 44.8
" " " " " " W. " = 304.2
" " " " " " N.W. OPERATOR = 35.5
" " " " " " W. " = 372.2
AVG. ACRES CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAPITA RURAL = .80
" " " " " W. " " = 12.3

JASPER COUNTY

	% ALL FARMS	% LAND IN FARMS	% CROPLAND HARV.
under 10 acres	9.8	0.3	1.8
10 TO 49	52.8	5.9	17.7
50 – 69	6.0	1.7	4.1
70 – 99	8.4	3.5	7.5
100 – 139	3.8	2.2	4.4
140 – 179	4.0	3.2	3.7
180 – 219	2.3	2.2	3.0
220 – 259	1.9	2.3	4.8
260 – 499	4.6	7.6	9.0
500 – 999	3.1	11.1	19.3
1000 – 1999	1.4	8.3	5.1
2000 or more	1.7	51.5	19.6

	% N.W. OPS.	% LAND IN FARMS	% CROP. HARV.
ALL OPERATORS	61.7	11.4	28.3
FULL OWNERS	55.3	17.9	38.0
PART OWNERS	70.2	19.6	32.1
MANAGERS	21.4	1.1	—
ALL TENANTS	73.2	45.5	40.3

AVG. ACRES LAND IN FARMS PER N.W. OWNER = 40.8
" " " " " " W. OWNER = 231.3
" " " " " " N.W. OPERATOR = 36.9
" " " " " " W. " = 461.9
" " CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAPITA RURAL = 0.62
" " " " " W. " " = 34.7

LEE COUNTY

	% ALL FARMS	% LAND IN FARMS	% CROPLAND HARV.
under 10 acres	6.7	.3	.5
10 – 49	54.4	12.9	22.2
50 – 69	8.5	4.4	5.4
70 – 99	7.0	5.1	5.1
100 – 139	5.1	5.3	4.6
140 – 179	2.9	4.2	4.2
180 – 219	2.4	4.3	3.3
220 – 259	1.8	3.7	3.0
260 – 499	5.8	18.7	17.8
500 – 999	3.7	22.4	20.8
1000 – 1999	1.2	14.6	11.1
2000 or more	.2	4.1	1.7

	% N.W. OPS.	% LAND IN FARMS	% CROP. HARV.
ALL OPERATORS	63.6	20.7	29.9
FULL OWNERS	33.3	14.1	16.5
PART OWNERS	29.7	7.7	8.2
MANAGERS	0	0	0
ALL TENANTS	89.5	66.2	74.5

AVG. ACRES LAND IN FARMS PER N.W. OWNER = 60.9
" " " " " " W. " = 185.5
" " " " " " N.W. OPERATOR = 36.6
" " " " " " W. " = 245.4
" " CROPLAND HARV. PER N.W. CAP. RR. = 2.2
" " " " " W. " " = 11.7

WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY

	% ALL FARMS	% LAND IN FARMS	% CRop H.
Under 10 acres	9.7	.6	1.7
10 - 49	55.4	15.2	36.1
50 - 69	8.4	5.4	8.6
70 - 99	6.7	6.3	7.7
100 - 139	6.1	8.0	8.2
140 - 179	3.7	6.5	5.7
180 - 219	2.5	5.7	5.1
220 - 259	1.2	3.3	3.1
260 - 499	3.7	14.3	9.2
500 - 999	1.6	12.9	6.8
1000 - 1999	.6	9.4	4.8
2000 or more	.2	12.3	2.9

	% N.W.OPS	% LAND IN FARMS	% CROP H.
ALL OPERATORS	67.5	26.5	47.9
FULL OWNERS	49.6	18.5	28.8
PART OWNERS	57.5	17.8	32.1
MANAGERS	0	0	0
ALL TENANTS	84.5	66.9	79.2

AVG. ACRES LAND IN FARMS PER N.W. OWNER = 46.0
" " " " " " W. " = 199.1
" " " " " " N.W. OPER. = 34.9
" " " " " " W. " = 201.3
AVG. ACRES CROP. HARV. PER NW. OP. HAR. = 2.3
" " " " " W. " " = 5.5

South Carolina--10-22, 10-23, 10-24-62

10-22--Discussion with Robinson and Brown, Core field workers, about their work in the rural counties. Discussion took place in the Core office in Sumter, S.C. Robinson appears to be the leader of the two and he did most of thetalking. He said they had recently finished a two-week stint in Darlington County in which they had registered some 200 voters. He said the way they work is to go into acounty, contact local leaders, and arrange for cooperation of ministers, businessmen, etc. He said that a car pool is usually formed, frequently with a funeral home as headquarters. He seemed to think the principal factor inhibiting success in their program is the fear of the Negroes that economic reprisals will be used against them by the whites if they attempt to register and vote. He gave a long account of his difficulties with the Sumter whites which seemed to have revolved around his continuing civil rights activities. He said that he had been in the business of building houses and that he had been warned several times that if he didn't get out of this movement his sources of credit and materials would be shut off. He ignored the warnings and is now devoting full time to registration activities as a result. His wife is a teacher in the Sumter public schools. She does not appear to have suffered reprisal as a result of Robinson's activities.

Brown gave much the same story of his own difficulties, though he does not appear to have been as big an operator in real estate and building as was Robinson. The latter says he owns 100 acres or so outside Sumter which he used part of as a subdivision. He saysthe state highway department ran a road through his premises and then refused to give him anything like what the property was worth. He took the matter to court but unsuccessfully. He was not at all pleased with the manner in which Finney represented him (In a previous conversation Finney had warned me not to take too seriously what Robinson said).

There is somequestion in my mind about the effectivenss of Robinson and Brown. I did not have the time to go into the county where they saidthey had just been working and talk to some of the folks there, nor do I feel that I could have accomplished much in doing so because of my pale skin. However I think it would be agood idea to get an opinion from some ofthelocal folks in Darlington County. They said they wouldbeworking in Florence County the following week. It might also be a good idea to follow up thiswork with some enquiries.

Altogether this was not a very satisfactory interview. I asked them what

they had done in theway of getting affidavits of discrimination, statements of fear, descriptions of resistance tactics, etc. They showed me some old stuff dated back in June and July. They did have a current work sheet showing performance figures in Darlington County dated in October. However they did not show me anything but summary sheets. They said they maintain daily worksheets when canvassing and that they maintain records of each door-to-door contact. If they had such sheets on Darlington County they did not produce them. I hesitate to firmly question their veracity on this point; however, I do think these two are much more interested in getting voters registered than they are in keeping records and that, therefore, what they report should be taken with some reservations. If they do not maintain accurate day-to-day record sheets, their summary reports at theend of the month could hardly be more than informed guesses as to their progress during the previous months. I suggested to them the necessity for keeping accurate records and also gave them an outline of the things they should keep alookout for an report in connection with resistance andwith Negor attitudes.

Columbia--10-23: Mrs. Alice Spearman was not in her office but I talked at some length with her on the 'phone. She said that, in Orangeburg County, Dr. C.H. Thomas at Carolina State College and Dr. H.V. Manning, Pres. of Claflin, were very much interested in registeration and were looking for some support. She said Dr. Manning had met with the county registrars and was pleased with their attitudes. He thinks much can be done by Negroes whohave not been branded as militants in the civil rights movement. She said also that a retired mail-carrier--McPherson--had been very active for years in Organgeburg and that he was a good man and"absolutely fearless". She suggested that I get in touch with Benjamin Mack of Columbia wh0 had been very active in the citizenship shhools, but who had had some difficulty with SCLC ofer the payment of his expenses. She said that in Kingstree, Williamsburg County, Virgil Dimery, partner in the Dimery and Rogers funeral home, was very active in voter registration and was looking for some support. She said that the minister who had been leading things in Clarendon County had died, leaving a severe leadership vacuum which was not presently being filled. One Billy Fleming seems to be attempting to carve himself a primary leadership role but Spearman says he isthought of as a hustler from the north. She says he is a fiery and very effective speaker. She saidthat Freddy Williams, at Sumter and a student at

the college there, is a very good man. She said he had worked closely and effectively with the Council's youth program in Sumter. Freddy seems to be a big leader on the campus and to have quite a student following, according to Spearman.

Columbia, 10-23, Mathew Perry: Knows of only two incidents in which courts have been used flagrantly to deprive the Negro in S.C. An NAA state president charged with defrauding an insurance company was acquitted on trial in a state court. Perry questioned the justification for thecharges andsuspected they were merely harassment. He thinks the jury system in S.C. is generally bad for the Negro particularly in civil matters,but better in some counties than in others. He corroborates Robinson's story of discrimination in connection with taking of R's land for the state highwy in Sumter. Says Finney tried to get R. to settle for the amount offered even though R though it inadequate. R refused and on trial was unable to offer evidence to refute the testimony of white appraisers introduced as expert by the defendent.

Perry thinks the discrimination in the case tookplace at the appraisal rather than at the trial level.

He feels that white opposition in S.C. is generally more sophisticated than in Miss., etc. This corroborates R's belief that fear is manintined primarily by economic rather than direct physical intimidation. He says NAA chapter in Columbia has not been notably effected in registration work. Thinks ineffectiveness stems from lack of organized and cooperative leadership. Thinks whites, partially thru well-organized WCC use technique of keeping the leadership divided. Thinksthere is plenty of leadership available. Thinks spresence of several Negro lawyers willing to undertake "race" matters accounts for the relative integrity ofthe judicial process in the state.

He says McCray's sorganization has in the past been the most effective in v-r work. Says that in recent years M's organization has declined until he no longer occupies the influential positon he once did. Therehave been numerous and persistent reportsthat M has used his position for his own enrichment. Perry is unable to say how muchsubstance there is to these charges. He does affirm thattheyhave accounted for much of the declinejof M's influence. Again when asked about the most effective v-r workhe mentions M.

M went to cover a rape trial of a young Negro accused of raping the daughter of a prominent white citizen. He was accompanied by an AP man. The story both wrote gave so many details about the girl's identity it was claer who she was

Mwas tried under a S.C. law prohibiting identification of rape victims. the AP man wasnot tried. M. found guilty and given suspended sentenceand probation. He violated probation by leaving thestate without notifying probation officer to attend demo convention in Chicago where he led a move to oppose seating of the S.C. delegaton. He was jailed on his return for violating probation. Perry doubts this would have happened to a white man. M's organization was responsible for the original voting case in S.C. back in the40'sand for a time he was very active and influential in Negro politicsin the state. Influence has now waned and he is a reporter for the Pittsburg Courier.

10-23-Columbia: McCray sayshe doubts that any extisting organization can effectively conduct a voter registration drive in Columbia. He says NAA chapter is weak and ineffective having only about a hundred members some of whomare white. He says there is a great organziation and personal jealousy among the various groups here. He says his groups is goingto conduct a drive in the 9th and 18th wards after the Nov. elections. He says the Board of Registrars have agreed to bring their operation into the area to facilitate registration. He says they did this in Lower RichlandCounty and registered 900 in a week. He thinks his drive will run about a week andhopes to get some 20,000 new voters.

He says the Palmetto Voters League is dominatedby republicanswho are strictly partisan--willing to supportWorkman against Johnston bout is doubtful they can swing a substantial number of votes. Leevy is one of the big leaders of the republicans here. M supports Johnston but he bitterly opposes Thurmond. Says it is certainThurmond has a Negro daughter who attended State College and who now lives in Savannah--Essie Williams. Says Thurmondhas numerous Negro relatives sired by either his grandfather or his Uncle. M is very satisfied with the progress of the Negroes in thecity. Says he was dealing with city councilmanBates before Negroes could vote and Bates would do nothing. But after the Elmo v.Rice decision, Bates called him about getting someNegroes on the police force. He asked Bates what had chnaged the latter's attitude and Bates said"You can votenow" There are now 4 Negroes on the police whose authority is plenary. There are 8 Negro fireman and the thing h9lding up further employment is Difficulty finding Negro applicants. Negroes sit on varous city committees and Commissions and M saysthe mayor ismaking plans for desegregating thecity parks and hotels. City lunch counters were desegregated wi hout incidnet thru cooperation of city

M says mayor and chairman of board of registrars treat withhim on a basis of personal equality. He says he knows of no cases of policebrutality to Negroes in recent years. He thinks state repsublicans are primarily the nuts who left the demo party when the Negroes got thevote. He says hiskman in Berkely county takes applications and sends them to registrars who issue certificates and pass them On to Negores. He says this also accurs in Gerogetown and the counties ofBeaufort, Greenville and Spartanburg, are very easy on Negro registration.

The charge that he is working with whites to thedetrimentof the Negroes is not contradicted by anything he says, nor is it confirmed. His attitude of enthusiasm about the local white officials might be interpreted as a sign of such an affiliation. On the other hand, the fact that this proven effective organizer and leader has now been politically castrated by such rumors may be evidence that the divisie efforts of the whites are being very effective.

Charleston Registrars interviewed 10-24-62.

Three women, 2 rather nasty creatures and one who obviously dominates things. The latter is fastidiously dress and coiffed, sports a large diamond solitaire & wedding band on left hand and a beautiful & exquisitely tasteful camio on the right. She is in her middle forties, speaks in the tones of aristocracy and very clearly runs things. The clerk, a sycophant type was also present during the interview.

The leader is very critical of Negroes who have participated in

the drives of August and October. She felt that WPA is "herding them" in and this much against their will. She says many Negroes are very tense and keyed up when they come to register during these pogroms. She attributes this to the Manifestations of WPA and the local Citizens Committee. When asked to she did not suggest that Negroes might be tense because of apprehension of what might happen to them for being so arrogant as to want to register.

She complained of much rudeness on the

part of Negroes particularly youngsters. Says the Mississippi thinks to NAA president and he shrugged off with "Well that's human nature".

She said she wished I had been there during the 9 days of the August drive, that I would have seen a mass of ignorance which was indescribable. Some 800 Negroes were registered in the 9 days and 130 were rejected. She said that a surprising number of Negroes could read the required section of the Constitution with great facility but "You know that they don't

understand a thing that they are reading." She said that now and then they turn to fail a white for being unable to read, but that most of the illiterate whites readily admit their illiteracy and simply present their tax receipt for taxes paid on $300 or more assessment.

She told of one negro woman whose reading ability the Clerk had questioned who was being re-examined by her. The Board turn. Wrote down and Creed. She turned to one of her women colleagues and said "it's good it didn't happen to you - you'd

probably have broken down too." She seemed to feel no compassion — no sympathy — no [redacted] Lesmon sympathy — for the distraught woman who had appeared before her. The [redacted] complication was that she was imputing to her colleague a kind of silly weakness.

When asked if there had been any organized white effort, she said that the various "Citizens" organizations had worked since 1957 to get whites re-registered for the new ten-year registration period.

its "Comic section" when the whites do it and "herding" when the Negroes do it.

Registration works this way - The applicant fills out a simple form and then is required to read a section of the State or federal Constitution. This is done before the clerk. If the clerk has any question about reading ability, she sends the applicant to one of the Registrars and the latter readministers the test. They try to use section - which exclude such terms as legislature, constitution, Senate, Supreme Court,

etc. Curiously they seem to have no objection to illiterate white voters though their vaunted objection to negroes voting is based upon their contention that the negroes are too dumb to really understand what they're doing.

I asked if any of the negroes appeared to ~~know~~ be aware of the significance of what they were doing she said "Oh yes, some of them are very sharp".

O Rongelung.
Dr. C. H. Thomas at State College and Dr. H. V. Manning at Claflin very much interested in Voted reg. and looking for support. Dr Manning met with Cavalry veterans and was pleased with their attitudes. He thinks much can be done by Negroes who have not been branded as Militants - All this from A. Spearman - Retired mail-carrier McPherson very active & "fearless".

Columbia:
W. E. Solomon
AL 29383
1719 Taylor
SC Council - Columbia
1330 Laurel
AL 6-8808

John McCray
2459 Waites Rd.
AL 6-3804

Mathew Perry
1107 1/2 Washington
AL - 37549
256 - 6586 - home

Mr. Newman
SC Conference N.A.A.
919 1/2 Washington - going to
Orangeburg for Mtg of Palmetto Voters
League.

Columbia
Benjamin Mack
AL 40600
SCLC man who Spearman
says has complained of
SCLC's failure to meet
commitments for expense
money.

Kingstree, Williamsburg Cty.
Dimery & Rogers
Funeral Home
Virgil Dimery very
active in V-R and
looking for Support.

Clarendon County
Minister who was
key leader died leaving
severe vacuum
which not presently

Filled. One Billy Fleming seems to be attempting primary leadership role - his thought of as Luster from north says Spearman. His Minister who is very fiery speaker.

Sumter S.C.:
Freddy Williams big student leader at College there - worked closely with SC Council's Youth program.

COLUMBIA:

~~I.S. Leevy~~

~~Leevy's Funeral Home~~

1831 TAYLOR

AL 3-7036

I. S. LEEVY

Leevy's Funeral Home

Mathew Perry –

Knows of only two incidents in which courts have been used flagrantly to deprive the negro in S.C. NAA State President ~~Comm~~ Charged with defrauding insurance Co. but was acquitted on trial in State Court.

Thinks jury system in S.C. is generally bad for Negro particularly in Civil Matters, but better in some counties than in others.

Corroborates Robinson's story of Discrimination in connection with taking of Robinson's land for State Highway in

Sumter Co. says Feeney tried to get R. to settle for amount offered even tho' R thought it inadequate. R. refused and on trial was unable to offer evidence to refute testimony of white appraisers introduced as experts by the State.

Perry thinks the discrimination in this case took place at the appraisal ~~level~~ rather than at the trial level.

Tells that white opposition in S.C. is generally more sophisticated than in Miss. This corroborates R.'s belief that fear is maintained primarily by economic rather than

direct physical intimidation.

Says NAA chapter in Columbia has not been notably effective in registration work. Thinks ineffectiveness stems from lack of organized and cooperative leadership. Thinks whites, partially thru well-organized WCC — use technique of keeping leadership divided. Thinks there is plenty of leadership available. Thinks presence of several Negro lawyers willing to undertake "race" matters accounts for relative integrity of judicial process in the state.

Says McCray's organization has in the past been the most effective in V-R work. Says that in recent years M's org. has declined until he no longer occupies the influential position he once did. There have been numerous and persistent reports that M has used his position for his own enrichment. Perry is unable to say how much substance there is to these charges. He does affirm that they have accounted for much of the decline of M's influence.

Again when asked

about the most effective
U-R mark, he mentioned
McCray.
McCray went to Conway a
rape trial of a young
negro accused of raping
daughter of a prominent
white citizen. He was
accompanied by an A P
man. The story both
wrote gave so many de-
tails about girl's identity
it was clear who she
was. McCray tried under
a S.C. law prohibiting
identification of rape
victim. A P man not
tried. Found guilty
and and given suspended
sentence & probation.
violated probation

by leaving state without satisfying probation officer to attend Dem. Convention in Chi where he led a move to oppose seating of S.C. delegation. He was jailed on his return for violating probation.

Perry doubts this would have happened to a white man. McCray's organization was responsible for the original voting case in S.C. back in the 40's and for a time he was easily active and influential in negro politics in the state. Duffy would have now wanted and he is reporter for Pittsburg Courier.

Geo. Halvion, pr.

Dr. Walter M. Evans
Berkeley County
Monck's Corner
McCray's Mill

Beaufort
Greenville
Spartanburg
Georgetown
Every counties.

Rev. J. E. Crumley
Pres. of NAACP Chap.

McCray says he doubts that any existing organization can effectively conduct a voter registration drive in Columbia. He says NAA Chapter is weak and ineffective having only about a hundred

members some of whom are white. He says there is great organizational and personal jealousy among the various groups here. He says his group is going to conduct a drive in the 9th & 18th wards after the 11-6 election. He says the Board of Registrars have agreed to arrange their operation into the area to facilitate registration. He says they did this in "Sumter Richland County and registered 900 in a week. He thinks his drive will run about a week and

hope to get some 20,000
new voters
He says the Palmetto
voters league is dominated
by republicans who are
partisans, strictly - willing
to support Warfman
against Johnston but
he doubts they can swing
a substantial number of
votes. Seeny is one of
the big leaders of the
Republicans here
McCary supports
Johnson but he bitterly
opposes Thurmond. Says
it is certain Thurmond
has a negro daughter
who attended State College
and who now lives in
Savannah. Yours - Essie

Williams. Sarp Thurmond has numerous negro relatives scared by either his grandfather or his uncle.

McCray is very satisfied with position of negro in the City. Says he was dealing with City Councilman Bates before negroes could vote and Bates would do nothing. But after the Elias V. Rice decision Bates called him about getting some negroes on the police force. ~~Bates~~ He asked Bates what had changed the latter's attitude and Bates

said "You can vote now".
There are now 4 Negro
policemen on the Columbia
force whose authority
is plenary. There are
8 Negro firemen and
the thing holding up
further employment is
difficulty finding Negro
applicants. Negroes
sit on various City
Committees + Commissions
and McCray says the Mayor
is making plans for de-
segregating the City parks
and hotels. City beach
counters were desegregated
without incident + thru
cooperation of City gov't.
McCary says Mayor
and Chairman of Board

of registrars treat
either him on a basis of
personal equality.
He says he knows of
no cases of police brutality
to negroes in recent years.
He thinks state republi-
cans are primarily the
nuts who left the Demo
party when the negroes
got the vote.
He says his son in
Berkeley County takes
applications and sends
them to registrars who
issue certificates and
pass them on to negroes.
He says this also occurs
in Georgetown and
the Counties listed
above are very

easy, he says. The charge that he is working with white to the detriment of the negroes is not contrary to anything he says. He says local politicians are supporting the registration drive mentioned above.

Possible Director for Columbia

W. N. Rosebarough
1821 2-Natch Rd.
AL 27635 Retired
ins. salesman rec. by Salomon

Charleston:

Ezra Jenkins
767-2021

John H. Wrighten
230 Corning St. Off.
722-8397 Off
TU 4-9982 Home

February 13, 1964

Mr. William Strickland
Executive Director
The Northern Student Movement
73 Morningside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Strickland:

Thank you for your letter of February 6, 1964.

The only materials we have which would outline for you the scope of the Voter Education Project are certain internal reports, an election year calendar we have made up and a chart showing the results of VEP activity to December 31, 1963. The latter two items we are enclosing with this letter, and the former reports are being sent you under separate cover.

If we can be of any further assistance just let us know.

Very truly yours,

WileybA. Branton

WAB:jl
enc. 7

NSM

Jim:

Please send NSM

the following:

1. First Status Report
2. First Fiscal year VEP
3. Electric Information Sheet
4. About 6 copies of latest VEP results.

WBB
BW
RTB

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

FEB 10 1964

February 6, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
5 Forseyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I would like to express our appreciation to you for coming to the aid of N.S.M. last year when we were much concerned about our application for tax exemption. The help we received from people like yourself has proved to be of invaluable benefit: we have just gained a favorable ruling.

This will necessarily change the shape of our operations in a number of areas among which is the nature of our voter registration efforts in the North. It would be a great service if you would send on to us whatever materials you may have outlining the scope of the Voter Education Project so that we may have some reliable guidelines to pass on to our people in the cities.

Thanking you in advance, and hoping that all is well with you, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Bill Strickland
William Strickland
Executive Director

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

WB

February 21, 1964

FEB 24 1964

Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for the materials. I have just begun to go over them. I think that they will help clarify some areas of indefiniteness in our minds.

Hope things are well in Atlanta.

Yours very truly,

William Strickland

William Strickland
Executive Director

WS:jw

6/21/62

Vote Drive Set For Negroes In Williamson

By ROBERT CHURCHWELL
Banner Staff Writer

Franklin—The failure to use the ballot was given emphasis here Sunday at a rally preparatory to launching a voter registration drive among Negroes in Williamson County.

Henderson

The drive, as outlined by Dr. V. W. Henderson, Fisk University department of economics chairman, will aim ultimately at registering 3,316 Negroes out of a total of 14,000 eligible voters in the county.

The rally, at Provident Baptist Church here, was one of a series to be held in Davidson, Williamson, Maury and Giles Counties under plans of a Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project sponsored jointly by the Nashville NAACP branch and the Davidson County Independent Political Council. Money for the four-week project is being provided by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Henderson, secretary of the Nashville NAACP, said this and other recent activities represent the first time in the history of Tennessee that Negroes have come together to use their political influence in behalf of better race relations.

His reference was to an endorsement given former Governor Frank Clement by the Tennessee Voters Council, an organization of cooperative Negro political groups across the state. The endorsement followed the appearance of Clement and the other two major candidates, P. R. Olgiati, and William Farris, at the recent TVC rally at Fisk University.

The rally was sponsored by the Franklin NAACP branch, David Hoosey, president. Mrs. C. M. Hayes, Nashville branch president introduced Henderson.

Franklin Review
June 21, 1962

NAACP To Promote Negro Registration

The Williamson County Branch of the NAACP will have a program Sunday, June 24, at 3 p.m. at Providence Baptist Church to encourage the registration of as many Negroes of voting age as possible before July 2, the closing date for registration.

Dr. V. W. Henderson, Fisk University professor, will be the speaker.

All candidates for public office, as well as the public in general, are invited to attend.

NEWS RELEASE

Sept. 11, 1962

LEON COX TO HEAD N.A.A.C.P., DAVIDSON COUNTY INDEPENDENT POLITICAL COUNCIL THREE WEEK VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

The Board of Managers of the local Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project -- joint voter registration campaign of the Nashville Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Davidson County Independent Political Council -- met last night to further plans for a three week concentrated effort at registering thousands of unregistered voters.

The Board appointed Leon Cox as co-ordinator of the drive. Cox recently returned to Nashville from St. Petersburg, Florida, where he taught history at Gibbs Junior College. Cox was also president of the St. Petersburg Branch NAACP. Last March he headed the Pirellas County (Florida) voter registration drive, sponsored by the Florida State Conference of Branches of the NAACP.

The Committee in its business session last night outlined techniques that might prove valuable in inducing non-registered voters to shoulder their responsibilities.

Cox said that immediate plans call for placing two full time workers in the County Court House to encourage persons to register while there attending to other business. Other plans call for the continued practice of block by block, house by house canvassing.

40 copies

PHONE AL 5-1607

PHONE 254-3381

Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project

(Joint Voter Registration Campaign of the Nashville Branch of the NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council)

1308 Jefferson Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

July 18, 1962

TO: Block Workers

RE: "TARGET SEVEN"

We are far from our goal of 20,000 new registered voters!

The Voter-Registration Department at the County Court House will be closed until August 7; therefore, we have twenty days to "wait."

Make this "waiting" period a concentrated WORKING period. Push hard to get at least ten people to commit themselves to register on August 7.

Campaign literature is available in our office to help you. If you need it, call between 10:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. Your identification badge is enclosed.

Your report should be sent in as soon as you complete your area. If transportation is needed for people to register, phone our office immediately, giving name, address, phone number, and time to be picked up.

We can't afford to waste time. TARGET SEVEN.

40 copies

PHONE AL 5-1607 PHONE 254-3381

Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project

(Joint Voter Registration Campaign of the Nashville Branch of the NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council)

1308 Jefferson Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

URGENT URGENT

July 30, 1962

TO : Block Workers

RE : Progress in Voter-Registration Campaign

FROM: G. W. Chrite, Director

Please Note: Meeting of Block Workers, Friday, August 3, 1962, at 7:45 p.m. in the Voter-Registration Office.

We are now in the second month of our four-month project. We are concerned that our progress has been rather slow up to this time. Elections have hindered us, but we still have a tremendous job to do.

We need reports on "TARGET SEVEN." It is vitally important that we meet to determine our plans for subsequent campaigning.

Voter-registration is the responsibility of every citizen. You realized that by committing yourself to work with us;therefore, we urge you to attend this meeting.

PHONE AL 5-1607 PHONE 254-3381

Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project

(Joint Voter Registration Campaign of the Nashville Branch of the NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council)

1308 Jefferson Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

August 30, 1962

ORGANIZATION PRESIDENT
Nashville
Tennessee

Dear President:

Because of your interest -- moral and civic -- the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Research Project solicits your cooperation in its Number One project: VOTER REGISTRATION.

Of the citizens in Nashville of voting age, only about forty (40 %) per cent are actually registered to vote. The lack of interest of eligible voters is also an appalling problem.

People should be encouraged to register and vote, because the power of the vote is unquestionable. Job opportunities and educational advancement can be realized from political strength.

As leaders in the Community, you have a responsibility to make your members one hundred per cent registered voters.

Materials and assistance may be secured from our office or by calling.

Very truly yours,

E. H. Mitchell M.D.

E. H. Mitchell, M. D.
Research Project Board Chairman

Mrs. C. M. Hayes

Mrs. C. M. Hayes
Board Member and NAACP Branch President

Avon N. Williams, Jr.

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
Board Member and DCIPC President

atw

N.B.: NEEDED FOR ALL AREAS: Block workers, Transportation, Telephone callers, and Baby sitters.

200 Copies

PHONE AL 5-1607

PHONE 254-3381

Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project

(Joint Voter Registration Campaign of the Nashville Branch of the NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council)

1308 Jefferson Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

August, 1962

URGENT

TO: NASHVILLE CITIZENS --- Doctors, Dentists, and Businesses

We don't need to tell YOU how important it is that we increase the number of registered Negro voters. The results of our last election emphasize that. We will remind you that we are in a crisis situation. The figures speak for themselves: in Nashville and Davidson County only 29 out of every 100 Negro citizens of voting age are actually registered; more tragic is the fact that less than half of those registered actually vote.

Our aim is to contact people EVERYWHERE, to encourage them to register and to vote; therefore, we call upon you for help. We realize that you have little time to give in a campaign, but there is something you CAN do.

Enclosed is material that we want you to display in your office or establishment. Please display it where your patrons will be certain to see it. You might even suggest that they notice it.

In addition, we ask you to be responsible for keeping a record of NON-REGISTERED voters. Registered voters should sign the Honor Roll. Included in the material are cards for non-registered people to fill out. We will contact you regularly for a report.

Your cooperation with this Project will be appreciated . . . and rewarding to our community.

Yours truly,

George W. Chrite (EHM)

George W. Chrite, Director

E. H. Mitchell, M. D., Chairman

atw

PHONE AL 5-1607 PHONE 254-3381

Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project

(Joint Voter Registration Campaign of the Nashville Branch of the NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council)

1308 Jefferson Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

September 14, 1962

TO : MINISTERS AND CONGREGATIONS
Nashville
Tennessee

Attention

Dear Friends:

An increasing number of churches are making contributions to the Community by actively supporting the Voter Registration Campaign. Their cooperation in the scheduling of neighborhood meetings is invaluable.

We are requesting that you announce the following meetings:

1. Sunday, Sept. 16; Pleasant Green Bapt. Church, 1410 Jefferson, 11:00 a.m.; speaker to be announced.

2. Sunday, Sept. 16; Fourteenth Ave. Church of God, 14th & Phillips, 1:00 p.m., Speaker -- E. H. Mitchell, M. D. (Chairman of the Voter Registration Project Board of Managers)

3. Monday, Sept. 17; Westwood Bapt. Church, 2510 Albion, 7:30 p.m.; Speaker -- Mr. Dillard Boyd (Member of the Voter Registration Project Board of Managers)

Only three (3) weeks remain for registration of voters in the November election. Please emphasize the importance of registering; please attend at least one of the meetings with your members.

~~Very truly yours,~~

E. H. Mitchell, M. D.

E. H. Mitchell, M. D.
MTVRP Board Chairman

Mrs. C. M. Hayes
Board Member and NAACP Branch President

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
Board Member and DCIPC President

atw

REGISTER *for* FREEDOM

Joint Registration Campaign

sponsored by

Middle Tennessee Voter's Registration Project

Nashville Branch NAACP

and

Davidson County Independent Political Council

BE SMART — —BE WISE — —

REGISTER TO VOTE

TIME: Each Week Monday Thru Friday
8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.

PLACE: County Court House (Ground floor)

You Have The Right To Register And You Can

If you are twenty-one (21) years of age or older . . . If you have lived in Tennessee one (1) year, in Davidson county six (6) months.

You can vote if you have registered twenty days prior to the next election.

IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY CITIZEN TO REGISTER AND VOTE

It is easy to register, you can register in less than three (3) minutes.

YOUR CITY, COUNTY, STATE and COUNTRY NEED YOUR VOTE

If You Don't Vote — Don't Squawk!

Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project

TELEPHONE 254-3381

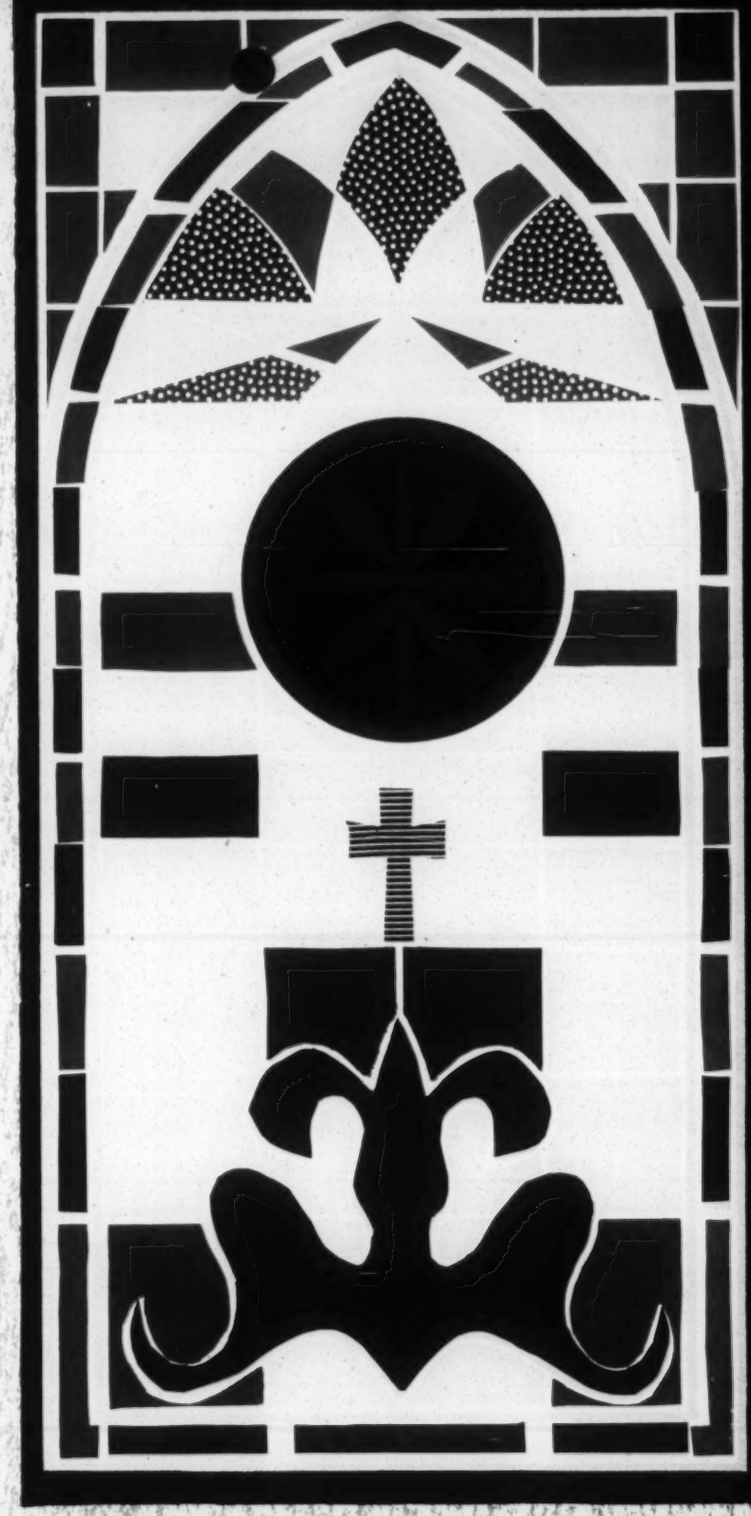
Be a *First Class* Citizen

REGISTER NOW and VOTE

JOINT REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

Nashville Branch NAACP and Davidson County Independent Political Council

Serve God and Man



REGISTER and VOTE

NAACP NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN

designed and illustrated by DICK READ

PROTECT THEIR FUTURE

3,000,000 NEGRO VOTERS CAN!

REGISTER
VOTE

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street New York 18, New York

designed & illustrated by Read & Barnett

MIDDLE TENNESSEE VOTER-REGISTRATION PROJECT
1308 Jefferson Street Nashville 8, Tennessee

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ WARD ____ PREC. _____

Registered? _____ Will register now? _____

Wish transportation? _____ Need to report new address? _____

Will you help register others? _____

IF YOU DON'T VOTE --- DON'T SQUAWK!

MIDDLE TENNESSEE VOTER-REGISTRATION PROJECT

1308 Jefferson Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

254-3381

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

KIND OF WORK: BLOCK WORKER ( )
OFFICE HELPER ( )
TRANSPORTATION ( )
TELEPHONE CALLER ( )

Date _____

Time _____

Place _____

No. Persons _____

MIDDLE TENNESSEE VOTER-REGISTRATION PROJECT
1308 Jefferson Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee
AL 5 1607 254-3381

REGISTRATION TRIP SHEET

NAMES:	ADDRESSES:	COMMENTS:

Reported by _____

Transported by _____

MIDDLE TENNESSEE VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

1308 Jefferson Street Phone 254-3381 Nashville 8, Tennessee

Master Card for Non-Registered Voters

NAME ADDRESS PHONE	Will Register Now	Wish Trans-portation	Need to Report New address	Will be Available to Go

IF YOU DON'T VOTE --- DON'T SQUAWK!

INSTRUCTIONS FOR BLOCK LEADERS

Block leaders are the foundation of progressive neighborhood organizations. They are the life of communication between the organization and the people of the neighborhood. Their duties are:

1. Contact and make friends.
   (a) Visit each neighbor's home and introduce themselves.
   (b) Tell them about the neighborhood organization and its purpose.
   (c) Be sure to explain the importance of every adult in the community becoming a qualified voter and voting.

2. Ask them to help the organization program by:
   (a) Coming to and taking part in its regular meetings.
   (b) Helping whenever and wherever possible.
   (c) Letting you make a voting survey of every adult in the home. (20 years of ag e and over.)

3. Leave with a friendly expression and again remind your host that:
   (a) You are the block's representative for the organization.
   (b) To call you concerning any of their community problems.
   (c) That you will keep constant contact with them about community and organization developments.

DO	DON'T
1. Do be friendly.	1. Don't get angry. (Maybe the host's corns hurt).
2. Do explain the how and why of your organization's program.	2. Don't ask to make a voting survey standing at the door.
3. Do let the host talk.	3. Don't do all of the talking.
4. Do begin your survey today.	4. Don't put off until next week.
5. Do keep in constant touch with your neighbors.	5. Don't just visit when you want a favor. Stop by and get their ideas sometimes.
6. Do get them to become qualified voters.	6. Don't forget a follow-up visit when they make a promise.

DO GO BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY TO INCREASE THE VOTING STRENGTH

MIDDLE TENNESSEE VOTER*REGISTRATION PROJECT
Data Sheet for Block Canvassers

Street _____ Block Number _____

Block Captain _____ Precinct Leader _____

Name of Block Canvasser Address of Block Canvasser

_____ _____

Date _____ Hour Beginning _____ Hour Ending _____

House No.	Name of Citizen	Registered	Not registered	Will regis. at once	Wish transport	Need rep	Ot
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Tenn. Delegation Racially Mixed

NASHVILLE (AP)—The delegation representing Tennessee at the Democratic National Convention will be racially integrated, bound by the unit rule, firmly pledged to President Johmson and free to pick a vice presidential candiate of its liking.

These matters were ironed out with hardly a riple Thursday as state Democratic leaders met.

The seven Negroes—three delegates and four alternates—are believed to be the first of their race ever sent to a national convention by Tennessee Democrats.

The Negro delegates are A.W. Willis, Memphis attorney; Robert Lillard, Nashville attorney and city councilman, and Aaron E. Sloss, Nashville labor union leader. The Negro alternates: Bennie Harris, Chattanooga; Harold Love, Nashville, and Russell Sugarmon and Jesse Turner of Memphis.

The delegation to the meeting in Atlantic City Aug. 24-27 will be made up of 66 delegates and 36 alternates. They will cast Tennessee's 40 votes in the unit. However, the state convention provided that the delegation by a majority vote of its members, could free itself from the rule and each vote individually.

Leading the group will be Gov. Frank Clement and all but one Democratic member of Tennessee's congressional delegation. Rep. Tom Murray of Jackson was not elected.

Sen. Herbert Walters and Mrs. Ruth Russell of Gallatin will return as members of the Democratic National Committee.

Selma Times-Jour.
4/3/64, p. 1.

Politics Tenn

Arkansas Gazette
4/10/64

Negro Claims Title of Austin Mayor As Council Quits During 'Speak-in'

AUSTIN, Tex. (AP) — Rev. Wesley Sims, a Negro took over the Austin mayor's chair Wednesday, claiming he is mayor pro tem because the City Council adjourned during a civil rights filibuster.

The City Council adjourned after sitting for a week as demonstrators' speakers droned on in what they termed a "speak-in" seeking an anti-discrimination ordinace.

Sims is minister of the Bethany Christian Church.

A spokesman for the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, said the Council members had deserted their posts and Sims would act as mayor pro tem so the "city would not be void of a city government."

There was no violence during the confusion and noise that followed the unexpected adjournment of the Council session.

About 15 uniformed policemen gathered back of the City Hall building. Police Chief Bob Miles said there would be no interference with the demonstration unless "there is an attempt to destroy property or if there are assaults. We can't let that happen."

The adjournment came after Sims, the current speaker in the long demonstration, warned that racial unrest threatens "to turn a tiger loose in our city."

There was confusion in the Council chamber and in the corridors. An estimated 100 spectators, white and Negro, crowded into the chamber and hallways. When the Council adjourned, most of them stood. Some cheered, some jeered. There was some shouting.

The four Council members present went into an adjoining room.

Volma Overton, chairman of the local NAACP chapter, told newsmen the "speak-in" would continue without the presence of the Council members.

Sims resumed the filibuster after the Council recessed for day.

Texas Statewide

Clement Facing Racial Problem

Atlanta C+J, 5-3-64

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

TENNESSEE

NASHVILLE, Tenn. May 2. Gov. Frank Clement, on the eve of a campaign for the U.S. Senate while he retains the office of governor, faces what may be the most crucial racial problem as yet raised statewide.

The governor has had tremendous support from the Negro voters of the state as the result of major progress made in race relations, school integration, and local voluntary desegregation of public facilities, restaurants, hotels and other public places.

But the governor now faces the signing or refusal to sign a "Fair Practices Code", extending by gubernatorial decree, for whatever that means, the general accommodations rights to the Negroes.

The Tennessee Voters Council, probably the strongest Negro organization of its kind, is pressing for the governor's signature on the code drawn and adopted by the governor's own Commission on Human Rights.

The proposed code would require state officials to recruit, promote and discharge personnel on the basis of ability and fitness, without regard to race, color, religious creed, ancestry or national origin."

The code is actually quite mild, and far short of the pending civil rights bill before the Congress.

Some of the Negro leaders urging the signing of the code were recently recognized by Gov. Clement's administration and named delegates to the Democratic National Convention, to which seven Negroes will go for the first time in the state's history.

In support of the code demands, race demonstrations have started again in Nashville despite the pleas of most of the Negro organizations against such demonstrations at this time.

One big restaurant, Morrison's cafeteria, is a prime target of the recurring demonstrations. It is the only sizeable restaurant in Nashville not desegregated. Three small uptown "hamburger joints" are the excuse for the uptown demonstrations.

The aim of the Voters Council is to increase the Negro vote in the state from the estimated 175,000 to 225,000 in the 1964 elections.

That plum makes the issue a prime one in the August primaries in congressional and the two U.S. Senate campaigns.

U.S. Sen. Herbert S. Walters, the interim appointee to the late Sen. Estes Kefauver's seat, cleared the field for Gov. Clement by announcing this week that he would not seek the seat, but would remain in Washington for the civil rights fight. He has announced that he will vote against the bill.

Sen. Albert Gore, who has twice supported civil rights measures, has also announced against the present bill — in its present form — but indicates he will support the measure if clarifying amendments are adopted.

Rep. Ross Bass, who is seeking the Senate seat and who is a probable opponent of Gov. Clement, voted for the civil rights bill in the House.

Tenn. Politics

No Negroes In Tenn. Delegation To National GOP Convention

Atl. Daily, 5-10-64

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(SNS)—No Negroes will be among Tennessee's delegation to the Republican Convention at San Francisco in July.

This will be the first time in more than 40 years that Negroes have not been numbered among the State's GOP voting group.

Down through the years it was almost understood that the Republican representation from this end of the State would be interracial. This policy existed under the late GOP leader, Robert R. Church, and continued under the leadership of Lt. George W. Lee.

Lee's power was wrested from him about two years ago by a predominantly white group.

Mr. Lee was on hand in Nashville last Saturday for the State Convention which elected delegates and alternates and voted to support Arizona Senator Goldwater for the presidential nomination. (The at-large national convention delegates are not bound by Saturday's Goldwater endorsement.)

Mr. Lee is reportedly campaigning for New York Governor Rockefeller.

At the convention Saturday, Old Guard Republican leader George Lee appeared before a special committee and warned that any abandonment of Negroes would be "a bonanza for the Democrats." He was seeking to have himself and David Marks of Memphis declared delegates to the national convention from the Ninth Congressional District. The executive committee instead accepted Robert James and Lewis Donelson.

James and Donelson were named in March when the James faction of the Shelby County GOP organization dominated the county convention and Mr. Lee and his followers walked off the convention floor.

Mr. Lee and his followers, Negro and white, insist the James faction is lily-white and is denying representation to Negro Republicans.

Followers of the pace-setting James faction contend Negroes "participated fully" in district caucuses and attended the county convention.

Meanwhile, another fierce showdown between Lee and James is shaping up. Mr. James several weeks ago said he will run for the Republican nomination for the United States House of Representatives from the Ninth District. Last Saturday, Atty. Raymond M. Briggs of the Old Guard announced he will oppose Mr. James in the GOP primary. Atty. Briggs most certainly will have the backing of Mr. Lee and his group.

This will be a rematch for the two candidates as they opposed each other in 1962 for the same seat polled 7,894 votes and Briggs got 3,214.

Later Mr. James lost to Democrat incumbent Cliff Davis by a mere 1,200 votes. Political observers claim Lee kept his followers from the polls, helping to defeat James. This could happen again.

Tennessee Politics

November 20, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: TENNESSEE REGISTRATION

I talked with W. C. Patton today. He was reluctant at first to estimate the number of Negroes registered. I recalled to him that we had a 1958 estimation of 185,000, and I reminded him that our record showed that VEP projects had registered more than 22,000 people. I then asked him whether he thought the round figure of 200,000 would be reasonable. He said he thought it was probably between 200 and 250,000.

I talked with Mr. Henry McCall, Coordinator of Elections in Nashville, whose telephone number is 741-2286. I had asked him for an estimate of the Negro-white breakdown. He said that the only place that the information could be obtained was from each of the county election commissions. He said that he was going to start January 1 asking the county election commissioners for this information, and that he would be pleased to send us a copy of the results of this solicitation. He said he was going to place a deadline of January 31 on the solicitations from the county commissioners, so that he expected to have some reasonably reliable information by the 1st of March. He said he would send it to us as soon as it is available. I think we had better bring this matter up in the file sometime around the 1st of March, so that we can check on it.

McCall also said that if he came across any information which he thought would be of use to us on the Negro-white breakdown of the registered voters in Tennessee, he would forward it on to us. Since he seemed reluctant to establish a figure himself, I asked him what he thought of the Patton figure of 200,000. He said that in the last gubernatorial primary, around 700,000 people had voted, and that as he recalled, the total registration at that time had been about a million and a quarter. Using this for a base, he did some quick mental calculation, and said that 200,000 was a reasonable neighborhood to place the total Negro registration in, but cautioned that it could be off considerably. On the basis of this, I think we can use the figure 200,000, until we can find something better.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

November 22, 1963

MEMORANDUM

Re: TENNESSEE REGISTRATION

I talked with Vivan Henderson today about the estimate of 200,000 for the Negro registration in Tennessee. It was his opinion that 200,000 is probably a conservative figure, though he sounded creditable. He said that C. Alexander Luby, according to a study he made, received at least 90,000 Negro votes last year, and he estimated that around 50% of the Negroes who were registered voted for Luby.

JM

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

November 22, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: TENNESSEE REGISTRATION

I talked today with Mr. Willis, Russell Sugarman's partner, in Memphis. He said, as he recalled, that he had projected a figure of about 175,000 Negroes registered for Tennessee last year. He says that he imagines the statewide increase has been something over 20,000 since then. Consequently, he says that Patton's figure of 200,000 is probably pretty close to right.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

V-R file item

TENNESSEE

1-1-62 - Rpt. Sec of State

COUNTY	VOTING AGE POPULATION TOTAL	W.	N.	% N.	REGISTERED VOTERS TOTAL	W.	N.	% TOTAL W.	% TOTAL N.
ANDERSON	34768	33694	1074	03	30443			87.5	
BEDFORD	14830	13153	1677	11	14196			95.7	
BENTON	6990	6813	177	02	7244			103.6	
BLEDSOE	4302	4176	126	03	3600			83.6	
BLOUNT	34539	32946	1593	05	29302			84.8	
BRADLEY	23012	21907	1105	05	18006			78.2	
CAMPBELL	16176	16030	146	01	15701			97.0	
CANNON	5481	5371	110	02	6778			123.6	
CARROLL	15446	13587	1859	12	14893			96.4	
CARTER	25210	24967	246	01	15798			62.6	
CHEATHAM	5830	5467	363	06	5000			85.7	
CHESTER	5988	5261	727	12	5863			97.9	
CLAIBORNE	11410	11237	173	01	10912			95.6	
CLAY	4327	4227	100	02	4556			105.2	
COCKE	13791	13397	394	03	14665			106.9	
COFFEE	17022	16411	611	03	13602			79.9	
CROCKETT	8827	7155	1672	19	8500			96.2	
CUMBERLAND	10858	10852	6	0	8176			75.2	
DAVIDSON	255288	207479	47809	19	160647			62.9	
DECATUR	5405	5149	256	05	5951			110.1	
DEKALB	6933	6742	191	03	5397			77.8	
DICKSON	11830	11064	766	06	11,000			92.9	
DYER	18526	15985	2541	14	14803			79.9	
FAYETTE	12261	4597	7664	62	6000			48.9	
FENTRESS	7112	7110	2	0	6537			91.9	
FRANKLIN	15285	14106	1179	08	16018			104.7	
GIBSON	28588	23480	5108	18	20000			69.9	
GILES	14349	12080	2269	16	12500			87.1	
GRAINGER	7522	7417	105	01	6500			86.4	
GREENE	26486	25856	630	02	20000			75.5	
GRUNDY	6501	6491	10	0	6616			101.7	

	VOTING AGE POPULATION				REGISTERED VOTERS				
COUNTY	TOTAL	W	N	% N	TOTAL	W	N	% TOTAL W	% TOTAL N.
HAMBLEN	20522	19267	1255	6.1	13000			63.3	
HAMILTON	148714	121070	27644	18.5	104,441			70.2	
HANCOCK	4487	4432	55	1.2	4000			89.1	
HARDEMAN	13175	8896	4279	32.4	7298			55.3	
HARDIN	10739	10134	605	5.9	9000			83.8	
HAWKINS	18490	17870	620	3.3	16985			91.8	
HAYWOOD	12336	5690	6646	53.8	7619			61.7	
HENDERSON	10209	9306	903	8.8	7804			76.5	
HENRY	14814	12783	2031	13.7	11338			76.5	
HICKMAN	7416	7068	348	4.6	5010			67.5	
HOUSTON	3060	2794	206	6.8	3268			108.9	
HUMPHREYS	7152	6820	332	4.6	6721			93.9	
JACKSON	5822	5792	30	0.5	4780			82.1	
JEFFERSON	13707	13166	541	3.9	12458			90.8	
JOHNSON	6552	6463	89	1.3	7148			109.0	
KNOX	159497	145554	13943	8.7	125000			78.3	
LAKE	5393	4226	1167	21.6	4577			84.8	
LAUDERDALE	12884	8497	4387	34.0	12000			93.1	
LAWRENCE	16883	16575	308	1.8	14665			86.8	
LEWIS	3767	3702	65	1.7	3115			82.6	
LINCOLN	14822	13068	1754	11.8	11000			74.2	
LOUDON	14645	14368	277	1.9	12771			87.2	
McMINN	20660	19658	1002	4.8	16088			77.8	
McNAIRY	11261	10595	666	6.2	9800			87.0	
MACON	7803	7733	70	0.8	6078			77.8	
MADISON	37705	26638	11067	29.3	27080			71.8	
MARION	11939	11187	752	6.2	12350			103.4	
MARSHALL	10884	9778	1106	10.1	8617			79.1	
MAURY	26003	21064	4939	18.9	22583			86.8	
MEIGS	2916	2785	131	4.7	2995			102.7	
MONROE	13600	13070	530	3.8	15065			110.7	
MONTGOMERY	34169	27676	6493	19.0	15909			46.5	
MOORE	2236	2079	157	7.0	2133			95.3	

	VOTING AGE POPULATION				REGISTERED VOTERS			
COUNTY	TOTAL	W	N	% N	TOTAL	W	N	% TOTAL N
MORGAN	8227	7931	296	3.5	7166			87.1
OBION	17731	15831	1900	10.7	13271			74.8
OVERTON	8906	8862	44	0.4	7200			80.8
PERRY	3376	3286	90	2.6	3507			103.8
PICKETT	2596	2591	5	0.1	2912			112.1
POLK	7113	7098	15	0.2	8805			127.7
PUTNAM	18575	18261	314	1.6	14689			79.0
RHEA	9420	9043	377	4.0	9098			96.5
ROANE	22996	22074	922	4.0	17999			78.2
ROBERTSON	17027	14253	2774	16.2	10488			61.5
RUTHERFORD	32369	28193	4176	14.8	17071			52.7
SCOTT	8247	8244	3	0.0	7718			93.5
SEQUATCHIE	3339	3338	1	0.0	3151			94.3
SEVIER	14718	14612	106	0.7	15274			103.7
SHELBY	377722	253327	124395	49.1	223440			59.1
SMITH	7973	7618	355	4.4	8825			110.6
STEWART	4962	4806	156	3.2	4500			90.6
SULLIVAN	69949	68476	1473	2.1	56237			80.3
SUMNER	22629	20202	2427	10.7	15000			66.2
TIPTON	15584	10264	5320	34.1	11983			76.8
TROUSDALE	3153	2647	506	16.0	3119			98.9
UNICOI	9141	9134	7	0.0	7819			85.5
UNION	5009	5007	2	0.0	4397			87.7
VAN BUREN	2077	2061	16	0.7	2000			96.2
WARREN	14442	13776	666	4.6	11000			76.1
WASHINGTON	41412	39770	1642	3.9	39540			95.4
WAYNE	6936	6810	126	1.8	9235			133.1
WEAKLEY	16506	15453	1053	6.3	16000			96.9
WHITE	9680	9393	287	2.9	7537			77.8
WILLIAMSON	15202	12445	2757	18.1	11844			77.9
WILSON	17687	15352	2335	13.2	14500			81.9

V-R file Tennessee

TENNESSEE ELECTION COMMISSION DATA

JANUARY 1, 1962

This information concerning the county election commissions in Tennessee was prepared by the office of the State Coordinator of Elections from information supplied by the Commissioners of Elections in each of the ninety-five counties of the State.

ANDERSON

Dr. J. S. Hall, Clinton, Chairman; W. J. Hatfield, Oak Ridge, Secretary; W. C. Baker, Clinton, Member; W. G Reeves, Registrar at Large; Miss Marjorie J. Bice, Assistant. Office address: First floor, Courthouse, Clinton, Tennessee. Telephone: Clinton 355. Open Monday through Friday 8:30 to 4:30 and 8:30 to 12:00 Saturdays. 30,443 registered voters; 31 precincts. Vote in 1960 Presidential election: 21,641; civilian absentee ballots: 603; military absentee ballots:251. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Shoup voting machines.

BEDFORD

Roger P. Dale, Shelbyville, Chairman; Lillard T. Bellar, Shelbyville, Secretary; Austin W. Shofner, Shelbyville, Member; Mrs. Virginia Calahan, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Shelbyville, Tennessee. Telephone: MU 4-4594. Open Monday through Friday 8:00 to 4:00 and 8:00 to 12:00 Saturdays. 14,196 registered voters; 36 precincts. Vote in 1960 Presidential election: 7,152. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

BENTON

James C. Durdin, Camden, Chairman; Hildon King, Big Sandy, Secretary; Herman W. Presson, Member, Camden; Mrs. Mary Davis, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Camden, Tennessee. Telephone: LU 4-5701. Open 9:00 to 5:00 one day per week. 7,244 registered voters; 20 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,932; civilian absentee ballots: 153; military absentee ballots: 14. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

BLEDSOE

E. H. Nipper, Jr., Pikeville, Chairman; Joe Patton, Pikeville, Secretary; Samuel Mills, Pikeville, Member; Marie Nipper, Registrar at Large. Office address: Pikeville, Tennessee. Open 9:00 to 4:00 two days per week. Registered voters: 3,600; 19 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,454. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

BLOUNT

W. C. Burris, Jr., Maryville, Chairman; Paul Cusley, Louisville, Secretary; C. R. Pendleton, Maryville, Member; Helen Bogle, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Maryville, Tennessee. Telephone: YU 3-0401. Open 8:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday, 8:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 29,302 registered voters; 36 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 20,712; civilian absentee ballots: 760; military absentee ballots: 308. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

BRADLEY

Glenn Poteet, Charleston, Chairman; Frank Presswood, Cleveland, Secretary; J. H. Dockery, Cleveland, Member; Willie McCoy, Registrar at Large. Office Address: Courthouse, Cleveland, Tennessee; telephone: GR 2-1761. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday and 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturday. 18,006 registered voters; 26 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 1,164; civilian absentee ballots: 375; military absentee ballots: 204. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

CAMPBELL

Bernard C. Miller, Habersham, Chairman; Roy Asbury, Jacksboro, Secretary; W. W. Hollingsworth, LaFollette, Member; Louise M. Teague, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Jacksboro, Tennessee. Open 8:00 A. M. to 12:00 on Saturdays. 15,701 registered voters; 38 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,297; civilian absentee ballots: 168; military absentee ballots: 68. Polls open from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots,

CANNON

Clarence Rigsby, Woodbury, Chairman; Robert Barton, Readyville, Secretary; Clarence Stephens, Gassaway, Member. Mrs. Jeston Allison, Registrar at Large. Office address: Woodbury, Tennessee. 6,778 registered voters; 16 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,470; civilian absentee ballots: 102; military absentee ballots: 13. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

CARROLL

C. T. McIver, McKenzie, Chairman; Morgan Nesbitt, Huntington, Secretary; Rufus McCollum, Huntington, Member; Mrs. Martha Gwin, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Huntington, Tennessee. Telephone: Yukon 6-3722. Open 9:00 to 4:00 Monday, Friday and Saturday. 14,893 registered voters; 30 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 7,609; civilian absentee ballots: 265; military absentee ballots: 21. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

CARTER

Ross Morrell, Elizabethton, Chairman; Conley T. Simerly, Elizabethton, Secretary; Fornia D. Peters, Elizabethton, Member; Miss Charlotte McKeehan, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Elizabethton, Tennessee; telephone: Lincoln 2-5831. Open from 8:00 to 5:00 Monday through Friday, and 8:00 to 12:00 on Saturday. 25,000 registered voters; 38 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 15,798; civilian absentee ballots: 475; military absentee ballots: 225. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

CHEATHAM

W. C. Jackson, Ashland City, Chairman; E. B. Beasley, Ashland City, Secretary; J. P. Gallaher, Ashland City, Member; Miss Martha Adkinson, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Ashland City, Tennessee; Telephone: S.W. 2-4316. Open as needed. 5,000 registered voters; 16 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,041 ; civilian absentee ballots: 59; military absentee ballots: 8. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

CHESTER

Chester Freeman, Henderson, Chairman; E. W. McAdams, Henderson, Secretary; A. E. Jones, Jacks Creek, Member; J. L. Weeks, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Henderson, Tennessee. Telephone: YU 2233. Open from 8:00 to 5:00 Monday through Saturday. 5,863 registered voters; 18 precincts. Vote in 1960 Presidential election: 3,060; civilian absentee ballots: 120; military absentee ballots: 10. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

CLAIBORNE

Tom Duncan, Tazewell, Chairman; Joe Day, Tazewell, Secretary; Thomas B. Runions, Tazewell, Member; Betty L. Manning, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Tazewell, Tennessee. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday and 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 10,912 registered voters; 21 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 6,420; civilian absentee ballots: 137; military absentee ballots: 44. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

CLAY

W. D. Terry, Celina, Chairman; Edward Mayfield, Celina, Secretary; C. J. Wallace, Red Boiling Springs, Member; Mrs. Nellie Upton, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Celina, Tennessee. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 4,556 registered voters; 16 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,106; civilian absentee ballots: 68; military absentee ballots: 8. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

COCKE

Charles T. Ryne, Jr., Newport, Chairman; Thomas J. Stokely, Del Rio, Secretary; Dr. Hobart Ford, Newport, Member; Helen G. Wood, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Newport, Tennessee. Telephone: Newport 2042. Opne 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 14,665 registered voters; 29 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 6,500; civilian absentee ballots: 250; military absentee ballots: 50. Polls open from 10:00 A.M. to 6:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

COFFEE

Milton Jones, Manchester, Chairman; Don Wyatt, Manchester, Secretary; S. R. Burger, Manchester, Member; Mrs. Elbert W. Baker, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Manchester, Tennessee; telephone: PA 8-2943. Open when needed. 13,602 registered voters; 27 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 7,613; civilian absentee ballots: 258; military absentee ballots: 57. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

CROCKETT

Glen Worrell, Alamo, Chairman; O. T. Privett, Alamo, Secretary; Homer Young, Friendship, Member; Mrs. Maurice Privett, Registrar at Large; Theo J. Emison, Assistant. Office address: Courthouse, Alamo, Tennessee; Telephone: MY 6-2616. Open 4 hours for one day a week. 8,500 registered voters; 15 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,980; civilian and military absentee ballots: 76. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

CUMBERLAND

Floyd Wilson, Crossville, Chairman; L. Burnett Harris, Crossville, Secretary; Lou Tabor, Crossville, Member; Miss Lelah D. Martin, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Crossville, Tennessee; telephone: 484-6647. 8,176 registered voters; 30 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 6,188; civilian absentee ballots: 299; military absentee ballots: 59. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

DAVIDSON

S. McP. Glasgow, Nashville, Chairman; Thomas W. Jarrell, Nashville, Secretary; A. V. McLane, Nashville, Member; Mary Ferrell, Registrar at Large, Leonora Dowd, Assistant; Ann White, Assistant. Office address: Courthouse, Nashville, Tennessee; Telephone: CH 2-9692. Open from 8:00 to 4:30 Monday through Friday. 160,647 registered voters; 107 precincts. Vote in the 1960Presidential election: 114,843; civilian absentee ballots: 3,315; military absentee ballots: 906. Polls open from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Shoup voting machines.

DECATUR

Homer Smith, Decaturville, Chairman; Paul White, Parsons, Secretary; Carl W. Partin, Parsons, Member; Josephine Herndon, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Decaturville, Tennessee. Open from 8:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 5,951 registered voters; 24 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,075; civilian absentee ballots: 169; military absentee ballots: 24. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

DEKALB

A. J. Haynes, Jr., Lancaster, Chairman; J. A. O'Neill, Lancaster, Secretary; Ernest Estes, Smithville, Member. Office Address: Veteran Building, Smithville, Tennessee. 5,397 registered voters; 26 precincts; vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,775; civilian absentee ballots:136. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

DICKSON

Ed Meeks, Jr., Dickson, Chairman; M. E. Wade, Burns, Secretary; William E. Brazzill, Dickson, Member; M. L. Scott, Registrar at Large. Office address: Ray Building, Dickson, Tennessee. Telephone: 6-2778. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Saturday. 11,000 registered voters; 25 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,858; civilian absentee ballots: 58; military absentee ballots: 10. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

DYER

James S. Wilkes, Dyersburg, Chairman; Paul Rudolph, Newberg, Secretary; Robert Taylor, Dyersburg, Member; J. R. Welch, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Dyersburg, Tennessee. Telephone: 415-2342. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 14,803 registered voters; 38 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 11,860; civilian absentee ballots: 234; military absentee ballots: 86. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

FAYETTE

J. R. Martin, Somerville, Chairman; Payson Matthews, Somerville, Secretary; H. C. Sims, Registrar at Large. Office address: Court house, Somerville, Tenn. Telephone: HO 5-3343. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 6,000 registered voters; 19 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,799; civilian absentee ballots: 64; military absentee

ballots: 22. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

FENTRESS

Rosier W. Crabtree, Jamestown, Chairman; James E. Wallace, Jamestown, Secretary; Foyster B. Wright, Pall Mall, Member; Hattie Lee, Registrar at Large. 6,537 registered voters; 22 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,021; civilian absentee ballots: 164. Polls open from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

FRANKLIN

Fricks Stewart, Winchester, Chairman; H. W. Ray, Winchester, Secretary; Ross Spaulding, Huntland, Member; Miss Dora Janson, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Winchester, Tennessee. 16,018 registered voters; 29 precincts. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

GIBSON

Marion H. Holmes, Jr., Trenton, Chairman; Robert L. White, Humbolt, Secretary; L. D. Holt, Milan, Member; Mrs. Ira B. Taylor, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Trenton, Tennessee; Telephone: 48. Open from 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. each Thursday. 20,000 registered voters; 39 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 11,329; civilian absentee ballots and military absentee ballots: 254. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

GILES

Jack R. Henry, Pulaski, Chairman; Newton J. Abernathy, Pulaski, Secretary; Mrs. W. C. Foster, Member; Mrs. Pat Abernathy, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Pulaski, Tennessee; Telephone: 363-2424. Open 9:00 to 4:00 two days per week. 12,500 registered voters; 29 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 6,513; civilian absentee ballots: 287; military absentee ballots: 80. Polls open from 9:00 A. M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

GRAINGER

R. Lloyd Rich, Bean Station, Chairman; Lloyd Winn, Rutledge, Secretary; J. T. Wolfenbarger, Morristown, Member; Evelyn Kidwell, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Rutledge, Tennessee; 6,500 registered voters; 14 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,143. Polls open from 9:00 to 4:00. Paper ballots.

GREENE

Herman Foshee, Greenville, Chairman; C. H. Harmon, Jr., Greenville, Secretary; H. A. Doak, Greenville, Member; Mrs. Charlotte Wadell, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Greenville, Tenn. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 whenever needed. 20,000 registered voters; 39 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 13,277. Polls open from 9:00 A. M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

GRUNDY

Alder Brewer, Altamont, Chairman; Benton C. Gallagher, Altamont, Secretary; Wade C. Bouldin, Altamont, Member; Dorris B. Hargis, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Altamont, Tenn. Telephone: OX 2-2781. Open 8:00 to 4:30 Monday through Friday. 6,616 registered voters; 21 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,277. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HAMBLEN

James E. Burke, Morristown, Chairman; Ernest R. Taylor, Morristown, Secretary; Lon F. Price, Morristown, Member; Margaret Fox, Registrar at Large. Office address: 511 West Second Street, Morristown. Open 9:00 to 4:00 six days per week. 13,000 registered voters; 20 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 10,545. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HAMILTON

George S. Woods, Chattanooga, Chairman; James W. Penley, Chattanooga, Secretary; Jeffie C. Johnson, Member; William Phillips, Registrar at Large; Mrs. Lois Ashley, Assistant; Mrs. Inez H. Cooper, Assistant; Mrs. Jennie L. Totten, Assistant; Mrs. Lois P. Whaley, Assistant; Fred Mills, Assistant. Office address: Courthouse, Chattanooga, Tennessee. Telephone: A.M. 6-0659. Open 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Monday through Friday. 104,441 registered voters; 70 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 71,277; civilian absentee ballots: 939; military absentee ballots: 554. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Shoup voting machines.

HANCOCK

Lewis Turnmire, Thorn Hill, Chairman; H. T. Williams, Secretary; T. J. Harrison, Sneedville, Member. Office address: Thorn Hill, Tennessee. Telephone: 3774. Open six day a week. 4,000 registered voters; 13 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,552; civilian absentee ballots: 15; military absentee ballots: 5. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HARDEMAN

Dr. Joe Sharp, Bolivar, Chairman; Jim Tisdale, Whiteville, Secretary; W. J. Matthews, Bolivar, Member; Mrs. Vincent Black, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Bolivar, Tennessee. Telephone: Bolivar 3436. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday. 7,298 registered voters; 28 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,600 civilian absentee ballots: 113; military absentee ballots: 23. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HARDIN

D. G. White, Savannah, Chairman; H. L. Davis, Saltillo, Secretary; John H. White, Savannah, Member. Office address: Savannah, Tennessee. 9,000 registered voters; 30 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,999; civilian absentee ballots: 67; military absentee ballots: 6. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HAWKINS

Bert A. Quary, Sneedville, Chairman; George A. Steele, Rogersville, Secretary; Kyle H. Johnson, Surgoinsville, Member; Miss Pauline B. Mowl, Registrar at Large. Office address: Rogersville, Tenn. Telephone: 8061. Office open from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Monday through Saturday. 16,985 registered voters; 25 precincts. Vote in 1960 Presidential election: 12,000; civilian absentee ballots: 200; military absentee ballots: 200. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HAYWOOD

R. W. Turner, Jr., Gates; W. R. Gaters, Brownsville; William B. Taylor, Brownsville; C. H. Berson, Registrar at Large. Office address: Brownsville, Tennessee. Open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Monday through Friday. 7,619 registered voters; 19 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,790; civilian absentee ballots: 66; military absentee ballots: 31. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HENDERSON

Henry Patton, Lexington, Chairman; Charles Walker, Lexington, Secretary; J. A. Deere, Lexington, Member; Mrs. A. L. Joyner, Registrar at Large. Office address: Lexington, Tennessee. 7,304 registered voters; 26 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,051. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HENRY

J. P. Lasiter, Jr., Paris, Chairman; Ernest Greer, Paris, Secretary; J. W. Salmon, Paris, Member; Mrs. Mary H. Crews, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Paris, Tennessee. Telephone: Paris 3804. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday, 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturday. 11,338 registered voters; 24 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,430; civilian absentee ballots: 565; military absentee ballots: 11. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HICKMAN

Walter A. Brown, Centerville, Chairman; Robert Boehms, Santa Fe, Secretary; E. O. Ammon, Centerville, Member; Myrtle S. Warren, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Centerville, Tennessee. Open 8:00 to 4:00 three days per week. 5,010 registered voters, 36 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,687; civilian absentee ballots: 250; military absentee ballots: 28. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HOUSTON

J. G. Fussell, Erin, Chairman; Wayne Richardson, Erin, Secy.; Hubert McAnley, Stewart, Member. Office address: Courthouse, Erin, Tenn. Open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Monday through Saturday. 3,268 registered voters; 13 precincts. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

HUMPHREYS

H. B. Bell, Waverly, Chairman; Nathan Flexer, Waverly, Secy.; Kenneth Shanks, McEwen, Member; Juanita Y. Quarles, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Waverly, Tennessee. Telephone: CY 6-2651. Open from 8:00 A. M. to 4:30 P. M. Monday through Friday. 6,721 registered voters; 18 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,599; civil absentee ballots: 312; military absentee ballots: 61. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

JACKSON

H. A. Williford, Gainesboro, Chairman; R. C. Williams, Granville, Secretary; Dow Stout, Bloomington, Member. Office address: Gainesboro, Tennessee. 4,780 registered voters; 17 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,620; civilian absentee ballots: 112; military absentee ballots: 17. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

JEFFERSON

R. V. James, Jefferson City, Chairman; C. S. Rainwater, Jr., Dandridge, Secretary; Fred A. Mitchell, New Market, Member; Mary Ruth Felknor, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Dandridge, Tennessee, Telephone: 397-2935. Open from 8:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday. 12,458 registered voters; 15 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,185; civilian absentee ballots: 42; military absentee ballots: 5. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P. M. Paper ballots.

JOHNSON

Ray Crowe, Mountain City, Chairman; Boyce H. Mahan, Neva, Secretary; Don Butler, Mountain City, Member. Office address: Mountain City, Tennessee. Open only on days just prior to an election. 7,148 registered voters; 14 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,438; civilian absentee ballots: 250; military absentee ballots: 25. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

KNOX

Robert E. Lavin, Knoxville, Chairman; Frank L. Henderlight, Knoxville, Member; Lillian Burdine, Registrar at Large; Hazel D. Chastain, Assistant; Glenda Hope Long, Assistant. Office address: Courthouse, Knoxville, Tennessee; telephone: 523-5911. Office open from 8:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday, 8:00 to 12:00 on Saturday. 125,000 registered voters; 90 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 83,300; civilian absentee ballots: 2,600; military absentee ballots: 1,400. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M. Shoupe Voting machines.

LAKE

W. C. Haynes, Tiptonville, Chairman; Dalton Smythe, Ridgely, Secretary; Alfred P. Hutchison, Tiptonville, Member; Dorothy Jean Tittle, Registrar at Large; Wanda Donaldson, Assistant; Mrs. Billy Haynes, Assistant. Office address: Courthouse, Tiptonville, Tennessee; Tele phone: AL 3-7502. Open 9:00 to 4:00 four and one-half days per week. 4,577 registered voters; 11 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,600; civilian absentee ballots: 80; military absentee ballots: 12. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

LAUDERDALE

Hunt Morris, Ripley, Chairman; Earl H. Marshall, Henning, Secretary; James F. Baldridge, Halls, Member; Margaret T. Morris, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Ripley, Tennessee; telephone: Ripley 133. Open 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 12,000 registered voters; 26 precincts. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

LAWRENCE

Charles E. Roberts, Lawrenceburg, Chairman; J. A. Shackelford, Lawrenceburg, Secretary; Murray Gallaher, Lawrenceburg, Member; Mrs. Louise Brewer, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Lawrence - burg, Tennessee; telephone: SO 2-3545. Open 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Saturday. 14,665 registered voters; 37 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 10,629; civilian absentee ballots: 508; military absentee ballots: 110. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

LEWIS

A. M. Adcock, Hohenwald, Chairman; J. Herbert Overby, Sr., Hohenwald, Secretary; Bashie Talley, Hohenwald, Member; Iva C. Schmidt, Registrar at Large. Office adrress: Hohenwald, Tennessee; telephone: Swift 6-3186. Open 8:30 to 5:00 one day per week. 3,115 registered voters; 16 precincts. Vote in the Presidential election: 2,312; civilian absentee ballots: 24; military absentee ballots: 15. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

LINCOLN

T. M. Hall, Dellrose, Chairman; T. H. Bullington, Fayetteville, Secretary; David Groover, Elora, Member; Annie Glenn Templeton, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Fayetteville; telephone: HF 3-3111. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 on Saturdays. 11,000 registered voters; 39 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 6,290; civilian absentee ballots: 128; military absentee ballots: 59. Polls open from 9:00 AM to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

LOUDON

F. Vaughn Browder, Loudon, Chairman; Homer F. Littleton, Lenoir City, Secretary; S. P. Dannel, Loudon, Member; Mrs. Emma Ruth Cagle, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Loudon, Tennessee; telephone: Loudon 458-2560. Open from 8:00 to 4:00 one day a week. 12,771 registered voters; 17 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,401; Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Shoup voting machines.

MCMINN

David C. Shell, Athens, Chairman; Robert E. Biggs, Athens, Secretary; Eugene Johnson, Athens, Member; Jacquelyn S. Yarber, Registrar at Large. Office address: 2nd floor courthouse, Athens, Tennessee; telephone SH 5-0843. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Thursdays and Fridays and 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 16,088 registered voters; 20 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 11,155; civilian absentee ballots: 463. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P. M. Shoup voting machines.

MCNAIRY

Joe Arendall, Adamsville, Chairman; Derucie Henry, Bethel Springs, Secretary; J. H. Wharton, Finger, Member; Mrs. J. N. Loveless, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Selmer, Tennessee. Open from 9:00 to 5:00 on Saturdays. 9,800 registered voters; 29 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,604; civilian absentee ballots: 120; military absentee ballots: 76. Polls open from 9:00 to 5:00. Paper ballots.

MACON

Cortez Adams, Red Boiling Springs, Chairman; Bell F. Cothron, Lafayette, Secretary; G. W. Leath, Westmoreland, Member; Pearlie Dies, Registrar at Large. Office address: Lafayette, Tennessee; telephone: 666-4231. Open 8:00 to 4:00 on Saturdays. 6,078 registered voters; 22 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election:3,862; civilian absentee ballots: 64. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MADISON

George D. Benton, Jackson, Chairman; Jay T. Bond, Jackson, Secretary; Hugh D. Arnold, Jackson, Member; Miss Sydney Bumpus, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Jackson, Tennessee; telephone: 7-9881. 27,080 registered voters; 45 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 18,943. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MARION

R. H. Hall, Whitwell, Chairman; J. W. Killion, Richmond City, Secretary; C. W. Gamble, Sr., Jasper, Member; Mrs. James G. Rogers, Jr., Registrar at Large. Office address: Jasper, Tennessee; telephone: WH 2-2606. Open 8:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 12,350 registered voters; 32 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,865; civilian absentee ballots: 150; military absentee ballots: 62. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MARSHALL

J. W. Bruer, Lewisburg, Chairman; Robert F. Miller, Lewisburg, Secretary; Leroy Griggs, Lewisburg, Member; Mrs. Hensley Wilson, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Lewisburg, Tennessee; telephone: EL 9-4894. Open 9:30 to 4:00 one day per week. 8,617 registered voters; 25 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,419; civilian absentee ballots: 209; military absentee ballots: 27. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Seven voting machines, balance paper ballots.

MAURY

Henry C. McCall, Jr., Columbia, Chairman; Harold Ledbetter, Columbia, Secretary; C. D. Hopkins, Columbia, Member; Mrs. Elmo Blocker, Registrar at Large; Mrs. J. M. Roberts, Assistant; Wallace Burt, Assistant. Office address: Courthouse, Columbia, Tennessee. Open 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday; 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 22,583 registered voters; 37 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 10,879; civilian absentee ballots: 575; military absentee ballots: 84. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Twenty-eight Shoup voting machines, balance paper ballots.

MEIGS

W. R. Doke, Decatur, Chairman; Huff Davis, Decatur, Secretary; M. F. Allen, Decatur, Member; Miss Ada Abel, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Decatur, Tennessee. 2,995 registered voters; 10 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 1,592; civilian absentee ballots: 55; military absentee ballots: 5. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MONROE

C. A. Bellany, Sweetwater, Chairman; Jerry S. Keyees, Vonora, Secretary; Robert F. Tallent, Madisonville, Member; Mrs. J. J. Merritt, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Madisonville, Tennessee. Telephone: Madisonville 2461. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 four days per week. 15,065 registered voters; 27 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,452; civilian absentee ballots: 532; military absentee ballots: 114. Polls open from 9:00 to 4:00 . Paper ballots.

MONTGOMERY

John D. Maddux, Clarksville, Chairman; Mrs. Dorothy Woodard, Clarksville, Secretary; Rob J. Winn, Clarksville, Member; Mrs. Agnes S. Foster, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Clarksville, Tenn. Telephone: MI 5-4078. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 two days a week. 15,909 registered voters; 27 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 12,416; civilian absentee ballots: 311; military absentee ballots: 125. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MOORE

Crawford Finney, Lynchburg, Chairman; Parks L. Hayes, Lynchburg, Secretary; P. O. Harrison, Winchester, Member. Office address: Lynchburg, Tennessee; telephone: PL 9-7346. Open from 8:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 2,133 registered voters; 11 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 1,271; civilian absentee ballots: 20; military absentee ballots: 7. Polls open from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MORGAN

Dr. Sam H. Jones, Jr., Sunbright, Chairman; Ray W. Schubert, Wartburg, Secretary; Charles C. Human, Jr., Member; Marilyn Hough, Registrar at Large. Office address: Wartburg, Tenn.; telephone: 6-3190. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday, Wednesday and Friday. 7,166 registered voters; 22 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,110;

civilian absentee ballots: 108; military absentee ballots: 22. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

OBION

T. W. Jones, Jr., Obion, Chairman; George C. Cloys, Union City, Secretary; J. C. Burdick, Jr., Union City, Member; Mary C. Melvin, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Union City, Tennessee. Open from 8:30 to 4:30 Monday through Friday; 8:30 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 13,271 registered voters; 32 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,193; civilian absentee ballots: 204; military absentee ballots: 53. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

OVERTON

H. C. Swallows, Livingston, Chairman; Freeman Apple, Livingston Secretary; Kenneth R. Stephens, Livingston, Member; Phyllis Allen, Registrar at Large. Office address: Livingston, Tennessee; telephone: TA 3-6232. Open one day per week. 7,200 registered voters; 27 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,423; civilian absentee ballots:125; military absentee ballots: 75. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots .

PERRY

John R. Bates, Lobelville, Chairman; Dick Ayers, Linden, Secretary; James R. Jordan, Linden, Member; Miss Vera Bell, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Linden, Tennessee; 3,507 registered voters; 19 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,056; civilian absentee ballots:44; military absentee ballots: 7. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

PICKETT

K. W. Grace, Byrdstown, Chairman; Vernon Hassler, Byrdstown, Secretary; Floyd Smith, Byrdstown, Member; Office address: Byrdstown, Tennessee. 2,912 registered voters; 11 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 1,721. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

POLK

L. H. Park, Benton, Chairman; R. E. Campbell, Benton, Secretary; J. H. Shoemaker, Member; C. Cooper Rogers, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Benton, Tennessee. Telephone: ED 8-3691. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday. 8,805 registered voters; 10 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,932; civilian absentee ballots: 264; military absentee ballots: 26. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

PUTNAM

R. D. Anderson, Cookeville, Chairman; A. B. Jackson, Monteray, Secretary; Stacy Mott, Cookeville, Member; Mrs. Jenny Andrews, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Cookeville, Tennessee; telephone: 526-02566. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Saturday. 14,689 registered voters; 31 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,998; civilian absentee ballots: 319; military absentee ballots:17. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

RHEA

J. M. Lentz, Jr., Spring City, Chairman; Robert M. Aikman, Dayton, Secretary; Clifford Smith, Spring City, Member; L. F. Walker Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Dayton, Tenn. Telephone: 759. Open from 9:00 to 4:00. 9,098 registered voters; 17 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,002. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

ROANE

Ed C. Browder, Harriman, Chairman; James P. Carroll, Harriman, Secretary; W. B. Roberts, Harriman, Member; Mrs. Berry Brumley, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Kingston, Tennessee; telephone: F.R.6-6644. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday. 17,999 registered voters; 27 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 12,672. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Shoup voting machines.

ROBERTSON

E. P. Hancock, Springfield, Chairman; Ross A. Fawn, Springfield, Secretary; Paul J. Weimar, Springfield, Member; Kathrine F. Benton, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Springfield, Tennessee; Telephone: 384-4311. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday; 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 10,488 registered voters; 26 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election:5,891; civilian absentee ballots: 105; military absentee ballots: 30. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

RUTHERFORD

James R. Donnell, Murfreesboro, Chairman; Robert W. Gwinn, Smyrna, Secretary; John N. Jenkins, Murfreesboro, Member; Mrs. Horace Welchance, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; telephone: 893-4343. Open 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday; 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 17,071 registered voters; 48 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 11,594; civilian absentee ballots: 200, military absentee ballots: 300. Polls open from9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

SCOTT

R. S. Voiles, New River, Chairman; Tom J. Gentry, Oneida, Secretary; C. L. Kline, Rollins, Member; Mrs. Dereda A. Daugherty, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Huntsville, Tennessee; telephone: North 3-3116. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 7,718 registered voters; 26 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,560; civilian absentee ballots: 181; military absentee ballots: 174. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

SEQUATCHIE

Carl E. Burrow, Dunlap, Chairman; Overton M. Johnson, Dunlap, Secretary; Herbert C. Layne, Daws, Member; Mrs. Wanda Long, Registrar at Large. Office address: Dunlap, Tennessee. Open from 12:00 to 5:00 on Wednesdays and 9:00 to 4:00 on Saturdays. 3,151 registered voters; 10 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 930; civilian absentee ballots: 24; military absentee ballots: 14. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

SEVIER

Paul Henderson, Sevierville, Chairman; George G. Allen, Sevierville, Secretary; J. Prichard Barnes, Gatlinburg, Member; Mary Ruth Dixon, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Sevierville, Tenn. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 each Friday. 15,274 registered voters; 23 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 10,024; civilian absentee ballots: 244; military absentee ballots: 152. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

SHELBY

S. Nelson Castle, Memphis, Chairman; Lester H. Brenner, Memphis, Secretary; J. B. "Pat" Joyner, Memphis, Member; Mrs. Margaret Hilbun, Registrar at Large; Mrs. Charlotte Ferrari, Assistant; Mrs. Myril Starrett, Clerk; Frank L. Morretta, Voting Machine Custodian; A. V. Ferrari, Assistant Voting Machine Custodian; Miss Lucile M. Glanville, Secretary. Office address: Shelby County Office Building, 157 Poplar Avenue, Room No. 121; telephone: JA 6-8831, Station 201. Open from 8:30 to 5:00 Monday through Friday. 223,440 registered voters: 172 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 182,329; civilian absentee ballots: 4,302; military absentee ballots: 1,488. Polls open from 8:30 A.M. to 7:30 P.M. Shoup voting machines.

SMITH

Woodrow Wilburn, Dixon Springs, Chairman; John C. Maggart, Carthage, Secretary; Milton Dickerson, Carthage, Member; Shirley Certain, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Carthage, Tennessee; telephone: Carthage 92. Open from 8:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday. 8,825 registered voters; 29 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election; 4,059; civilian absentee ballots: 112; military absentee ballots: 26. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

STEWART

Gurstel Watts, Cumberland City, Chairman; Herman Crutcher, Dover, Secretary; Jerry T. Peacher, Indian Mound, Member; Nell Riggins, Registrar at Large. Office address: Dover, Tennessee; telephone: CE 2-543. 4,500 registered voters; 23 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,930 civilian absentee ballots: 105; military absentee ballots: 55. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

SULLIVAN

James R. Elsea, Kingsport, Chairman; Woodrow Booher, Bristol, Secretary; Robert W. Clark, Kingsport, Member; Mrs. Kathleen S. Holt, Registrar at Large. Office address: Blountville, Tennessee; telephone: FA 3-3750. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday, and 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturday. 56,237 registered voters; 41 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 37,598; civilian absentee ballots: 1,656 military absentee ballots: 200. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Automatic voting machines.

SUMNER

Val Lovell, Portland, Chairman; Mrs. C. A. Langford, Gallatin, Secretary; E. T. Maggert, Westmoreland, Member; Sadie C. Langford, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Gallatin, Tennessee. Open 9:00 to 4:00 one day per week. 15,000 registered voters; 38 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 10,579, civilian absentee ballots: 203 military absentee ballots: 89. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

TIPTON

Alfred Peeler, Covington, Chairman; E. H. Wooten, Covington, Secretary; Merrill Tatlock, Covington, Member; Mrs. Davie, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Covington, Tennessee; telephone: GR 6-7271. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Friday and Saturday. 11,983 registered voters; 37 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,917; civilian absentee ballots: 163; military absentee ballots: 86. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

TROUSDALE

Billy Frank Celsor, Hartsville, Chairman; James C. Donoho, Hartsville, Secretary; Jeff Majors, Hartsville, Member; J. B. Marshall, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Hartsville, Tennessee; telephone: DR 4-2996. Open 8:00 to 4:30 Monday through Saturday. 3,119 registered voters; 12 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 1,460; civilian absnetee ballots: 26; military absentee ballots: 10. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

UNICOI

Thomas T. Lawson, Erwin, Chairman; Clarence Pate, Erwin, Secretary; Dallas R. Jones, Erwin, Member; Mrs. Nelle Beckelhimer, Registrar at Large. Office address: Erwin, Tennessee; telephone: Pioneer 3-6521. Open from 9:00 to 5:00 Monday through Friday, 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 7,819 registered voters; 14 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 5,336; civilian absentee ballots: 321; military absentee ballots: 15. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Shoup voting machines in two precincts, paper ballots in others.

UNION

Frederick Sharp, Maynardville,, Chairman; Warren E. Palmer, Maynardville, Secretary; W. M. Latham, Maynardville, Member; Bernice Sexton, Registrar at Large. Office address: Maynardville, Tennessee; telephone: 992-5942. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Friday, 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays. 4,397 registered voters, 13 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 2,733; civilian absentee ballots: 46; military absentee ballots: 10. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

VAN BUREN

Raymond W. Martin, Spencer, Chairman; Solon L. Beach, Pikeville, Secretary; Thorson Drake, Spencer, Member; Johnnie Passon, Registrar at Large. Office address: Spencer, Tennessee. Open on Saturdays 2,000 registered voters; 12 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 1,034. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WARREN

Roscoe Miller, McMinnville, Chairman; W. H. Deakins, Secretary; Steven P. Smith, McMinnville, Member; Mrs. Frankie Hennessee, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, McMinnville, Tennessee. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 on Wednesdays. 11,000 registered voters; 23 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 6,289. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WASHINGTON

Frank Humphreys, Jr., Johnson City, Chairman; Harry F. Freeman, Johnson City, Secretary; Jack Seaton, Kingsport, Member. 39,540 registered voters; 42 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 22,860. Military absentee ballots: 160. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WAYNE

W. C. Corlew, Waynesboro, Chairman; W. J. Barnett, Waynesbor Secretary; Harry Christian, Collinwood, Member; Mrs. Belle Folger, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Waynesboro, Tenn. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 two days a week. 9,235 registered voters; 18 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 3,996; civilian absentee ballots: 10; military absentee ballots: 15. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WEAKLEY

W. S. Bukley, Cottage Grove, Chairman; Joe C. Holbrook, Dresden, Secretary; M. V. Biggs, Martin, Member. Office address: Courthouse, Dresden, Tennessee; telephone: 4198. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 four days per week. 16,000 registered voters; 27 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,109; civilian absentee ballots: 300; military absentee ballots: 125. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WHITE

S. R. Ware, Sparta, Chairman; Andrew J. Lafever, Sparta, Secretary; A. C. Austin, Sparta, Member; Mrs. S. R. Ware, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Sparta, Tennessee; telephone: 3841. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 Monday through Saturday except Wednesday P.M. 7,537 registered voters; 19 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 4,355; civilian absentee ballots: 172; military absentee ballots: 69. Polls open from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WILLIAMSON

L. H. Armstead, Jr., Franklin, Chairman; Malery Covington, Jr., Franklin, Secretary; Mrs. Delores Kestner, Franklin, Member; Rebecca S. Rivers, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Franklin, Tenn. Open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. one day per week and from 9:00 to 12:00 one day per week. 11,844 registered voters; 33 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 7,296; civilian absentee ballots: 195; military absentee ballots: 77. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

WILSON

Charles T. Lowe, Jr., Lebanon, Chairman; Wilson Thompson, Lebanon, Secretary; Mrs. Dorothy Skeen, Registrar at Large. Office address: Courthouse, Lebanon, Tennessee; telephone: HI 4-2460. Open from 9:00 to 4:00 three days per week. 14,500 registered voters; 31 precincts. Vote in the 1960 Presidential election: 8,208. Polls open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Paper ballots.

MAY 18 1962

R. B. SUGARMON, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
588 VANCE AVENUE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
JACKSON 5-8333

May 15, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In connection with the proposed election plans for Shelby County, Memphis, Tennessee, we wish to make the following additional statement. One of the people who has, in the past, been very helpful and has acquired a great deal of experience in registration and organization in our city is George Holloway, in fact, Mr. Holloway is the co-chairman of our registration campaign. He is a member of Local 988 UAW-CIO at Inter-National Harvester, Memphis Works.

We have been fortunate enough, in the past, to have secured Mr. Holloway's services on a full-time basis in connection with our registration efforts here. Anticipating some degree of favorable response to our initial request, we are also requesting that you use your good office to secure from the UAW-CIO, a leave of absence for Mr. Holloway so he can be active in our registration campaign on a full-time basis starting as soon as possible, through August 2, 1962.

We are requesting this time period because as in the past, we wish to do certain follow-up jobs and focus on a "get out and vote" campaign to get the maximum benefit out of our registration efforts.

Mr. Holloway's Memphis address is 760 Alaska Street.

Sincerely yours,

R B Sugarmon

Russell B. Sugarmon
West Tennessee's Vice-Chairman
Tennessee Voter's Council
Executive Director, Shelby
County Democratic Club

RBS/hcm

May 7, 1962

Mr. A. W. Willis, Jr.
Attorney at Law
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Willis:

In Mr. Branton's absence, this is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 4, with its enclosure. Your letter will be brought to Mr. Branton's attention immediately upon his return to the office, later this week.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret R. Rilling

MAY 7 1962

A. W. WILLIS, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
588 VANCE AVENUE
MEMPHIS 5, TENNESSEE
JACKSON 7-7166

May 4, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am enclosing, for your consideration, a copy of Organizational Plans for Citizens Non-Partisan Voters Registration Campaign.

You will notice that the report is in two parts, (1) a brief background of registration results in Shelby County, and (2) proposed plans for a registration drive for the Year 1962, including a budget of anticipated income and expected expenditures.

We are fully aware of the problem of having a larger number of requests for funds for voters registration than funds presently available. We fully realize that the budget submitted by us is probably more than you can handle, however, it is our hope that you will consider giving us as much financial assistance as possible.

The primary factor is that we are anxious to proceed with our voters registration drive, therefore, we would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible so that we may alter our plans accordingly.

If there is any additional information you desire, please contact us.

Very truly yours,

A. W. Willis, Jr.

gdm

Enclosure

Organizational Plans

for

Citizens Non-Partisan Voters Registration Campaign

for

1962 in Memphis and Shelby County

I. BACKGROUND

Tennessee requires no poll tax or literacy test and the only requirements for voting in Tennessee are residence in Tennessee for twelve (12) months and three (3) months in the county, and that persons be 21 years of age or above.

In order to vote in any election, the person must be registered at least thirty (30) days prior to the date of the election in which he intends to vote.

Memphis and Shelby County is comprised of a total population of approximately 627,000 persons. Of this number, approximately 399,000 are white and approximately 228,000 or 36% are non-white.

Voting age population of Shelby County approximates 359,000. Of this number, 240,000 are white and 119,000 are non-white. Of the 240,000 whites eligible to register to vote, 172,786 or 71.8% are registered and, therefore, qualified to vote. Of the 119,000 non-whites eligible to register to vote, only 76,582 or 64.3% are registered and, therefore, qualified to vote.

The non-white registrants comprise approximately 30% of the county-wide registration.

The percentage of qualified non-whites is considerably lower than the percentage of whites who are fully eligible to participate in the voting process.

In 1948, Negro Democratic and Republican leaders in Shelby County grouped themselves together in an organization which adopted the name, "Citizens Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee". It embraced Negro Democrats and Republicans along with representatives of the Bluff City and Shelby County Council of Civic Clubs, and leaders from the NAACP. Registration drives in this city from that date to the present have been conducted through this committee.

From 1952 through 1961, registration of Negro voters in this community

increased from 7,000 then to the present figure of 72,000 plus, with a high point having being reached just before the November, 1960, presidential election when the records of the registrar's office revealed that 76,582 Negroes were qualified to vote.

Since the beginning of the Citizens Non-Partisan Voters Registration Campaign back in 1948, the character of the organization has been changed from year to year. Each year some improvements being made over the preceding year. Officers are elected annually, thereby taking advantage of new talent that comes available as time goes on. For example, organized labor has been very helpful in that it has sent highly talented field workers to Memphis to give us the benefit of their wide range of experiences in conducted voter registration drives. They have also assisted, down through the years, financially. The NAACP has also been an indispensable part of registration programs, down through the years. They, too, have sent in each year, trained field workers to aid us in organization of our voter registration campaigns. Likewise, they have made available funds and literature needed to make the drive successful. The local branch, more and more, has made voter registration a bigger part of its program. They have, down through the years, provided this organization with the only office space available, also with secretarial help and traveling expense. The NAACP has repeatedly made available its list of membership workers to serve as block convassers and provide transportation to and from the court house.

Today, the organization working through the Citizens Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee can draw upon the following resources: approximately thirty (30) Republican ward clubs containing approximately 1,000 members; 63 Democratic ward clubs containing approximately 3,000 members; the NAACP representing over 7,000 members; the Bluff City and Shelby County Council of Civic Clubs representing approximately 45 neighborhood clubs; and the Inter-Denominational Ministerial Alliance representing some 200 ministers from all denominations.

The Shelby County registrar's office maintains its records in an up-to-date condition. The local registrar purges the rolls according to law to eliminate persons who have not voted within the preceding four (4) years in a state-wide election. In the fall of 1961, 25,000 names were dropped from the local rolls.

Approximately 17,000 of these were white with the remaining being Negro. Local efforts since that time have increased the Negro registration figures back to the present level of some 72,000.

II. OUTLINE OF PLANS FOR "62"

General

A voter registration campaign conducted in a county such as Shelby can be divided into two major phases, namely; (1) a gigantic publicity program designed to acquaint all of our citizens with the importance and necessity of registration so that they may be able to vote, and (2) a door-to-door canvassing program designed to approach the unregistered voter on an individual basis in hopes to persuade him and assist him in registering to vote. By combining these two programs, we feel a maximum amount of registration can be achieved.

In this county, July 2nd is the final date for registering in order to vote in the August 2nd elections involving the election of the Governor, U. S. Congressman, State Senators and Representatives in the Democratic Primary, and also approximately 40 officers on a county level in a general election. Therefore, the publicity program should begin on April 29, through June 3, giving us approximately six (6) Sundays. A ward organization should begin immediately.

We have listed below an outline of publicity and organization of a door-to-door program. The extent to which the media listed under publicity will depend on the availability of finance. Likewise, the perfection of the ward and precinct canvassing organization will depend to some degree to the availability of funds particularly in the employment of three (3) field secretaries who will have the task of coordinating the ward and precinct organization which is a full time job.

I. PUBLICITY

A. Media

1. Radio

2. Speakers' bureau
   a. kits

3. Placards and hand bills

4. Pulpit announcements

5. Church bulletin announcements

6. Kick off of mass meeting here in conjunction with NAACP's May 17th celebration

7. Registration mass meeting

8. Newspaper ads

9. Inspirational banquets

II. ORGANIZATION (Door-to-door Canvassing)

A. Division of the county into nine (9) geographical areas

1. Sub-division of the areas into wards and precincts

B. Personnel

1. Employment of three (3) field secretaries each responsible for three (3) geographical areas.

2. Selection and appointment of chairman and co-chairman for each of the nine (9) areas.

3. Selection and appointment of chairman and co-chairman for each precinct.

4. Organization of door-to-door workers.

C. Religious Divisions

1. Organization of voter education committees.

D. Special Projects

1. Worker at court house during Auto License Sale.

2. Worker at the Unemployment Office.

3. Organization of special teams to encourage persons to take advantage of supplementary registration centers set up in various neighborhoods at various times.

4. Worker recruiting during business times.

5. Special teams to organize voters for limited night registration as may be available.

E. Steering Committee

1. Chairman

2. Two (2) co-chairmen

3. Secretary

4. Treasurer

5. Seven (7) persons elected county-at-large

F. Office Structure

1. Executive director

2. Four (4) clerks

3. As many part time secretaries as may be needed

III. PLANS FOR DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGN

As has been stated, the potential number of registered voters in Memphis and Shelby County, according to the United States' Census of 1960 is 119,000, the number of voters actually registered being 72,000 at present. This leaves 47,000 Negroes who have not registered. Our goal for '62 has been set at 100,000, an increase of 28,000. While we feel that this goal represents a tremendous challenge, since we are rapidly approaching a saturation point, it appears to be possible in the light of past successful registration campaigns. In order to achieve this goal, a highlyborganized program of systematic door-to-door canvassing is required. To do this, we feel it necessary to secure the list of registered voters and conduct a house-to-house, street-to-street, block-to-block survey in each ward and precinct to determine who in each house on each street and in each block within every ward and precinct containing 100 or more Negro residents is unregistered. Eighty-six (86) out of Shelby County's more than 180 precincts should be thus canvassed. Past experience indicates that the block worker needs to know who in each house is registered so that he does not waste time talking to persons already registered. This requires relating the total number of registered voters to each eard and precinct street by street. This involves a great deal of clerical work.

The campaign must be conducted similarly to the taking of the Census, except that is purpose will be to penpoint the number of unregistered persons over 21, so that the block worker's time and effort may be concentrated on them.

We hope in another year to be able to reduce our findings to maps of each precinct indicating the number of persons living in each house and whether they are registered or unregistered. Such a map would make it easier to use untrained persons and volunteer workers for future canvassing. Once this information is placed in map form, we would only have to revise the information discovered in future voters registration campaigns.

Though this program may appear at first glance as a fairly ambitious one, we have discovered from past experience that we are now approaching the hard core of resistance to voter registration, therefore, ordinary means such as talks to inspire Negroes to vote, without more, will not do this job, but the unregistered voter must be singled out and intensive persuasion must be used on an individual basis.

IV. ESTIMATION OF FINANCIAL NEEDS

A. Expenses

1.	Executive Director (2 months @ $350 each month)	$ 700
2.	Clerical-Stenographic (4 clerks @ $50 a week for 9 weeks)	1,800
3.	Field Secretaries (3 @ $75 a week for 8 weeks)	1,800
4.	Supplies (for Compiling Voter Registration list for conducting survey)	1,000
5.	Transportation to Registration Office	500
6.	Hand bills, posters and other literature for voters	2,000
7.	Radio and Newspaper Advertisements	2,500
8.	Posters and Supplies	1,000
9.	Special Project (such as banquets, luncheons, meetings, workers at the Court House, etc.)	1,000
10.	Rent for three (3) months	150
11.	Telephone (three months)	150
12.	Office Equipment (file cabinet & typewriter rental)	500
13.	Miscellaneous	250
	TOTAL----------	$13,350

B. Income

1.	Anticipated funds to be raised from local donations	$ 3,000
2.	Anticipated funds to be donated by organizations interested in voter registration	10,350
	TOTAL----------	$13,350

In closing, we would like to point out that while such a door-to-door canvassing program as we are anticipating may seem over ambitious, in reality, this is not the case since we already have door-to-door canvassing available. We are relying heavily on the NAACP's member workers who are currently engaged in soliciting NAACP memberships and should be available by May 17. We also have the ward and precinct organizations of the Shelby County Democratic Club and the Lincoln League intact and ready to begin work on voter registration. Our' finance and organization committees are already at work. We have finished the voter registration program at the court house conducted during the sale of auto license and we are happy to report that this program produced an increase in

in voter registration of 4,000. We are, however, in vital need of funds so that we may get to work on other plans as indicated above. We would hope to finish the majority portion of our 1962 registration plans by July 2nd, the final date to register in the coming August 2nd election.

Respectfully submitted,

BUDGET COMMITTEE OF THE CITIZENS NON-PARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

By: _____
Jessie H. Turner

By: _____
A. W. Willis, Jr.

By: _____
R. B. Sugarmon, Jr.

By: _____
B. L. Hooks

By: _____
S. A. Wilburn

Tenn. Registration

NEGROES LAUNCH VOTE CAMPAIGN

Chattanooga Times

Drive to Start Monday to Register 6,000— King Will Speak

6/8/62 Sat.

A drive to register 6,000 Negroes by July 3 will be launched Monday night at the New Monumental Baptist Church at 8 o'clock. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will be the featured speaker.

The drive was announced by Father Robert B. Hunter, director, and Walter C. Robinson and the Rev. C. T. Vivian, cochairmen.

The drive will be directed by Metropolitan Committee — Voter Registration, an organization formed here recently by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Council for Cooperative Action.

"The purpose of this organization," Father Hunter said, "is to impress upon the Negro citizenry the importance of being registered voters. To this end this committee has set a goal to register 6,000 Negroes in our city by July 3, 1962."

STATE OF TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
NASHVILLE

D. W. MOULTON, COMMISSIONER

BUREAU OF ENGINEERING
H. D. LONG
STATE HIGHWAY ENGINEER
L. T. CANTRELL
ASSISTANT STATE HIGHWAY ENGINEER
H. M. BATES
CHIEF URBAN ENGINEER
W. E. DUNLAP
CHIEF RURAL ENGINEER
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
JOE GARNER
COORDINATOR

July 17, 1962

Mr. John W. Walker
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

Enclosed please find a circular designating all maps which are available from the Highway Planning Survey Division of the State of Tennessee Highway Department.

The work of the Highway Department is not such that it would entail use of such maps as requested in your letter of July 9, 1962, that is maps showing the boundaries of political subdivisions down to and including the ward and precinct. We have a map of the Congressional Districts of the State of Tennessee which may be ordered from this department for a fee of twenty-five cents ($.25).

We regret that we cannot be of more service.

Very truly yours,

C. S. Harmon
jw

C. S. Harmon, Engineer Director
Highway Planning Survey Division
502 Highway Building, 6th Avenue

jw

Encl: 1

V/R file
Tennessee

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

July 17, 1962

Secretary of State
State of Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

Please send me the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of Tennessee by counties and independent cities. I should like these figures broken into white and Negro if you have such data.

If there is any charge, you may either send the data collect or bill me.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

This is the only compilation we have.
Joe Carr
Secretary of State

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1962
SEC'Y OF STATE

Atlanta Daily World 7/25/62

Drive Registers 8,000 New Tennessee Voters

Tenn V-R

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Nearly, 8,000 new names were added to voter registration rolls in four Tennessee cities and two counties as the result of a five-week crash drive, W. C. Patton, NAACP field secretary for registration and voting, reported this week

In addition, 4,518 voters who had moved since the last election were retained on the rolls by reporting their changes of address.

A total of 800 volunteers worked in the various campaigns, distributing literature, holding meetings, ringing doorbells, giving instructions on how to register, and making nearly 25,000 personal contacts.

In Memphis, where, as a result of previous NAACP campaigns, more than 70 per cent of the potential Negro voters were already registered, 4,036 new names were added to the rolls for a total 73,588. The drive, under the direction of Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the NAACP branch, was concentrated in the city low-rent housing projects.

In Knoxville there were 1,123 new registrations and 1,783 changes of address, which together with the number previously registered brought the total to 11,000.

Atlanta Journal 7/27/62

Consent Writs Filed In Negro Voting Case

MEMPHIS (UPI) — The threat of a legal battle in a case involving alleged economic pressure brought against Negroes who wanted to vote ended Thursday when the Justice Department filed consent judgments in the case.

The action brought to a close all pending lawsuits brought by the department against white landowners in Fayette County who were accused of pressuring Negores who tried to register to vote.

The judgments permanently enjoin the landowners from "threats, coercion or intimidation" against any person for the purpose of interfering with their right to vote.

J. Harold Flannery of Washington, attorney for the civil rights division of the Department of Justice, filed the consent judgments after a brief meeting with Lucious Burch, attorney for the defendants. The action closed a case which began in the fall of 1960 when the Justice Department filed its first suits.

The government came into the case after Negroes claimed they were evicted from their homes after they attempted to register. Nearly 100 Negroes moved into a "tent city" which sprang up in a cotton patch south of Somerville in Fayette County in December 1960.

The government launched a surplus food distribution program shortly after which brought sharp protests from local and state leaders.

Both Fayette and Haywood counties had been civil rights hot spots since 1959 when the Justice Department enjoined white primaries in Fayette County.

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PITTSBURGH
COURIER
p. 12

Date: AUG 4 1962

Action That Counts

It is excellent news that 8,000 new names were added to voter registration in four Tennessee cities and two counties as a result of a five-week crash drive engineered by the NAACP, with 800 volunteers working in various campaigns.

In Memphis, where more than 70 per cent of the potential Negro voters were already registered, 4,036 new names were added to the rolls for a total of 73,588.

In Chattanooga, 1,400 new voters were added to the rolls, while in Knoxville and Clarksville, 1,123 new voters were registered in the first and 1,162 in the latter.

In the two counties, Haywood and Fayette, with resistance and slow-down tactics on the part of registration officials, 72 new voters were added in the former and 43 in the latter.

This is the kind of action that counts because it gets almost immediate results, whereas so-called "quicker" means usually worsen the Negro's position in the community.

The Negro's problem is basically economic, and politics is the reflection of any group's status where a republican form of government obtains.

The law and its enforcement is in the hands of those who are elected at the polls, and where any group is not able to assert itself at the polls, it suffers a great disadvantage which cannot be overcome by physical demonstrations since the apparatus of government is in other hands and uninfluenced by those who need it most.

This is a lesson that is slowly but surely being learned, so the voting registration drive among Negroes is by far the most revolutionary tactic now being carried out.

If we can register generally at least 70 per cent of the potential Negro voters, the solution to many of our problems will be at hand.

OFFICERS
George E. Barrett, Nashville
President
Mrs. Ben Russell, Greeneville
Rev. Major J. Jones, Chattanooga
Mrs. G. Stanley Ish, Memphis
Vice-Presidents
Mrs. Bernard Schweid, Nashville
Secretary
John H. Cheek, Jr., Nashville
Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
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Washington Butler, Jr., Oak Ridge
Rev. Will D. Campbell, Nashville
Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis
John H. Compton, Nashville
Miss Ellen Correll, Memphis
Rev. W. T. Crutcher, Knoxville
Maclin P. Davis, Nashville
Rev. William A. Dennis, Chattanooga
Rev. Sam R. Dodson, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald, Nashville
Mrs. Raymond T. Ferris, Nashville
Dwight L. Freshley, Nashville
LeRoy Graf, Knoxville
Mrs. John Gregory, Chattanooga
Mrs. Robert Harwell, Franklin
W. D. Hawkins, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. W. B. Hembree, Knoxville
Ernest Hooper, Murfreesboro
Rev. Blair T. Hunt, Memphis
Miss Leah James, Chattanooga
C. A. Kirkendoll, Jackson
Herman H. Long, Nashville
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Mrs. Robert M. Metcalfe, Crossville
Mrs. John T. McCall, Nashville
Rev. John Charles Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Hugh J. Morgan, Nashville
Mrs. John A. Osoinach, Memphis
Rev. S. A. Owen, Memphis
Robert W. Peelle, Oak Ridge
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
Albert Porter, Jackson
Hollis F. Price, Memphis
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Nashville
Horace W. Raper, Cookeville
Rev. John Rustin, Kingsport
Clifford Seeber, Knoxville
Walter Sharp, Nashville
Seamour Shavin, Chattanooga
Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge
Lewis Sinclair, Knoxville
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville
Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville
Mrs. Margaret Valiant, Memphis
Mrs. H. Olin Troy, Knoxville
Mrs. Matthew Walker, Nashville
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Harold D. West M.D., Nashville
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue • Nashville 12, Tennessee • CYpress 1-7544

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

October 17, 1962

TO: Paul Rilling

FROM: Katherine Jones, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations

RE: Voter Registration in Tennessee

There is apparently no way to determine the number of registered voters in Tennessee, except by going to each registration office and after gaining permission of the county registrar, counting the registrations. Race is one of the items noted on each voter's registration, but not on the registration card the voter carries away with him.

Davidson County (Nashville) has approximately 165,000 registered voters; 150,000 are white and 15,000 are Negro. I talked with the Registrar today. These are approximate numbers as they do not have an exact count. The breakdown in Negro-white registrations was obtained from V. W. Henderson and also is an approximation.

The only other registrations I might question, as given in the Civil Rights report are:

Fayette County - Change Negro registration from 1500 to 2800
Haywood County - Change Negro registration from 300 to 2000

The sizable areas of population wherein voting registration is omitted from Civil Rights report include:

Anderson County with voting age population of	32,520	white
	1,034	Negro
Bradley County " " " "	20,834	white
	1,520	Negro
Lawrence County " " " "	15,837	white
	300	Negro
Madison County " " " "	25,617	white
	10,416	Negro
Robertson County " " " "	21,079	white
	878	Negro
Rutherford County " " "	13,748	white
	2,656	Negro

(more)

Sumner County with voting age population of	65,683	White
	1,438	Negro
Williamson " " " "	13,050	White
	2,231	Negro

If you think it worthwhile, we will either go to these counties, after the November election, or ask some member to count these registrations. As you can see, this is quite a task if you must go over registration books page by page through 15,000 to 165,000 names. There evidently is no simple way to do this, and no state-wide registration totals from which to draw. Please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Jones

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

/dw

Turn to Page 3—AIR | Turn to Page 2—Ch

Many Voters Will Mark Their Ballots in Tents

Tenn UR

Eight Such Polling Places in City—Voting Procedure Is Outlined

Memp P.S. 11-3-62 p.1

By CLARK PORTEOUS, *Press-Scimitar Staff Writer*

Tents will be used at eight polling places in the city in the election Tuesday.

Lester Brenner, Election Commission secretary, said this is the greatest number of tents used in 25 years he has been connected with the Election Commission.

"We just couldn't find vacant stores or other suitable buildings in some of the precincts," Brenner said. "Take my own ward, 65, precincts 1 and 2. We are having to use tents in both precincts."

Other voting places where tents will be used include wards 26-3, 31-4, 36-2, 38-3, 52-3 and 54-1.

All voting outside the city will be in buildings. Brenner said about 60 schools are being used, even tho city schools will be in session.

Rental for a voting place is $5. Many city and county buildings are used, and some citizens let their buildings be used as a civic gesture.

Voters will obtain only one voting application Tuesday, Brenner said. However, it will be perforated, and the voter will tear it in two, using one part to vote in the general election on one machine and the other to vote in the consolidation charter election on another machine.

"Voters can go first to whichever machine has less of a line," Brenner said.

Can You Answer?

Our Choice: House, and

CAPT. WILLIAM R. AN tion for governor. We tell ou the state House of Representa

* *

A MEMPHIAN sent carto his "They'll Do It Every Ti today. See Page 12 for the ic

"This represents a decline ... ably won ... this year ... Whitsitt, vice president in charge of the Cotton Depart- ... government's support will ... them also," he said. ... evaporated.

What to Expect At Stewartville Tuesday: Instructed Negro 'No' Voters In Line

Tenn V-R 11-3-62 p.13

By JAMES H. WHITE
Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

Any Memphis reporter who has covered an election day at Stewartville — and I've been there twice — can tell you what's likely to happen there Tuesday.

White

Because like Ole Man River, Stewartville just keeps rolling along with the same old shenanigans and extra-legal practices.

Squire Paul Barret, banker and political master of much of north Shelby County, is against consolidation.

And "Mr. Paul" calls the shots at Stewartville.

So if Tuesday is like last elections this is the way it will be:

Most of Stewartville's 1573 voters (700 white, 873 negro) will vote Tuesday—a majority will vote against consolidation.

May Get Confused

And the few votes by negroes that might be cast for consolidation probably will be errors committed by farm hands who get their "instructions" confused.

Barret has his vote-mill tuned to a fine pitch — and for years he goose-egged opponents and ever since 1948 has delivered whopping majorities to his candidates.

How does he do it?

* * *

Stewartville is 30 miles northeast of Memphis, out Austin Peay Highway, near the Fayette and Tipton County lines.

Voting is conducted in a dilapidated, century-old lodge. White voters enter from the front door. Negroes use the back door.

But before the negroes get to the back door, they are sent thru a canvas tent some 50 feet behind the polls. The rear yard is roped off so the negroes won't skip the tent.

Inside the tent, Prof. Guy Hoffman, negro principal of Barret's Chapel School, makes sure everybody knows how to vote and for whom.

The negro principal and his wife know all the 873 negro farmhands — and the farmhands know the Hoffmans work for Barret.

For years, Barret used county school buses to haul the negroes to the polls. However, buses were not used Aug. 2, following a public statement against this by a county school board member several days before election.

"We hadn't planned to use buses this year, anyway," the rotund, cigar-smoking Barret told this reporter on election day. "Get better results with cars."

Buses or not, Barret did deliver solid majorities at Stewartville for Dave Harsh and Rudolph Jones, former county commissioners who were defeated that day.

Operation of the "instruction tent" is a sight to behold.

I have often asked negroes approaching the tent how they intended to vote? I have never found one who knew.

"Gotta wait until I get my ticket," one negro said Aug. 2.

The "ticket" is a slip of paper which Hoffman gives each negro, setting forth the Barret candidates and their number on the voting machine.

Sometimes Hoffman puts special emphasis on specific candidates on Barret's list. Last August, the negroes were told to be sure and vote for Harsh and Jones.

Up until this year, Hoffman has refused to allow reporters to come inside the tent, saying it was "private property." He let me enter the tent last August, but did so reluctantly.

". . .These colored folks sometimes get bumfuzzled if white people are standing around," he said.

Hoffman has a small practice

Hoffman has a small practice voting machine he uses to show the negroes how to vote. "When you push the red lever down, the little curtain will close, but don't let that confuse you," he told one negro.

The negro principal makes no bones about who is boss of Stewartville. "We have a leader out here — Mr. Barret. We reserve the right to vote for whom we want to, but we generally follow the leader."

Inside the lodge, reporters are even less welcome. Most of the negro voters vote on machines in a rear room which has no outside windows.

Each time I was escorted thru the lodge and then promptly escorted out.

Out front, Mr. Paul is master of the show. He spends much of the day under the giant shade trees on the grounds, exchanging pleasantries with the white voters, chewing on his cigar, wearing the familiar horn-rimmed glasses.

There are always plenty of iced-down soft drinks and sandwiches for everybody under a lean-to on one side of the lodge.

A Seat in the Shade

He likes to sit in a chair propped against a big shade tree about 20 feet from the lodge. From that point, he can be seen by the negroes lined up out back and the whites going in the front.

Last August, Barret jumped up and tried to wrest a camera from Bill Leaptrott, Press-Scimitar photographer, who was

itar photographer, who was

about to take his picture. He has interfered with news photography on the grounds in many elections.

E. C. Fowler, veteran election official at Stewartville, is a Barret man. Fowler has had his share of scrapes with curious reporters and photographers.

Old clippings in The Press-Scimitar morgue contain stories 25 and 30 years old, pointing out the same old shenanigans.

But Stewartville just keeps rolling along.

Will Tuesday be different?

—Press-Scimitar Staff

PAUL BARRET, as he looked at the Aug. 2 primary.

* * *

Poll Watcher Tells What He Saw at Stewartville

Retired Army general W. A. Danielson, 78, of 4559 Stage Road, came to The Press-Scimitar and asked he be allowed to make a statement about the Stewartville voting precinct in northeast Shelby County. He was a Republican watcher at Stewartville during the Aug. 2 primary.

He said the vote there is controlled by Paul Barret, banker, landowner, County Court member and leader of the rural faction which controls the County Court.

The Stewartville box is a dilapidated old frame lodge building, unused for many years except on election day. Most Memphian and Shelby Countians have probably never seen it — except in photographs in the newspapers.

Hard to Find

It is hard to find and in a remote section of the county near Rosemark.

Gen. Danielson's statement:

"There is a tent about 50 feet behind the election house. In the tent are two or three desks. There is a negro school principal and two teachers in the tent.

"The colored people would come up to the tent. One would say, for example, 'I'm Sadie Jones and this is my husband.'

"The teacher takes a book, looks at it and says, 'Yes, I've got your name.' The teacher crosses out the name and the colored person passes on to the next one and is given a card.

Numbers on Card

"On the card are printed numbers to correspond with numbers on the voting machine the colored person is to vote for.

"Then the negroes would go to the side door and take the card in with them to vote.

"I called for the officer of election. He came out. I said, 'I can't say whether there is a law against this, but it is certainly unethical. You've got these ropes which run between the tent and the election building. The colored people can't get out.'

Quite a Squabble

"We had quite a squabble. He said, 'These colored voters are not going to come in the front door.'

"I watched awhile. Soon they took down one of the ropes. I said, 'That's not enough. How about the other one?' They took it down.

"I want to know how they use that book with the colored peoples' names in it. Do they use it as a means of extending credit or economic benefit to the voters who go thru the tent?"

CD Chief Urges More Shelters

Workers Are Told: Step Up Programs

By United Press International

WASHINGTON. — State officials should move as quickly as possible to provide more public shelters in the event of an attack, according to Civil Defense Chief Stuart L. Pittman.

At the first of eight regional meetings aimed at pushing the federal shelter program, Pittman said the most-asked question during the Cuban crisis was: "What is the address of the nearest shelter."

He urged officials from seven states and the District of Columbia to take advantage of public receptiveness by stepping up their shelter programs, particularly during the next three months.

Pittman, Assistant Defense Secretary for Civil Defense, said

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V-R

STATE OF TENNESSEE

Department of State

JOE C. CARR, Secretary
NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

JUL 29 1963

July 26, 1963

HENRY C. McCALL, JR.
COORDINATOR OF ELECTIONS

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

In reply to your July 23, 1963 inquiry our records show a total of 1,569,118 registered voters in the State of Tennessee as of January 1, 1960. This figure will be substantially correct as of the current date.

There is no break-down of white and negro registered voters in this office. The county election commissions of each county may have such figures available should you care to contact them. Our permanent registration forms used by all county election commissions contain as a means of identification the following entry: "Color __".

Yours very truly,

Henry C. McCall Jr.

Henry C. McCall, Jr.
Coordinator of Elections

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NASHVILLE BANNER

P3

Date: JUL 4 1963

GOP Report On Fayette Voters Hit

Somerville (AP)—A Republican Party report which showed more registered white voters than white people of voting age in Fayette County was challenged Wednesday by county election officials.

A party study committee reported Fayette had 4,437 white persons of voting age and 6,391 whites registered to vote.

Files of the Fayette Falcon Newspaper show 6,391 registrants as reported, but Editor Ray Coleson said an estimated 2,700 of these are Negroes.

The committee apparently failed to account for Negro voters in Haywood County also. Their figures show 6,500 white registered voters and 5,497 white of voting age.

The 1963 estimates in Haywood show the county now has a voters' registration of about 7,300, but 2,200 of these are Negroes.

An editorial in last week's issue of the Falcon said Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon carried Fayette County in 1960, the first time a Republican has done so, and questioned the object of the committee in publishing the figures.

J. R. Morton, chairman of the Fayette County Election Commission, said "no Republican party committee has checked our registration lists."

May and June 1964 Vol. 6, Numbers 5 and 6

Newsletter

WB
RTB
BWV

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

JUN 15 1964

MEMPHIS

LeMoyne College will conduct a five week humanities seminar for talented high school students, beginning June 15. With the coordination of LeMoyne history professor, Dr. Clifton H. Johnson, the instruction in English composition, speech and drama, literature and historical thought and philosophy, will be taught by graduate students from Yale University who are now doctoral candidates. Advanced students from Grinnell College will assist the Yale professors in teaching the classes. The seminar is designed primarily to attract high school juniors, but it is open to all high school students desiring to apply, as well as high school graduates preparing to enter college this fall. Fee for the entire course is $30 with some scholarships available.

Dr. Hollis Price, president of LeMoyne College (and board member of T.C.H.R.) received the Memphis Newspaper Guild's 1963 Citizenship Award on May 2, 1964. The Newspaper Guild, made up of working newspaper men and women initiated the award in 1946, and have made the presentation annually since. The citation noted his contribution as president of LeMoyne in encouraging leadership and acting as a community influence in education, drama, art, music, and literature. "As an educator, and humanitarian he has raised the eyes and hearts of countless young people toward the hope as well as the challenge of our time...he has worked with courage, devotion, and wisdom with diginity and good humor, for the human rights of all people... and because all people are his people..."

A "Freedom Sunday" mass meeting, sponsored by the Memphis NAACP on May 17, was addressed by Vernon Jordan, assistant to the director of the Southern Regional Council. He urged the audience of 300 to (1) register and vote, (2) to educate and communicate to white America that "this is our land and the Negro is here to stay," and (3) to tell white America that freedom is everybody's business. He called for more meaningful negotiations, and urged Negroes to offer themselves for public office. Mr. Jordan, a graduate of DePauw University and Howard University Law School, stated that it is as important for the Negro to oppose the School prayer amendments before the U. S. Congress as it is to fight for the passage of Civil Rights Legislation.

Federal District Court has given its approval to the Shelby County Board of Education plan to desegregate all its 58 schools by fall. The school board announced its plans to set up laymen's committees to work toward obtaining community acceptance for the desegregation plan. Opponents of the plan noted that it "represents only a willingness to accept an application for a transfer", and does not adequately plan for desegregation of the schools.

MURFREESBORO

In April, the Murfreesboro City Council elected four Councilmen from the nine city precincts. Mr. Robert Scales led the field in number of votes and thus became the first Negro to be elected to the City Council. An analysis of the results shows that Mr. Scales received support across racial lines.

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CHATTANOOGA

Under the direction of the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, a regional conference on "Jobs, Freedom, and Citizenship Responsibility" was held on April 14 and 15. Over the two day period, several hundred persons heard a notable array of speakers. Statements and quotations from their addresses are as follows: The Rev. Sam Dodson, chairman of the Governor's Commission on Human Relations: The Commission will make a survey this summer and publish a list of hotels, motels, and community organizations which do not discriminate. The Commission is attempting to support and encourage communities to be ready to conform to Federal Civil Rights legislation when it passes.... Dr. J. E. Lowery: "It is half past the hour of too-late O'clock. Rights are denied, opportunities limited, and our humanity is still in question." Two out of three Negro families live on less than $4,000 while only 27 percent of whites are in this category. "There is no guarantee that as we move toward the greater issues that religious movements can contain the despair and frustration of the American Negroes."....

The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth: "We don't want to put people out of business: we want to put justice in business." Matt Lynch: In 1935 only 6 per cent of the labor force was skilled; currently it is 40 percent, and by 1975 it will be 60 to 70 percent. This is the reason trade training is so important. The Rev. C. T. Vivian: SCLC has information on Negro buying power of many national products, and it may be necessary to propose a national economic withdrawal against certain firms which have been unwilling to break the cast system. "If you don't respect my person you may not have my dollar." Example: There is no Negro franchized automobile dealer in the USA.... Randolph T. Blackwell on voter registration in the South - we need to gear projects to a community's peculiar problems, such as poverty, despair, and literacy. Need to bring whites into the movement for equality and guard against persons who would pit Negroes against whites.

Howard Sompayrac, Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement: Census report shows 15,000 illiterates in area, but number probably twice this. Financed by contributions program has 52 teachers for 400 students. Students ask training because of job requirements, "I want to read the Bible", newspapers, "write to my grandchild," to shop better, etc... Mrs. Dorothy Cotton; SCLC Education Projects, seek to reach the persons on the very bottom of the ladder. Citizenship training helps adult to understand his community and how it may work for him. Learn to write by writing checks, deposit slips, application forms, voter registration forms, etc. Paul Anthony: "We have repeatedly underestimated opposition in civil rights, and this includes

An Unpublished Letter: 1797

Abigail Adams' Stand On School Integration

From Quincy, Massachusetts, on February 13, 1797, Abigail Adams wrote her husband, John Adams, then Vice President and about to begin his term as President of the United States, a long letter on domestic and farming affairs. She asked to be excused from going to Philadelphia, then the national capital, until fall, because of matters requiring her attention at home, and she related the following incident.

Her original letter remains among the Adams family papers in the Massachusettts Historical Society and has never been published. It is printed here with the permission of the Society and of Harvard University Press, publishers of the comprehensive edition of The Adams Papers now in progress.

"I have been much diverted," Mrs. Adams wrote, "with a little occurrence which took place a few days since and which serves to show how little founded in nature the so much boasted principle of liberty and equality is. Master Heath has opened an evening school to instruct a number of apprentice lads [in] ciphering, at a shilling a week, finding their own wood and candles.

"James desired that he might go. I told him to go with my compliments to Master Heath and ask him if he would take him. He did and Master Heath returned for answer that he would. Accordingly James went. After about a week, Neighbor Faxon came in one evening and requested to speak to me. His errand was to inform me that if James went to school it would break up the school, for the other lads refused to go. 'Pray, Mr. Faxon, has the boy misbehaved? If he has, let the master turn him out of school.' 'Oh, no. There was no complaint of that kind, but they did not choose to go to school with a black boy.' 'And why not object to going to meeting because he does, Mr. Faxon? Is there not room enough in the school for him to take his separate form [bench]?' 'Yes.' 'Did these lads ever object to James' playing for them when at a dance? How can they bear to have a black in the room with them there?' 'Oh, it is not that I object, or my boys. It is some others.' 'Pray, who are they? Why did not they come themselves? This, Mr. Faxon, is attacking the principle of liberty and equality upon the only ground upon which it ought to be supported, an equality of rights. The boy is a freeman as much as any of the young men, and merely because his face is black, is he to be denied instruction? How is he to be qualified to procure a livelihood? Is this the Christian principle of doing to others as we would have others do to us?' 'Oh, ma'am, you are quite right. I hope you won't take any offense.' 'None at all, Mr. Faxon. Only be so good as to send the young men to me. I think I can convince them that they are wrong. I have not thought it any disgrace to myself to take him into my parlor and teach him both to read and write. Tell them, Mr. Faxon, that I hope we shall all go to Heaven together.' Upon which Faxon laughed, and thus ended the conversation. I have not heard any more upon the subject."

current legislation. Dr. Arthur Graham: "In Oak Ridge we underestimated opposition to the public accommodations ordinance, and lost." Percy Williams of the Presidents Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity: Churches are the second largest builder in the nation, coming only after the Federal Government.

There were other notable quotes, but space forbids. The meeting ended with Dick Gregory's comments on the civil rights scene, including, "If the churches had been saying what they ought to in this struggle, we would be saying 'Thank God' today instead of 'Thank the Supreme Court'.

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ARE YOU STARRED?

If your name on the address label is followed by an asterik, it means you haven't paid your 1964 Council dues. Won't you do so NOW?

****

CLEVELAND

Progress and problems in human relations are not confined to the urban centers. A few determined Negro citizens in Cleveland have spearheaded a drive for equal access to places of public accommodation. There has been some success in lunch counter openings in drug and variety stores, but not all. Bradely Memorial Hospital accepts and trains Licensed Practical Nurses in integrated classes, and offers its hospital services without discrimination. The city continues to support a segregated school system for Negroes, including a high school in which there were only 8 graduates in 1964, and 12 in the junior class. According to the mayor there are no plans for change. The Negro school also accepts students from other parts of the county, and from an adjoining county. A textile firm with over two million dollars in Federal contracts during the past 12 months now accepts applications from Negroes, but the personnel director "doesn't know" how many Negroes are employed, or the types of jobs they hold.

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NASHVILLE

Since late April, Nashville has been the scene of: large street demonstrations protesting continued segregation in eating facilities; an impressive procession of 150 clergymen through the city to call on the Mayor requesting his leadership for bringing about desegregation; large numbers of pickets of all ages, and frequently bi-racial in make-up, followed by mass arrests; the issuance of an injunction which barred the public sidewalk to pickets in front of Morrison's Cafeteria; name-calling by persons in positions of public trust; considerable rumor and misinformation; the reactivation of the Metropolitan Committee on Human Relations, and the diligent work of the new chairman in his successful quest for the de-segregation of additional eating facilities; the "hard core" hold-outs of several restaurant chains.

Pending in city council is a proposed public accommodations ordinance. A special committee of the council has been named, with the vice-mayor as its chairman, to consider the bill. Meantime, eyes are on the national capitol and the Senatorial "stall-in".

What Nashville seems unwilling to recognize is Negro dissatisfaction with a system of gratuities, (grudingly conceded by the business community) which frustrates and restrains Negroes from participating in the mainstream of the community's life. The Nashville Chamber of Commerce has still to extend membership to Negro business men, and the Nashville Bar Association continues to refuse qualified Negro lawyers.

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BROWN vs BOARD OF EDUCATION - A PROLOGUE

Wonder why some citizens think school integration is such a rash and unprecedented idea? Mrs. John Adams was quite clear and logical about this nearly 160 years ago - and willing to take a stand.

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POVERTY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Whitney Young, Jr. official of the Urban League, in testifying before Congress stated that while the nation must have the civil rights legislation, it needs the anti-poverty program, too. "...We are afraid that we might end up here with a mouthful of civil rights and an empty stomach, living in a hovel."

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Tennessee State University is offering a SEMINAR ON POVERTY open to all citizens. This is such an integral part of the concern of the TCHR we hope that members will be able to attend. See enclosed announcement.

OID VOID

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And don't forget the INSTITUTE ON RACE RELATIONS, meeting from June 29 to July 11, 1964. For further information, write to the Institute On Race Relation, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203.

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

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Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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MAY 18 1964

STATE OF TENNESSEE

Department of State

JOE C. CARR, Secretary

NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

May 15, 1964

HENRY C. McCALL, JR.
COORDINATOR OF ELECTIONS

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

Complying with your request of May 13, 1964, we are enclosing a copy of voter statistics for the State of Tennessee which we have just completed.

Yours very truly,

Henry C. McCall, Jr.

Henry C. McCall, Jr.

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(encl.)

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

COUNTY	1960 Census Population	FEBRUARY 1964 DATA Voter registration	Polling places	VOTING MACHINES Number	Polling places using	Registration using	November 1962 Governor Election Total vote	Time to count after polls closed
FIRST DISTRICT								
Carter	41,578	25,282	38	None	-	-	8,263	4 hours
Claiborne	19,067	10,549	19	None	-	-	2,898	4 hours
Cocke	23,390	12,810	29	None	-	-	3,418	7 hours
Grainger	12,506	6,824	14	None	-	-	1,920	8 hours
Greene	42,163	20,010	41	None	-	-	8,390	10 hours
Hamblen	33,092	14,539	20	16	4	50%	5,206	4 hours
Hancock	7,757	5,216	13	None	-	-	1,456	2 hours
Hawkins	30,468	15,618	27	None	-	-	6,635	5 hours
Jefferson	21,493	10,281	15	None	-	-	3,787	5 hours
Johnson	10,765	5,652	13	None	-	-	2,482	5 hours
Sevier	24,251	13,140	26	None	-	-	3,867	7 hours
Sullivan	114,139	51,266	42	72	40	99%	22,616	1.5 hours
Unicoi	15,082	7,170	14	8	2	46%	2,782	4 hours
Washington	64,832	29,854	33	None	-	-	12,269	5 hours
TOTALS	460,583	228,211	344	96	46	24.8%	85,989	- -
SECOND DISTRICT								
Anderson	60,032	27,788	31	51	31	100%	11,436	3 hours
Blount	57,525	26,091	41	6	2	6.4%	10,158	7 hours
Campbell	27,936	13,890	33	None	-	-	4,096	3 hours
Knox	250,523	145,052	101	230	101	100%	43,326	6 hours
Loudon	23,757	12,152	17	21	8	79%	4,203	3 hours
Morgan	14,304	6,063	22	None	-	-	2,244	2 hours
Roane	39,133	16,580	27	50	27	100%	6,405	1.5 hours
Scott	15,413	8,259	26	None	-	-	2,568	7 hours
Union	8,498	4,425	12	None	-	-	1,374	6.5 hours
TOTALS	497,121	260,300	310	358	169	77.1%	85,810	- -
THIRD DISTRICT								
Bledsoe	7,811	4,742	19	None	-	-	2,370	7 hours
Bradley	38,324	18,549	27	None	-	-	7,389	8 hours
Grundy	11,512	6,604	21	None	-	-	2,059	5 hours
Hamilton	237,905	91,476	70	210	70	100%	47,472	4 hours
Marion	21,036	12,006	29	None	-	-	4,179	8 hours
McMinn	33,662	15,070	20	20	9	75%	6,720	4 hours
Meigs	5,160	2,676	10	None	-	-	1,376	5 hours
Monroe	23,316	13,930	27	None	-	-	6,400	8 hours
Polk	12,160	7,418	10	None	-	-	2,980	6 hours
Rhea	15,863	7,688	17	None	-	-	3,481	18 hours
Sequatchie	5,915	3,218	10	None	-	-	1,373	4 hours
TOTALS	412,664	183,377	260	230	79	56.0%	85,799	- -

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

COUNTY	1960 Census	FEBRUARY 1964 DATA					November 1962 Governor Election	
				VOTING MACHINES				
	Population	Voter registration	Polling places	Number	Polling places using	Registration using	Total vote	Time to count after polls closed
FOURTH DISTRICT								
Bedford	23,150	7,123	29	None	-	-	2,943	3 hours
Cannon	8,537	5,806	16	None	-	-	1,871	4 hours
Clay	7,289	4,548	14	None	-	-	1,411	6 hours
Coffee	28,603	13,686	27	None	-	-	4,314	4 hours
Cumberland	19,135	8,358	29	None	-	-	3,186	6 hours
De Kalb	10,774	6,290	26	None	-	-	2,150	12 hours
Fentress	13,288	5,278	22	None	-	-	1,883	7 hours
Franklin	25,528	16,720	29	None	-	-	4,406	8 hours
Jackson	9,233	4,870	17	None	-	-	2,198	8 hours
Lincoln	23,829	10,732	39	None	-	-	3,105	3 hours
Macon	12,197	5,721	20	None	-	-	1,397	3 hours
Marshall	16,859	7,819	25	8	7	70%	2,706	4 hours
Moore	3,454	1,824	11	None	-	-	819	4 hours
Overton	14,661	8,522	27	None	-	-	2,558	5 hours
Pickett	4,431	2,819	11	None	-	-	1,107	8 hours
Putnam	29,236	14,166	31	None	-	-	4,003	8 hours
Rutherford	52,368	18,535	49	None	-	-	5,331	13 hours
Smith	12,059	5,895	29	None	-	-	2,305	3 hours
Trousdale	4,914	2,946	12	None	-	-	787	3 hours
Van Buren	3,671	2,359	12	None	-	-	885	2 hours
Warren	23,102	10,616	23	None	-	-	2,803	12 hours
White	15,577	7,209	18	None	-	-	2,185	6 hours
Wilson	27,668	13,404	31	None	-	-	3,415	12 hours
TOTALS	389,563	185,246	547	8	7	3.0%	57,768	- -
FIFTH DISTRICT								
Davidson	399,743	154,662	124	357	124	100%	82,558	5 hours
TOTALS	399,743	154,662	124	357	124	100%	82,558	- -
SIXTH DISTRICT								
Cheatham	9,428	5,166	16	None	-	-	2,009	8 hours
Dickson	18,839	8,456	25	None	-	-	3,874	6 hours
Giles	22,410	10,402	29	None	-	-	3,525	6 hours
Hickman	11,862	6,375	36	None	-	-	2,259	5 hours
Houston	4,794	3,107	11	None	-	-	1,102	12 hours
Humphreys	11,511	6,386	25	None	-	-	2,823	12 hours
Lawrence	28,049	14,029	35	None	-	-	5,666	8 hours
Lewis	6,269	3,686	15	None	-	-	1,949	4 hours
Maury	41,699	17,228	37	32	12	60%	5,584	2 hours
Montgomery	55,645	15,497	26	20	7	50%	5,128	2 hours
Perry	5,273	3,207	18	None	-	-	1,351	2 hours
Robertson	27,335	10,499	26	10	5	50%	2,791	2 hours
Stewart	7,851	4,813	21	None	-	-	1,132	5 hours

(continued on next page)

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

COUNTY	1960 Census	FEBRUARY 1964 DATA					November 1962 Governor Election	
				VOTING MACHINES				
	Population	Voter registration	Polling places	Number	Polling places using	Registration using	Total vote	Time to count after polls closed
SIXTH DISTRICT (cont'd)								
Sumner	36,217	20,756	39	None	-	-	4,014	12 hours
Wayne	11,908	8,577	20	None	-	-	1,946	8 hours
Williamson	25,267	12,226	33	None	-	-	3,466	3 hours
TOTALS	324,357	150,410	412	62	24	14.4%	48,619	- -
SEVENTH DISTRICT								
Benton	10,662	7,367	20	None	-	-	2,476	6 hours
Carroll	23,476	12,357	30	None	-	-	3,810	4 hours
Chester	9,569	5,923	18	None	-	-	1,488	4 hours
Decatur	8,324	5,718	24	None	-	-	1,561	6 hours
Fayette	24,577	8,116	19	None	-	-	1,996	4 hours
Hardeman	21,517	7,265	28	None	-	-	2,686	7 hours
Hardin	17,397	9,768	32	None	-	-	3,426	12 hours
Henderson	16,115	7,303	23	None	-	-	1,969	5 hours
Henry	22,275	12,450	28	None	-	-	3,371	2 hours
Madison	60,655	26,598	45	None	-	-	7,941	6 hours
McNairy	18,085	9,438	29	None	-	-	3,543	4 hours
TOTALS	232,652	112,303	296	None	-	None	34,267	- -
EIGHTH DISTRICT								
Crockett	14,594	7,866	15	None	-	-	1,567	6 hours
Dyer	29,537	17,113	39	None	-	-	4,071	10 hours
Gibson	44,699	19,283	39	None	-	-	6,217	5 hours
Haywood	23,393	7,506	19	None	-	-	2,113	6 hours
Lake	9,572	5,082	11	None	-	-	905	6 hours
Lauderdale	21,844	10,486	28	None	-	-	2,280	6 hours
Obion	26,957	13,260	32	None	-	-	3,595	5 hours
Tipton	28,564	12,734	37	None	-	-	3,185	8 hours
Weakley	24,227	12,444	29	None	-	-	4,274	6 hours
TOTALS	223,387	105,774	249	None	-	None	28,207	- -
NINTH DISTRICT								
Shelby	627,019	248,542	188	1200	188	100%	111,721	4 hours
TOTALS	627,019	248,542	188	1200	188	100%	111,721	
GRAND TOTAL (95 COUNTIES)	3,567,089	1,628,825	2730	*2311	637	48.5%	620,758 (includes 20 write-ins not shown in county totals)	

*16 counties using

July 13, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Barbara I. Whitaker

From: Wiley A. Branton

Re: Tennessee and South Carolina Registration

All registration books in Tennessee closed on July 6 and will remain closed until after the August 6 primary. We should now request complete reports from W. C. Patton and from our separate Nashville project regarding their activities during the month of June and for the first week of July.

I learned on my trip to South Carolina last week that the books were closed in nearly every county throughout the state during the month of June on account of the primary, and therefore, you may find that there was no registration for several counties, but this should be verified by each chairman. It appears that the Sixth Congressional District permitted registration in some counties even though the books should have been closed.

js

Tennessee Registration Data

WB - some things here you may want to copy for V&P files

LWD ✓
VJ
PW
AU
BP - (clips later).
MM

QUARTERLY REPORT

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

TO: Southern Regional Council

FROM: Katherine Jones

Quarterly Report: June, July, August, 1964

As indicated in the previous quarterly report, all Tennessee has been solely involved in the recent political contests. The primary on August 6 settled some of the state contests, but not all of them. The Republican Party is presenting a slate of able candidates to oppose Democratic candidates for the State Legislature seats in Memphis and Nashville, as well as East Tennessee, and in some of the other districts which had formerly been considered wholly Democratic. From my personal white contacts in rural west Tennessee, it is anticipated that the usual solidly Democratic vote will be almost solidly Republican. This is really not related to a change in convictions, but retribution against the Kennedy-Johnson administration which they feel has betrayed them. This was the vote which Governor Clement courted in the August primary. It will be stronger in the general election because many Republicans felt it would be easier to beat Ross Bass in a general election than Governor Clement. What all this means to the Council is that our leadership has priorities other than Council activity. This will continue until after the November 3 election.

Some important conclusions have developed from the August primary. The Negro vote is enough to sway elections in the state - not enough to win on its own. In cities such as Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville it is better organized and not to be gained by appeals of the old political henchmen. This level of sophistication has not been achieved in smaller population areas such as Jackson, Tennessee and Fayette county, where there were inroads of politicians who worked successfully to divide the Negro vote. Considerable money was spent by the Clement forces in the Knoxville area without success. According to Negro leadership in Knoxville Negro citizens took the money but voted against Clement. Negroes contributed to partisan campaigns, sometimes rejecting funds from the candidates headquarters. The Republican Party in Middle and West Tennessee has obviously written off the Negro vote, and is attempting to exploit the resentment against Negro gains. (See political clippings of early September enclosed).

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Following the Atlanta meeting of June 24 and 25, Mrs. Irving Hand gathered together representatives from the same women's groups who participated in Atlanta. It was not a good time of the year since many of the elected leaders of the organizations were out of the city. In addition, Mrs. Hand had to overcome some resistance from the membership of her own organization

General File
Tenn -

DEC 29 1964

JBM
WAB

STATE OF TENNESSEE

Department of State

JOE C. CARR, Secretary
NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

HENRY C. McCALL, JR.
COORDINATOR OF ELECTIONS

COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

The attached Compilation sets forth current statistics on voter registration, polling places, and use of voting machines as well as 1960 population census and 1962 general election for governor figures. Questionnaires were completed by each county election commission at the request of this office. The county election commission is the custodian of voter registration records in each county of the state.

Daily changes occur in voter registrations on account of new registrations, deaths, marriages, moves of place of residence, etc. However, the Compilation is believed to be as accurate and as current as is possible.

It is our intent to compile and publish this information at two year intervals. Comments and suggestions will be appreciated.

Tenn - Reg. Statistics

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

COUNTY	1960 Census	FEBRUARY 1964 DATA					November 1962 Governor Election	
				VOTING MACHINES				
	Population	Voter registration	Polling places	Number	Polling places using	Registration using	Total vote	Time to count after polls closed
FIRST DISTRICT								
Carter	41,578	25,282	38	None	-	-	8,263	4 hours
Claiborne	19,067	10,549	19	None	-	-	2,898	4 hours
Cocke	23,390	12,810	29	None	-	-	3,418	7 hours
Grainger	12,506	6,824	14	None	-	-	1,920	8 hours
Greene	42,163	20,010	41	None	-	-	8,390	10 hours
Hamblen	33,092	14,539	20	16	4	50%	5,206	4 hours
Hancock	7,757	5,216	13	None	-	-	1,456	2 hours
Hawkins	30,468	15,618	27	None	-	-	6,635	5 hours
Jefferson	21,493	10,281	15	None	-	-	3,787	5 hours
Johnson	10,765	5,652	13	None	-	-	2,482	5 hours
Sevier	24,251	13,140	26	None	-	-	3,867	7 hours
Sullivan	114,139	51,266	42	72	40	99%	22,616	1.5 hours
Unicoi	15,082	7,170	14	8	2	46%	2,782	4 hours
Washington	64,832	29,854	33	None	-	-	12,269	5 hours
TOTALS	460,583	228,211	344	96	46	24.8%	85,989	- -
SECOND DISTRICT								
Anderson	60,032	27,788	31	51	31	100%	11,436	3 hours
Blount	57,525	26,091	41	6	2	6.4%	10,158	7 hours
Campbell	27,936	13,890	33	None	-	-	4,096	3 hours
Knox	250,523	145,052	101	230	101	100%	43,326	6 hours
Loudon	23,757	12,152	17	21	8	79%	4,203	3 hours
Morgan	14,304	6,063	22	None	-	-	2,244	2 hours
Roane	39,133	16,580	27	50	27	100%	6,405	1.5 hours
Scott	15,413	8,259	26	None	-	-	2,568	7 hours
Union	8,498	4,425	12	None	-	-	1,374	6.5 hours
TOTALS	497,121	260,300	310	358	169	77.1%	85,810	- -
THIRD DISTRICT								
Bledsoe	7,811	4,742	19	None	-	-	2,370	7 hours
Bradley	38,324	18,549	27	None	-	-	7,389	8 hours
Grundy	11,512	6,604	21	None	-	-	2,059	5 hours
Hamilton	237,905	91,476	70	210	70	100%	47,472	4 hours
Marion	21,036	12,006	29	None	-	-	4,179	8 hours
McMinn	33,662	15,070	20	20	9	75%	6,720	4 hours
Meigs	5,160	2,676	10	None	-	-	1,376	5 hours
Monroe	23,316	13,930	27	None	-	-	6,400	8 hours
Polk	12,160	7,418	10	None	-	-	2,980	6 hours
Rhea	15,863	7,688	17	None	-	-	3,481	18 hours
Sequatchie	5,915	3,218	10	None	-	-	1,373	4 hours
TOTALS	412,664	183,377	260	230	79	56.0%	85,799	- -

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

COUNTY	1960 Census	FEBRUARY 1964 DATA					November 1962 Governor Election	
				VOTING MACHINES				
	Population	Voter registration	Polling places	Number	Polling places using	Registration using	Total vote	Time to count after polls closed
FOURTH DISTRICT								
Bedford	23,150	7,123	29	None	-	-	2,943	3 hours
Cannon	8,537	5,806	16	None	-	-	1,871	4 hours
Clay	7,289	4,548	14	None	-	-	1,411	6 hours
Coffee	28,603	13,686	27	None	-	-	4,314	4 hours
Cumberland	19,135	8,358	29	None	-	-	3,186	6 hours
De Kalb	10,774	6,290	26	None	-	-	2,150	12 hours
Fentress	13,288	5,278	22	None	-	-	1,883	7 hours
Franklin	25,528	16,720	29	None	-	-	4,406	8 hours
Jackson	9,233	4,870	17	None	-	-	2,198	8 hours
Lincoln	23,829	10,732	39	None	-	-	3,105	3 hours
Macon	12,197	5,721	20	None	-	-	1,397	3 hours
Marshall	16,859	7,819	25	8	7	70%	2,706	4 hours
Moore	3,454	1,824	11	None	-	-	819	4 hours
Overton	14,661	8,522	27	None	-	-	2,558	5 hours
Pickett	4,431	2,819	11	None	-	-	1,107	8 hours
Putnam	29,236	14,166	31	None	-	-	4,003	8 hours
Rutherford	52,368	18,535	49	None	-	-	5,331	13 hours
Smith	12,059	5,895	29	None	-	-	2,305	3 hours
Trousdale	4,914	2,946	12	None	-	-	787	3 hours
Van Buren	3,671	2,359	12	None	-	-	885	2 hours
Warren	23,102	10,616	23	None	-	-	2,803	12 hours
White	15,577	7,209	18	None	-	-	2,185	6 hours
Wilson	27,668	13,404	31	None	-	-	3,415	12 hours
TOTALS	389,563	185,246	547	8	7	3.0%	57,768	- -
FIFTH DISTRICT								
Davidson	399,743	154,662	124	357	124	100%	82,558	5 hours
TOTALS	399,743	154,662	124	357	124	100%	82,558	- -
SIXTH DISTRICT								
Cheatham	9,428	5,166	16	None	-	-	2,009	8 hours
Dickson	18,839	8,456	25	None	-	-	3,874	6 hours
Giles	22,410	10,402	29	None	-	-	3,525	6 hours
Hickman	11,862	6,375	36	None	-	-	2,259	5 hours
Houston	4,794	3,107	11	None	-	-	1,102	12 hours
Humphreys	11,511	6,386	25	None	-	-	2,823	12 hours
Lawrence	28,049	14,029	35	None	-	-	5,666	8 hours
Lewis	6,269	3,686	15	None	-	-	1,949	4 hours
Maury	41,699	17,228	37	32	12	60%	5,584	2 hours
Montgomery	55,645	15,497	26	20	7	50%	5,128	2 hours
Perry	5,273	3,207	18	None	-	-	1,351	2 hours
Robertson	27,335	10,499	26	10	5	50%	2,791	2 hours
Stewart	7,851	4,813	21	None	-	-	1,132	5 hours

(continued on next page)

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMPILATION OF 1964 COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONNAIRES

COUNTY	1960 Census Population	FEBRUARY 1964 DATA Voter registration	Polling places	VOTING MACHINES Number	Polling places using	Registration using	November 1962 Governor Election Total vote	Time to count after polls closed
SIXTH DISTRICT (cont'd)								
Sumner	36,217	20,756	39	None	-	-	4,014	12 hours
Wayne	11,908	8,577	20	None	-	-	1,946	8 hours
Williamson	25,267	12,226	33	None	-	-	3,466	3 hours
TOTALS	324,357	150,410	412	62	24	14.4%	48,619	- -
SEVENTH DISTRICT								
Benton	10,662	7,367	20	None	-	-	2,476	6 hours
Carroll	23,476	12,357	30	None	-	-	3,810	4 hours
Chester	9,569	5,923	18	None	-	-	1,488	4 hours
Decatur	8,324	5,718	24	None	-	-	1,561	6 hours
Fayette	24,577	8,116	19	None	-	-	1,996	4 hours
Hardeman	21,517	7,265	28	None	-	-	2,686	7 hours
Hardin	17,397	9,768	32	None	-	-	3,426	12 hours
Henderson	16,115	7,303	23	None	-	-	1,969	5 hours
Henry	22,275	12,450	28	None	-	-	3,371	2 hours
Madison	60,655	26,598	45	None	-	-	7,941	6 hours
McNairy	18,085	9,438	29	None	-	-	3,543	4 hours
TOTALS	232,652	112,303	296	None	-	None	34,267	- -
EIGHTH DISTRICT								
Crockett	14,594	7,866	15	None	-	-	1,567	6 hours
Dyer	29,537	17,113	39	None	-	-	4,071	10 hours
Gibson	44,699	19,283	39	None	-	-	6,217	5 hours
Haywood	23,393	7,506	19	None	-	-	2,113	6 hours
Lake	9,572	5,082	11	None	-	-	905	6 hours
Lauderdale	21,844	10,486	28	None	-	-	2,280	6 hours
Obion	26,957	13,260	32	None	-	-	3,595	5 hours
Tipton	28,564	12,734	37	None	-	-	3,185	8 hours
Weakley	24,227	12,444	29	None	-	-	4,274	6 hours
TOTALS	223,387	105,774	249	None	-	None	28,207	- -
NINTH DISTRICT								
Shelby	627,019	248,542	188	1200	188	100%	111,721	4 hours
TOTALS	627,019	248,542	188	1200	188	100%	111,721	
GRAND TOTAL (95 COUNTIES)	3,567,089	1,628,825	2730	*2311	637	48.5%	620,758 (includes 20 write-ins not shown in county totals)	

*16 counties using

STATE OF TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
NASHVILLE

H. D. LONG
STATE HIGHWAY ENGINEER

D. W. MOULTON, COMMISSIONER

HERBERT M. BATES
CHIEF URBAN ENGINEER

JOE GARNER
COORDINATOR OF ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

LEON T. CANTRELL
CHIEF RURAL ENGINEER

STATE, COUNTY & CITY MAP DISTRIBUTION

The Tennessee State Highway Department in cooperation with the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads through the Highway Planning Survey Division has prepared and made available to interested agencies and individuals the following series of maps.

(1) County General Highway & Transportation Maps (Scale: 1"=1 mile). These maps show all passable roads by surface types existing at the time of the inventory, all cultural items adjacent to or visible from the road, major drainage, railroads, and incorporated towns. Each county is drafted on one map sheet except the following: Knox (3 sheets); Blount, Davidson, Hamilton, Shelby and Sullivan (2 sheets each). The additional sheets consist of areas congested in culture which are mapped to a larger scale than the map sheet proper. Blue-line prints are available at $1.00 per sheet.

(2) County General Highway & Transportation Maps (Scale: 1/2"=1 mile). These maps are identical to the full-scale maps described above. Black on white lithographic prints are available at the following prices: 1 to 9 prints (inclusive) $0.25 each; 10 to 24 prints (inclusive) $0.20 each; 25 to 99 prints (inclusive) $0.15 each; 100 or more prints $0.10 each. Complete set of the 95 counties (102 sheets) $10.00. No additional charge for inset sheets on this type map.

(3) State General Highway Map (Scale: 1"=8 miles). This map shows all State and Federal numbered highways with surface types, all railroads, incorporated towns, rivers, and State and Federal parks. Blue-line prints are available at $1.00 each.

(4) State Traffic Map. This map shows the latest 24-hour annual average traffic by figures and bands on all State and Federal numbered highways. Black on white lithographic prints are available at $0.50 per map.

(5) City Maps (Scales for individual cities vary from a maximum of 1"=264' to a minimum of 1"=1056'). This series of maps are of incorporated places only and show all city limits and streets with names and surface types, State and Federal numbered highways and streams within each place. The cities of Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Memphis are <u>not</u> mapped in this series. Each city is drafted on one map sheet. Blue-line prints are available at $0.50 per map.

The above established prices were fixed to cover expense of printing and handling. Postage stamps cannot be accepted as payment. Remittances should be made payable to the TENNESSEE STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT and sent to the following: C. S. Harmon, Engineer Director, Highway Planning Survey Division, 502 Cotton States Building, Nashville 3, Tennessee.

D W Moulton

D. W. Moulton, Commissioner

Tennessee Requirements for Registration and Voting

Registration Requirements:

1. You must be 21 years of age.

2. You must have been a resident of the state for one year.

3. You must have been a resident of the county for three months.

4. You must register at the office of registration before the books are closed. (This deadline will vary depending upon the county of which you are a resident.)

5. You must answer half a dozen simple questions.

6. You must sign your name twice.

7. If you are already a registered voter but have not voted in a state-wide election in the past four years, your name will be dropped from the registration roll and you will have to re-register.

8. If you are already a registered voter but have moved to a new address in the same county, you must inform the registration office. You do not have to go to the office in person. Write the new address on the reverse of your family's registration cards, sign your name and mail them to the office.

9. If you are already a registered voter but have moved to a new county, you must re-register.

The deadline for registrating to vote in my county is_____(date)

The registration office in my county is at_____(address)

It is open from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m._____through_____(days of the week)

The Benefits:

1. Cast your ballot in the primary elections.

2. Vote in the county, state, and national elections.

3. Help choose the President of the United States.

OPERATION: EQUALITY

Southern Defense & Education Committee,

W

SO SDLE

SLDE

Voting Stations

District	Precinct	
1	1	Cumberland High School
	2	Wade School
	3	Morny School
	4	Joelton School
2	1	St. Pins School
	2	Haynes High School
	3	Brick Church School
	4	Maplewood School
3	1	Cleveland St. Fire Hall
	2	Shwab School
	3	Tom Joy School
4	1	Gallatin Rd. Fire Hall
	2	North 6th St. Park
	3	Army Reserve Center
	4	Nashville Auto Diesel College
5	1	Russell St. Fire Hall
	2	McFerrin Park
	3	East Nashville Sr. High School
6	1	Boscobel Hgts.Community House
	2	Y.M.C.A.
	3	Holly St. Fire Hall
7	1	Bailey School
	2	Inglewood School
8	1	Lockland School
	2	Rosebank School
	3	Stratford School
	4	Dalewood School
9	1	Jere Baxter School
	2	Dan Mills School
	3	Isaac Litton School
10	1	Stratton School
	2	Amqui School
	3	Neelys Bend School
11	1	Madison High School
	2	Goodlettsville High School
	3	Lickton Community Civic Club
	4	B & W Service Station
12	1	Recreation Hall
	2	Lakewood City Hall
	3	Andrew Jackson School
	4	Dodson Chapel School
	5	Donelson High School
	6	Hermitage Elementary School
13	1	McGavock School
	2	Hickman School
	3	Custom Craft Shop
	4	Earheart's Store
14	1	Donelson School
	2	Stanford School
	3	Two Rivers School

Deputy Reg. Nashville

VOTING STATIONS (Cont'd.

District	Precinct	
15	1	Margaret Allen School
	2	TPS
	3	Glenview School
	4	Glengary School
16	1	Napier School
	2	Johnson School
17	1	Metro Office Bldg.
	2	Hume-Fogg High School
	3	Headquarters Fire Hall
	4	NES Building
18	1	North High School
	2	Elizabeth Park
	3	3rd Ave. Fire Hall
19	1	Wharton School
	2	John Early School
20	1	Pearl High School
	2	Head School
21	1	Hadley Park
	2	Washington Jr. High School
22	1	Charlotte Ave. Fire Hall
	2	Sylvan Park School
	3	Park Ave. School
23	1	West Park
	2	Richland School
	3	Charlotte Park School
24	1	McCabe Park
	2	Woodmont School
	3	Martha Vaught School
	4	Hillwood School
25	1	Centennial B Park
	2	New Vandy Gym
	3	Hillsboro Fire Hall
	4	West End High School
26	1	Preston-Lincoln Mortor Co.
	2	17th Ave. Fire Hall
	3	Law School-- Vanderbilt
27	1	Waverly Belmont School
	2	Sevier Park
	3	Christ The King School
28	1	Carter-Lawrence School
	2	Reservoir Park
	3	Murrell School
29	1	Central High School
	2	Berry School
	3	Julie Andrews School
	4	Security Federal Sav. & Loan C.

VOTING STATIONS (Cont'd.

District	Precinct	
30	1	Woodbine School
	2	Whitsitt School
	3	Glencliff High School
	4	Turner School
31	1	Una School
	2	Haywood School
	3	Grace Cole School
	4	Antioch School
	5	Mt. View School
	6	Cane Ridge Community House
	7	Mims Community House B'kert'n
	8	Wrencoe
32	1	Norman Binkley School
	2	Crieve Hall School
	3	Tusculum School
	4	Highland Skating Rink
33	1	Hillsboro Fire Hall
	2	Burton School
	3	Robertson Academy (Oakhill
34	1	Belle Meade City Hall
	2	Julia Green School
	3	Percy Priest School
	4	Parmer School
35	1	West Meade School
	2	Brook Meade School
	3	Gower School
	4	Bellevue High School
	5	South Harpeth Civic Club

Job Opportunity, Voting Rights Aired At Meeting

DALLAS, Texas — (ANP) — Organized labor and Texas liberals got a kick in the pants by several Negro speakers at the Annual Convention of the United Political Convention here at the Statler Hilton hotel last weekend, when job opportunities and voting education reigned as the top topics for panel discussions. San Antonio school administrator Joe Scott raped labor's knuckles, emphasizing the rivalry between the Negro leadership in the UPO and those who are part of the coalition of Latin Americans, labor and liberals.

New criticisms were also heard of the Texas Department of Public Safety for not hiring Negro highway patrolmen.

A series of speakers called for better vocational training and public education for Negroes, speedier integration and greater job opportunities, as well as voter education that would spur qualified Negroes to seek public office.

The convention opened Friday night with a mammoth banquet at which Georgia Senator Leroy Johnson was keynote speaker. Approximately five hundred heard Senator Johnson plead for a continuing "effort on the part of Negroes everywhere to break through the barriers of racial bias and injustice." He gave a historic backlog of Negro accomplishments in all fields of endeavor, and closed his brilliant address with dramatic proof that "we are somebody, and must be treated like somebody."

On Saturday during a panel discussion, Joe Scott charged:

" There has been progress in many areas in Texas, but one area in which there have been no moves toward employment opportunities is within the apprenticeship courses in the labor movement."

"Coalitions are good when all sides have mutal interests," he said, "There are no Negroes in the craft unions—No Negro carpenters, or electricians on the job."

Scott said, "we don't think much [redacted] liberal who won't give us any [redacted] when he has the opportunity. [redacted] discrimination [redacted]

K. R. M. Crooks, an official of the National Urban League told the group:

Negro leaders must motivate and stimulate the youth to better themselves educationally. He said that while the average income in Dallas is $100 a year over the national average, the income of non-whites is $70 under the average for the rest of the country."

"The average person in Dallas gets 11.8 years of school compared with a national average of 10.2. Yet the average Negro gets only 8.8 years of school in Dallas." he said.

A. Maceo Smith, Group Relations Officer for the FHA called integration of neighborhoods the "unfished business of the American Negro." He told the group that they must break down the fallacy that when a Negro moves into a white neighborhood values drop.

Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr opened his key address with a glowing tribute to J. Philip Crawford, Texas' first State Assistant Attorney General. He said that Crawford had won the respect of the entire state because of his ability.

He opened the panel discussions with an address on "Responsible Citizens Working Together to Meet The Challenge of Change."

"Our form of government," he said, "demands more of the individual than any other system yet devised by man. Possibly, because of this, in the history of the world, the failures of Democracy far outnumber the successes. A nation cannot continue as a Democracy unless its citizens are willing to devote their time and energies to its well being. For freedom and responsibility are opposite sides of the same coin."

"Because we live in a free society, the individual is at liberty to decide the extent he or she will participate in the affairs of society. We, therefore, find, in a significant number of our people, and indifferent attitude towards government and a lack of understanding of citizens working together for the advancement of the country, and unless the individual is willing to accept the responsibilities of citizenship, this great system cannot be perpetuated."

2/26/64
Atl Daily Wed

~~UPO~~
Texas Statewide

Wiley Branton - FYI
return to research

BP

Baton Rouge (1962)

Microfilm Code No.
Demon-La

SERS Library E

DALLAS
MORNING NEWS p. 12

Date: FEB 27 1964

Warning to Demonstrators

12

Metaphorically speaking, it was a very small straw in a very large wind, but a brief order of the Supreme Court this past Monday may point toward a domestic scene less troubled by flagrant racial disorders.

On Thursday, February 20, the court heard argument in the case of Dion Tyrone Diamond, petitioner, *v.* the State of Louisiana. On Monday the 24th, the court handed down a brusque nine-word opinion: "The writ of certiorari is dismissed as improvidently granted."

In less lawyerly language, the court here ruled unanimously that the petitioner hadn't a legal leg to stand on. The dismissal of a writ as "improvidently granted" amounts to an apology by the court for ever having agreed to hear a frivolous appeal in the first place.

The significance of this abrupt dismissal lies in the fact that Diamond is an agitator for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, otherwise known as SNICK. He went to Baton Rouge some 13 months ago, and there led a riotous demonstration by students at Southern University. He finally was arrested on old-fashioned breach-of-the-peace charges for encouraging students to run through the halls of the university buildings. The trial court gave him 60 days in jail and a $100 fine.

On appeal, the usual Negro battalions trundled out their familiar legal guns: James M. Nabrit III, Jack Greenberg, Wiley A. Branton, and Johnnie A. Jones. Nabrit himself argued the case. His contention was that the SNICK leader was only exercising his constitutional rights of free speech.

Counsel for the State of Louisiana met the issue head-on: Is flagrant disorderly conduct to be equated with free speech? Have the States and localities been stripped of their police powers? Do "demonstrators" have all the rights, and other citizens none?

It is a mistake to read too much into the Supreme Court's refusals to act, but in this instance, one feels justified by the nature of the argument in suggesting that the high court was giving a clear warning to these racial demonstrators that a level of tolerance has been reached. So long as they keep their demonstrations within the constitutionally protected areas of free speech and peaceful assembly, of course their rights will be made secure. But willful violence, interference with the rights of others, and plain disorderly conduct are not to be excused in the name of the First Amendment.

One can imagine that the Monday order created some consternation in the offices of SNICK, SLICK, CORE, and the NAACP. These organizations have been winning just about everything before the high court for the past ten years. Their lawyers must have been supremely confident that in the Diamond case, the court would agree once more that SNICK can do no wrong and Louisiana can do no right. For the court to have ruled *unanimously* in Louisiana's favor is bound to have been a terrible shock.

If the court's action serves to temper the violence of the Non-violent Committee, it will have served a splendid purpose. If the decision also encourages law enforcement agencies to limit their arrests of demonstrators to truly meritorious cases of trespass and disorder, still more will be gained. It's said that one swallow doesn't make a summer; this one may.

Microfilm Code No.
Pol-Negro
SERS Library

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
Sec. 1-4
Date MAR 11 1964

Texas

Texas Negroes to Play Active Role in Campaign

By RICHARD M. MOREHEAD
Austin Bureau of The News

AUSTIN, Texas — Negro political activity this year will be the highest in Texas since Reconstruction days.

The largest number of Negroes in history likely will go to the polls in Texas, possibly in greater proportion than whites.

Texas Negroes are candidates for numerous offices, ranging from school boards to governor. One or two Negro candidates for the State Legislature are considered to have good chances of election.

NO NEGRO has served in the Legislature in 79 years. During the aftermath of the War Between the States, several Negroes held legislative office.

The poll tax — which is widely regarded as a device to keep southern Negroes from voting — has not served such purpose in Texas in recent years. If anything, studies indicate that Texas Negroes have been voting in slightly higher ratio than white citizens.

A Southern Regional Council study in 1958, one of the most extensive made of Negro voting habits, reported that 226,818 Texas Negroes qualified to participate in the off-year election. Perhaps half this many actually voted. The Texas vote for governor that year totaled 1,317,492.

IN 1960, the U.S. census showed Texas had a Negro population of 1,187,125, about 12 per cent of the April 1, 1960, total of 9,579,677. Total population now has gone above 10,000,000, and by 1970 is projected to be 1,450,000 non-whites and 10,260,000 whites, according to Prof. R. L. Skrabanek of Texas A&M.

Unofficial estimates indicate that while Negroes comprise only 12 per cent of Texas' total population, they cast more than 14 per cent of the total vote in the 1960 and 1962 elections. Negroes have been voting heavily in the cities, and also in many East Texas counties.

Two years ago, Texans cast 2,311,670 votes for presidential candidates, an all-time high. A considerably larger number is eligible to vote this year. Poll tax payments in most places set records, and additional hundreds of thousands qualified to vote with age exemptions of free. The latter group, still being counted, can vote only for president, vice-president, U.S. senator and congressmen. In some cities, racial group leaders made strong bids to qualify their followers for the free votes, if they failed to pay poll taxes.

THE NEGRO population in Texas doubtless exceeds 1,200,000 today. Participation in the recent past indicates about 170,000 will go to the polls this year. However, some estimate as many as 300,000 Negroes will vote in Texas in 1964. If whites vote in the same proportion, the state's turnout would exceed 2,500,000, an unprecedented figure.

At a rally here last year, a Negro civil rights speaker claimed the race could get out a vote of 825,000 in Texas if everyone qualified. Fewer than half the eligibles of any race pay poll taxes or claim exemptions to vote.

WITHOUT question, the Negro is increasingly important in Texas as a voter and candidate. The Rev. M. T. Banks, a Negro from Beaumont, is running for governor. But on past performances, most Negroes probably will support Don Yarborough for Governor. U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough is a favorite among Negroes also.

Gov. John Connally, who has appointed several Negroes to state offices, has a following among that race but has been criticized by some Negro leaders for objecting to portions of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

Houston has a Negro school board member, and she has often been at odds with white members.

Texas Pol.

Pol - Sex -

Gov race

SERS Library

DALLAS MORNING NEWS

Sec. 1 - 3

Date: MAR 14 1964

NEP

Connally, Negroes Huddle on Politics

1-3

AUSTIN, Texas (UPI) — Gov. John Connally and some 75 Negro leaders from across the state huddled secretly Friday, outlining tactics to attract a large Negro vote for Connally in his primary race against Don Yarborough.

Connally told leaders of the United Political Organization (UPO), a pro-Connally Negro group organized in the 1962 campaign, that he is "physically unable" to conduct a major campaign this year personally because of wounds he received in the assassination of President Kennedy.

"It's up to you," the governor was quoted as telling the Negro leaders.

The Rev. Moses P. Timms of Tyler, a Baptist minister and member of the UPO board of directors, told United Press International that a large number of Negroes who supported Connally in 1962 had defected.

Timms called Yarborough "a good promiser—he'll get a lot of votes," but said UPO hoped to deliver the Negro bloc to Connally.

Connally spoke for about 40 minutes to the group, then his brother, Merrill Connally of Floresville, instructed the group on precinct work, Timms said.

Merrill Connally will be a campaign manager for the governor, Timms said.

He said the governor, his arm still in a cast, told UPO he has not recovered from his wounds enough to campaign as extensively as he did in 1962, when he edged Yarborough by 26,000 votes.

Connally received a sizeable number of Negro votes in the 1962 general election against Republican Jack Cox, but later made television and press statements opposing the public accommodations section of the federal civil rights bill.

Many Negro leaders bolted the UPO organization at that time and moved behind Yarborough.

Timms said that UPO, defunct in recent months, is being fully reorganized to help the governor. He said the Rev. Rhett James of Dallas, a strong Connally supporter, will be a leader in the campaign effort.

A record number of poll taxes were sold to Negro Texans this year, making the minority vote especially important.

Yarborough is said to be counting on heavy Negro support in his effort to defeat Connally.

Texas Pol.

U.S. Rep. Race

Microfilm Code No.

Pol - Tex

SERS Library

DALLAS
MORNING NEWS
Sec. 1-5
Date APR 7 1964

'Renegade Whites' Draw Dowdy's Fire

15

By JOHN MASHEK
Washington Bureau of The News

WASHINGTON — Rep. John Dowdy of Athens charged Monday in his weekly newsletter that secret meetings were being promoted in his Seventh Congressional District by "renegade whites" to incite Negroes into "law violations and violence."

Dowdy did not disclose any names in his letter. His office declined to name anyone, referring questions on the charge to the congressman. Dowdy is in his district campaigning against challenger Benton Musselwhite of Lufkin for nomination in the Democratic primary. Two years ago, Dowdy was nominated over Musselwhite by only 41 votes.

While not mentioning Musselwhite or any backers by name, Dowdy also charged that racial groups in Washington had sent money into his district to "purge me as congressman because I have resisted their diabolical aims."

Dowdy also referred to law violations in Box 18 at Lufkin in the 1962 primary in which he said 151 poll taxes were accounted for giving residence as a small shack.

Dowdy's office said Musselwhite got 86 per cent of the vote in that box in the 1962 election.

"More and more people are realizing that Duval County is not alone in efforts to steal elections, and closer looks are being taken in many counties," Dowdy said.

Dowdy solicited help from his newsletter recipients "of any violations you learn about." He said this would help assure honest elections, adding that he would turn the information over to proper authorities.

Dowdy also had comments on the racial situation nationally. He said renegades were following the Communist policy by stirring up violence and discord. He accused the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress on Racial Equality of the recent demonstrations in Florida and Alabama.

The East Texas Democrat said demonstrations would continue to spread because federal authorities would not permit local enforcement officers to protect the peace.

"At the federal level, it seems there is no courage at all in the face of violence," he said.

Texas Pol.

2 Incumbents Win in Texas Primary Vote

DALLAS, (UPI) — Senator Ralph Yarborough, a liberal backed by President Johnson, forged ahead of a conservative political novice Saturday night in a bitterly contested primary election for the Democratic Senate nomination. Republican conservative Barry Goldwater ran away with the field in a Republican presidential straw vote.

Governor John Connally, who was wounded by the assassin who shot President Kennedy, left Don Yarborough (no relation to the senator) far behind. Connally piled up an almost 4-to-1 lead.

With 149 of 254 counties reporting, Senator Yarborough had 215,742 votes to 164,307 for Dallas broadcast executive Gordon McLendon.

Connally has 275,676 votes to 110,221 for Don Yarborough, a Houston lawyer.

Goldwater, in a preferential vote that was not binding on delegates to the Republican national convention, ran up 43,663 votes, or about a 3-1 margin, over the combined votes of his opponents. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge got 5,113 write-in votes.

Ark. Gaz.
5-3-64

Texas Statewide

November 20, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: TEXAS REGISTRATION

I talked with Larry Goodwyn today in Austin, and he estimates Texas registration at white - 1,840,000, (this includes Latins), and Negro - 165,000.

We can arrive at an estimate of present total Negro registration in Texas another way. We have dependable figures for certain East Texas counties for 1958-1961 and currently. The current figures coming from the Rev. Thomas, Democratic Coalition man in Lufkin. We take the percentage of decrease in those counties between 1958 and the present, and apply that percentage to the 1958 total for all counties. The percentage is 16.6. This procedure gives an estimate of 189,166. Thus, we can estimate reliably that current Negro registration in Texas is between 165,000 and 189,166.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

November 22, 1963

MEMORANDUM

Re: TEXAS REGISTRATION

At Wiley's suggestion that we try to call Bill Durham in Dallas to get his opinion of our estimation of Negroes registered in Texas as between 165,000 and 190,000. We were unable to get in touch with Durham, undoubtedly because Durham was attending the functions on the occasion of the President's visit to Dallas, and then, later, because of the assassination. We will try to get in touch with Durham on Monday.

JM

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

July 17, 1962

Secretary of State
State of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Sir:

Please send me the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of Texas by counties and independent cities. I should like these figures broken into white and Negro if you have such data.

If there is any charge, you may either send the data collect or bill me.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

V-R Texas

STATE OF TEXAS
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AUSTIN 11, TEXAS

P. FRANK LAKE
SECRETARY OF STATE

July 23, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

We are enclosing a list of the paid poll tax receipts and the exemption certificates issued to voters for the year 1962. The next poll tax period is from October 1, 1962 to January 31, 1963.

We are sorry that we do not have any figures broken into white and Negro voters. A poll tax is purchased from the County Clerk and the receipt shows "Race".

If we can be of further assistance to you, please call on us.

Very sincerely,

P. FRANK LAKE
Secretary of State

By Sybil Dickinson
Sybil Dickinson, Director
Administrative Division

SD:lf
Enclosure

AUG 5 1963

STATE OF TEXAS
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AUSTIN 11, TEXAS

Crawford C. Martin
SECRETARY OF STATE

July 31, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

We are enclosing our list of the paid Poll Tax receipts. There is no publication available on the number of white and Negro Poll Tax receipts issued. This information is given to the County Clerk upon the purchase of Poll Tax, but no state wide list is available.

Sincerely,

CRAWFORD C. MARTIN
Secretary of State

By: Sybil Dickinson
Sybil Dickinson, Director
Administrative Division

SD:ca
Enclosure

Texas Voter Reg.

time to try to settle a problem—which, after all, involves a consideration of economic facts—by resort to economic force. As a friend of management and of labor, I raise my voice in plea at this time to the carriers and to the brotherhoods to accept the President's industrial statesmanship proposal. The President's recommendation to the parties that Mr. Justice Goldberg be accepted by both sides to settle this dispute by voluntary arbitration is one which is in the best interest of all concerned including the country.

In closing, Mr. President, I also wish to pay my very highest compliments and respects to two men who have done yeoman service for the American people and the parties to this dispute from the very beginning. I have followed it quite closely, and have been involved in some of the conversations and discussions in respect to it.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Assistant Secretary of Labor Jim Reynolds have rendered a distinguished service of industrial statesmanship, also, in trying to lead the parties to an amicable and commonsense adjustment of this dispute. The country is indebted to them.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I join the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon in what he has had to say about the project which has been given to Mr. Justice Goldberg. I wish to express my wholehearted approval of the procedure being followed by the President of the United States, and I express the hope that in his endeavors Mr. Justice Goldberg will be as successful as was the senior Senator from Oregon with the committee which he headed in bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the longshoremen's strike.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator very much.

DESEGREGATION IN TEXAS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I have consistently maintained that very great progress has been made in voluntary desegregation in various public accommodations in the South, and indeed, throughout the rest of the country. There recently appeared in the Temple Daily Telegram an article by Ronnie Thompson entitled "Racial Curtain in Texas Gradually, Calmly Lifted."

I believe this is an excellent account of what has been done in my State in voluntary desegregation. The article reads in part:

> Demonstrations have been few. Violence has been almost nil.
>
> In many cases, desegregation in Texas has been voluntary.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Some businessmen have integrated silently without fanfare. Biracial committees are working in several cities, seeking a course of action.
>
> Many city councils, chambers of commerce, and business associations have disclosed plans to work with mixed committees of Negroes and whites.

This article cites many instances of progress that has been made in my State. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RACIAL CURTAIN IN TEXAS GRADUALLY, CALMLY LIFTED

(By Ronnie Thompson)

The racial curtain that has existed for decades between Negroes and whites in Texas hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other public facilities is gradually and calmly being raised.

In many areas where strict segregation was once enforced, a Negro now can get service.

Demonstrations have been few. Violence has been almost nil.

In many cases, desegregation in Texas has been voluntary. A marked increase has been noted since recent uprisings in southern cities such as Birmingham and Jackson.

Some businessmen have integrated silently, without fanfare. Biracial committees are working in several cities, seeking a course of action.

Many city councils, chambers of commerce, and business associations have disclosed plans to work with mixed committees of Negroes and whites.

Figures on desegregation moves in Texas don't exist. Businessmen appear to think that the less said, the better.

Ten of Texas largest cities have taken long steps to end racial discrimination. These include:

Houston: Mostly privately owned public facilities are integrated, including hotels and restaurants. Except for a few sit ins several years ago and an Emancipation Proclamation Day mass meeting this year, no incidents have been reported.

Dallas: A community relations committee of white and Negro leaders recently reported that every phase of the business community had responded exclusively by voluntary action. Some hotels and restaurants are integrated. The State fair music hall admits Negroes.

San Antonio: The city council committee for voluntary desegregation set July 4 as a target date for voluntary desegregation of all private businesses to integrate on a voluntary basis. Integration pledges came from 42 restaurants, 38 motels, the San Antonio Motel and Hotel Association, and all public bowling alleys. All downtown lunch counters serve Negroes. All theaters are integrated, although one still maintains a Negro box office.

Fort Worth: A race relations committee recently said all public facilities would begin serving all customers regardless of race. This included all hotels, restaurants, theaters, department stores, and athletic contests. Complete desegregation was timed to coincide with the desegregation of the city's schools.

El Paso: Total integration exists in this city where only about 4,650 of the 310,000 area residents are Negroes. The city council approved an ordinance a year ago prohibiting any hotel, motel, restaurant, or theater from refusing to serve any persons because of race, creed, or color.

Austin: The capital has been in the forefront of integration moves several years. Some 62 eating places which make 70 percent of cafe sales are desegrating. All downtown hotels are integrated. The chamber of commerce recently passed a resolution urging all local business voluntarily to integrate their facilities.

Corpus Christi: Most downtown coffee shops, theaters, and many restaurants are integrated. Negro leaders say bowling alleys, hotels, and motels are the major holdouts to total integration. A Negro spokesman predicted hotels, motels, and restaurants will fully integrate soon.

Amarillo: The Panhandle city is generally desegregated, although some businessmen

from this British company at $45,886.80 each, or a total cost of $2,156,679.60. Then they sold the same equipment back to the same company from whom it had been purchased for $114,500. Then the Government of Portugal, which was receiving aid from our country, bought these same predictors for $493,500 and paid for them with our money. The equipment, without even being uncrated, was shipped directly to the Portuguese Government with the crates bearing the marking, "Free Issue."

The Comptroller General found evidence to show that 9 months before the equipment was sold as surplus to the Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., both the headquarters of the U.S. European Command and the Department of the Army had been notified that the British firm was negotiating with Portugal to sell them this material should they be able to obtain it as surplus.

At this point I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the two letters dated March 26 and June 7, 1963, signed by the Comptroller General in which he confirms this strange transaction.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, March 26, 1963.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: Reference is made to your request of January 21, 1963, that we conduct an investigation and report on our findings regarding an allegation that certain American military equipment stored in a British facility in England was declared surplus by the British and was not offered to the various North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries, as is customary, but instead was sold as scrap. It was further alleged that the equipment was subsequently sold by the purchaser, a British concern, to Portugal for $250,000; that the equipment still bore the stamp of being a free gift from the United States; and that an officer with the military assistance advisory group in the United Kingdom falsified that required procedures had been followed.

We have reviewed the available official records concerning this transaction maintained by Headquarters, U.S. European Command in Paris, France, and determined the following regarding the above allegations:

1. The equipment referred to consisted of radar predictors furnished as grant aid to the United Kingdom under the military assistance program and subsequently declared surplus to its needs.

2. In September 1955 the British Government informed the military assistance advisory group, United Kingdom, that it had large numbers of the predictors on hand in excess of its requirements. The predictors were stored in British military depots in England.

3. The surplus predictors were properly reported to Headquarters, U.S. European Command, which in turn directed the military assistance advisory groups in North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries to determine whether there were any military assistance program requirements for the equipment. All the military assistance advisory groups, except those in Turkey and Portugal, reported that there were no requirements.

4. Surplus predictors were subsequently furnished to Turkey from the excess British stocks. The military assistance advisory group in Portgual had tentatively proposed that 48 predictors be provided to Portugal as grant aid under the military assistance program but withdrew the requirement in June 1956 on the basis of programing criteria which prohibited military assistance program support to the Portuguese units earmarked to receive the equipment.

5. On December 30, 1958, 49 operable and 8 inoperable surplus predictors were sold to Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., on a negotiated basis for £41,000 ($114,500). The military assistance advisory group, United Kingdom, had estimated the scrap value of this equipment to be $250 each, or $11,750. Available records indicate that the predictors had been manufactured in part and assembled by Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., which was the sole source for this equipment for the British Ministry of Supply.

6. Information supplied by the Portuguese Ministry of the Army to the military assistance advisory group, Portugal, indicates that the Portuguese Government purchased the predictors from Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., in December 1958 for £3,750 each, or £176,250 ($493,500) for 47 predictors, to be delivered in like-new condition.

7. Vouchers accompanying the predictors sold to Portugal by Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., bore the notation "Free issue." We have been informed that this is an internal term used by and peculiar to supply procedures within United Kingdom military organizations and was not a notation placed on the equipment by the United States at the time the material was provided to the United Kingdom as grant military aid.

8. We found no evidence that an officer with the military assistance advisory group in the United Kingdom falsely advised his superiors that required disposal procedures had been followed. The records show that the sale of surplus predictors to Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., was preceded by proper notifications to higher headquarters and the sale was authorized by the Department of the Army and Headquarters, U.S. European Command. The military assistance advisory group in the United Kingdom had formally advised appropriate headquarters of the excess declaration, and required screening was conducted to determine whether the equipment was needed for military assistance program requirements in other countries.

On the basis of the documents and data reviewed, we found that personnel assigned to the military assistance advisory group in the United Kingdom followed prescribed procedures concerning the disposal and sale of the surplus predictors. Nine months before the equipment was sold to Cossor Radar & Electronics, Ltd., the military assistance advisory group, United Kingdom, also notified Headquarters, U.S. European Command, and the Department of the Army that the British firm was negotiating for its resale to free world nations, including Portugal. Nevertheless, we could find no evidence that the European Command or the Department of the Army made any attempt to sell the equipment directly to the Portuguese Government under military assistance sales procedures, and we could obtain no explanation as to why this was not done.

We would be pleased to discuss this matter with you or your staff if you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES,
Washington, June 7, 1963.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senator.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: Reference is made to your letter dated April 12, 1963, re-

maintain a segregated operation. A major problem does not exist because less than 5 percent of the population is Negro. About 30 Negroes lined up in front of a theater last week to buy tickets and were refused while they were en masse. Later two Negroes were admitted.

Lubbock: Some 72 cafe owners said this month they had integrated. The action was taken, a spokesman said, "to continue racial harmony."

Beaumont: C. O. Herbert, president of the Beaumont Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said last week all race barriers had been broken and residents were complying in all areas with NAACP demands for equal rights. Major hotels are integrated, he said. A spokesman for local theaters, now segregated, said a significant announcement concerning the policy toward seating Negroes with whites will be made Monday.

Many other cities in the State have taken action about segregation.

Marshall, in deep east Texas where the Negro population is extremely large, has held at least one public meeting recently to discuss race relations.

A few years ago, hundreds of college students in Marshall staged demonstrations against segregation. Many landed in jail. The city remains generally segregated.

Waco's Chamber of Commerce is working with restaurant owners on plans for desegregation. Lunch counters integrated without incident some time ago, although hotels and theaters still bar Negroes.

Laredo generally is segregated. Hotels accommodate Negroes attending conventions and Negroes in the annual Border Olympics stop at some local hotels.

Gov. John Connally recently said Texas is "extremely fortunate at this point that we have been able to make very substantial progress without the difficulties which other parts of the Nation have had.

"We have much to be done, but I think the most successful way to do it is on a voluntary basis."

He said he had been working behind the scenes in meetings with hotel and restaurant owners in an attempt to drop the racial barrier.

Even if a city announces total desegregation, it does not necessarily follow that the city is completely open to the Negro.

There often are holdouts—businessmen who absolutely refuse to serve a Negro, under any circumstances. Many others maintain a wait-and-see attitude.

TEACHING TRUTH ABOUT REDS

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on June 29 there appeared on the editorial page of the Chicago American an article by John Chamberlain, well-known columnist and widely regarded for his incisive discourses on governmental matters, on the subject of "Teaching Truth About Reds." I believe Mr. Chamberlain's views merit wide circulation and, therefore, request unanimous consent that they be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEACHING TRUTH ABOUT REDS

(By John Chamberlain)

When John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State, it was Washington that seemed bent on making it certain that coexistence with Russia would not be sought on terms that might ultimately prove to be disadvantageous to the West. But while Dulles pursued

the balance will be paid into the special fund.

Therefore, I do not believe there is any difference. There is no question that the United States will renege under the compromise as compared with last year's bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I believe the Senator stated that there is a ceiling of $25,000 on each claim. Is that correct?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the surplus in the special fund be under the control of the Treasury of the United States or the treasury of the Republic of the Philippines?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. As I understand, it is in the Treasury, in funds already appropriated. Upon agreement by the President of the United States and the President of the Philippines, it will immediately be transferred to the Bank of the Philippines or to the treasury of the Philippines, in accordance with that agreement.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a last question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What would be the prospect of reinstituting the so-called Fulbright formula, according to which the surplus would be placed in a special fund under the control of the Philippine Government, as originally proposed by the Senator who is presenting the conference report, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, such fund to be used for economic and social development, including educational projects, farm reforms, and so forth?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. There have been three conferences with the House, and the House conferees were adamant in their attitude. There was no agreement in the last conference. I saw no prospect of agreement on that point. I did not know which way to turn. That is what sometimes happens. I consider that under the compromise a substantial amount will go to projects agreed upon by the President of the Philippines and the President of the United States, which projects are in the areas I mentioned, of educational improvements, and vocational education, and training of teachers.

This compromise fully measures up to the original objective of the rehabilitation of the Philippine economy, because this is an integral part of any such rehabilitation program. This part of the bill is entirely consistent with the original purpose of the Rehabilitation Act of 1946. I do not see how there can be any legitimate complaint that this is a departure from the original objective.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Even though the formula known as the Fulbright formula has been displaced by other language?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I would have preferred the formula that the Senate had adopted, but we were confronted with the views of the Members of the other body, and they would not accept our view. This is the best compromise that could be arrived at.

1962 VOTING POLL TAX RECEIPTS AND EXEMPTION CERTIFICATES

ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1, 1962, THROUGH JANUARY 31, 1963

TO BE USED IN VOTING DURING THE PERIOD

FEBRUARY 1, 1963, THROUGH JANUARY 31, 1964

This exhibit shows the voting Poll Tax Receipts and Exemption Certificates issued in each County, as compiled from the reports filed with this Department by the County Tax Assessor Collectors.

COMPILED BY ROBERT S. CALVERT, COMPTROLLER OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED	COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Anderson	6,367	2,220	Denton	7,449	1,863
Andrews	2,494	326	DeWitt	3,578	50
Angelina	8,384	1,733	Dickens	916	91
Aransas	1,404	40	Dimmit	1,508	65
Archer	1,154	17	Donley	1,067	24
Armstrong	608	5	Duval	4,573	119
Atascosa	3,500	103	Eastland	3,993	344
Austin	2,801	29	Ector	16,298	2,163
Bailey	1,693	14	Edwards	466	3
Bandera	968	11	Ellis	4,617	1,126
Bastrop	2,916	30	El Paso	44,505	9,412
Baylor	987	18	Erath	2,267	27
Bee	3,831	775	Falls	2,624	32
Bell	10,396	3,328	Fannin	2,689	13
Bexar	98,234	33,806	Fayette	3,629	22
Blanco	820	18	Fisher	1,581	30
Borden	308	3	Floyd	1,584	43
Bosque	1,832	35	Foard	592	-
Bowie	9,990	2,844	Fort Bend	6,009	93
Brazoria	19,119	540	Franklin	964	13
Brazos	6,794	2,645	Freestone	2,048	28
Brewster	1,124	31	Frio	1,721	62
Briscoe	811	14	Gaines	1,831	30
Brooks	2,178	58	Galveston	32,636	6,270
Brown	3,591	2,247	Garza	1,170	20
Burleson	2,030	13	Gillespie	2,217	47
Burnet	1,645	19	Glasscock	282	-
Caldwell	2,604	66	Goliad	1,138	14
Calhoun	3,241	81	Gonzales	2,661	-
Callahan	1,644	21	Gray	6,838	1,792
Cameron	19,100	4,806	Grayson	10,653	4,570
Camp	1,205	15	Gregg	14,764	3,746
Carson	1,835	41	Grimes	2,209	12
Cass	3,141	7	Guadalupe	4,677	1,044
Castro	1,968	48	Hale	5,619	1,540
Chambers	2,783	26	Hall	1,396	10
Cherokee	4,388	29	Hamilton	1,325	17
Childress	1,541	14	Hansford	1,463	33
Clay	1,542	9	Hardeman	1,223	17
Cochran	1,152	43	Hardin	4,544	74
Coke	607	3	*Harris	282,768	72,616
Coleman	1,884	22	Harrison	6,636	2,376
Collin	6,033	1,445	Hartley	679	4
Collingsworth	1,186	8	Haskell	1,969	20
Colorado	3,107	36	Hays	3,155	822
Comal	3,648	1,313	Hemphill	766	12
Comanche	1,774	13	Henderson	3,595	896
Concho	729	13	Hidalgo	28,005	5,833
Cooke	4,074	1,762	Hill	3,320	39
Coryell	2,228	-	Hockley	3,498	554
Cottle	727	7	Hood	982	4
Crane	1,132	17	Hopkins	2,811	-
Crockett	889	20	Houston	3,213	29
Crosby	1,507	6	Howard	5,905	1,612
Culberson	490	-	Hudspeth	606	7
Dallam	1,248	31	Hunt	4,529	1,718
Dallas	167,791	48,250	Hutchinson	6,866	1,050
Dawson	3,050	1,155	Irion	290	-
Deaf Smith	2,403	46	Jack	1,348	13
Delta	856	12	Jackson	2,832	63

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Jasper	3,672	58
Jeff Davis	367	1
Jefferson	51,441	11,230
Jim Hogg	876	19
Jim Wells	6,464	1,593
Johnson	4,767	1,844
Jones	2,522	25
Karnes	2,967	37
Kaufman	3,405	1,254
Kendall	1,218	17
Kenedy	129	-
Kent	507	-
Kerr	2,793	61
Kimble	290	1
King	167	-
Kinney	510	8
Kleberg	3,676	1,031
Knox	1,324	13
Lamar	4,372	2,183
Lamb	4,165	90
Lampasas	1,339	10
LaSalle	842	33
Lavaca	3,217	14
Lee	1,776	15
Leon	1,671	-
Liberty	5,717	76
Limestone	2,426	66
Lipscomb	895	21
Live Oak	1,635	45
Llano	1,007	7
Loving	90	15
Lubbock	19,403	5,738
Lynn	1,846	21
Madison	1,128	-
Marion	1,334	34
Martin	1,074	-
Mason	787	-
Matagorda	4,560	757
Maverick	2,174	456
McCulloch	1,502	30
McLennan	23,107	7,679
McMullen	397	19
Medina	3,540	66
Menard	534	23
Midland	13,577	1,956
Milam	3,219	31
Mills	1,032	12
Mitchell	1,671	22
Montague	2,587	11
Montgomery	6,142	65
Moore	3,570	60
Morris	2,206	20
Motley	619	12
Nacogdoches	3,980	1,304
Navarro	4,230	2,331
Newton	2,043	44
Nolan	3,820	1,431
Nueces	36,706	8,026
Ochiltree	2,213	55
Oldham	508	10
Orange	11,550	1,117
Palo Pinto	3,714	1,278
Panola	3,469	57
Parker	3,452	75
Parmer	1,970	21
Pecos	2,801	55
Polk	2,911	37

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Potter	14,880	5,973
Presidio	1,175	19
Rains	749	-
Randall	8,239	1,133
Reagan	772	-
Real	452	8
Red River	2,101	34
Reeves	2,799	470
Refugio	2,336	53
Roberts	357	-
Robertson	2,213	14
Rockwall	945	14
Runnels	2,153	23
Rusk	6,242	295
Sabine	1,160	16
San Augustine	1,291	13
San Jacinto	1,311	-
San Patricio	7,186	231
San Saba	972	8
Schleicher	589	8
Scurry	3,683	1,029
Shackelford	761	4
Shelby	2,468	29
Sherman	802	14
Smith	15,585	3,901
Somervell	435	-
Starr	5,556	249
Stephens	1,524	15
Sterling	261	-
Stonewall	827	6
Sutton	724	10
Swisher	2,253	28
Tarrant	82,892	29,870
Taylor	14,260	4,372
Terrell	598	6
Terry	1,914	364
Throckmorton	582	-
Titus	3,092	28
Tom Green	9,340	4,458
Travis	36,164	12,084
Trinity	2,138	39
Tyler	1,747	16
Upshur	3,200	12
Upton	1,257	24
Uvalde	2,861	785
Val Verde	3,116	1,001
Van Zandt	2,647	4
Victoria	9,046	1,718
Walker	2,799	668
Waller	2,161	23
Ward	2,911	42
Washington	2,827	34
Webb	7,398	2,434
Wharton	6,082	65
Wheeler	1,523	18
Wichita	15,832	5,517
Wilbarger	2,602	1,397
Willacy	3,083	627
Williamson	4,593	65
Wilson	2,186	37
Winkler	2,480	417
Wise	2,535	33
Wood	3,035	19
Yoakum	1,529	25
Young	2,116	19
Zapata	1,283	28
Zavala	1,969	98

TOTAL POLLS ISSUED 1,654,805 TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED 365,378 GRAND TOTAL 2,020,183

* Estimated

COPY

Tex. Reg.

May 29, 1962

Leslie:

Some Texas figures you would want (don't say where you got 'em):

1,973,000 holders of poll tax receipts

381,000 holders of exeption certificates

296,000 holders of voting affidavits

making a total of 2,650,000 people in Texas who are qualified in one way or another to vote.

Subtract the 230,000 estimated Negro voters leaves 2,420,000 qualified white voters.

Incidentally, a Houston paper recently estimated that there are 250,000 Negro voters in Tex.

Cheers,

Slappey

34 Edgewood Terrace
Alexandria, Va.

U-R Texas

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF POLL TAX RECEIPTS AND EXEMPTION CERTIFICATES, ISSUED FOR THE YEAR 1960 TO BE USED IN VOTING DURING THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 1, 1961 THRU JANUARY 31, 1962.

COMPILED BY ROBERT S. CALVERT, COMPTROLLER OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED	COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Anderson	4,762	1,760	Dawson	3,773	1,135
Andrews	2,778	316	Deaf Smith	2,308	23
Angelina	8,614	1,673	Delta	895	9
Aransas	1,232	14	Denton	7,317	1,915
Archer	1,265	23	De Witt	3,577	37
Armstrong	586	3	Dickens	1,042	12
Atascosa	3,540	110	Dimmit	1,361	41
Austin	2,972	15	Donley	911	9
Bailey	1,554	13	Duval	4,427	395
Bandera	902	25	Eastland	3,081	200
Bastrop	3,039	62	Ector	15,583	1,816
Baylor	1,055	11	Edwards	453	5
Bee	3,704	616	Ellis	5,165	1,173
Bell	10,979	3,435	El Paso	41,930	8,904
Bexar	106,278	31,116	Erath	2,581	33
Blanco	896	10	Falls	2,687	113
Borden	382	-	Fannin	3,033	6
Bosque	1,978	34	Fayette	3,904	15
Bowie	10,040	2,558	Fisher	1,758	39
Brazoria *	19,108	97	Floyd	2,438	24
Brazos	6,756	2,645	Foard	501	-
Brewster	1,211	29	Fort Bend	6,238	91
Briscoe	762	7	Franklin	912	12
Brooks	2,232	51	Freestone	1,916	15
Brown	4,119	2,251	Frio	2,014	60
Burleson	2,114	18	Gaines	2,119	46
Burnet	1,865	6	Galveston **	34,671	5,806
Caldwell	2,537	72	Garza	1,381	10
Calhoun	3,479	107	Gillespie	2,047	39
Callahan	1,441	12	Glasscock	291	-
Cameron	19,168	4,496	Goliad	1,290	-
Camp	1,198	23	Gonzales	2,704	-
Carson	1,764	24	Gray	6,624	1,504
Cass	3,262	23	Grayson	12,183	4,747
Castro	1,853	49	Gregg	16,236	3,800
Chambers	2,870	28	Grimes	2,141	-
Cherokee	4,589	48	Guadalupe	4,714	612
Childress	1,871	18	Hale	5,981	1,507
Clay	1,700	8	Hall	1,382	16
Cochran	1,278	91	Hamilton	1,447	20
Coke	805	-	Hansford	1,525	36
Coleman	2,115	22	Hardeman	1,341	5
Collin	5,500	1,501	Hardin *	5,322	63
Collingsworth	1,182	11	Harris **	274,766	65,293
Colorado	3,484	53	Harrison	6,107	2,111
Comal	3,657	1,153	Hartley	606	4
Comanche	1,945	4	Haskell	2,077	27
Concho	804	6	Hays	3,165	650
Cooke	5,223	1,881	Hemphill	840	7
Coryell	2,354	28	Henderson	3,475	115
Cottle	874	-	Hidalgo	24,730	5,454
Crane	1,153	16	Hill	3,537	32
Crockett	1,006	32	Hockley	4,244	485
Crosby	1,840	9	Hood	1,104	-
Culberson	559	-	Hopkins	2,671	-
Dallam	1,335	10	Houston	2,792	20
Dallas *	177,189	44,784	Howard	6,640	1,530

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Hudspeth	690	70
Hunt	4,675	1,794
Hutchinson	7,368	1,081
Irion	321	-
Jack	1,461	8
Jackson	2,944	42
Jasper	3,504	50
Jeff Davis	353	2
Jefferson	64,607	11,767
Jim Hogg	712	8
Jim Wells	6,453	1,456
Johnson	5,078	1,713
Jones	2,736	25
Karnes	3,142	44
Kaufman	3,304	1,162
Kendall	1,339	14
Kenedy	175	-
Kent	489	-
Kerr	2,701	56
Kimble	914	22
King	185	-
Kinney	526	9
Kleberg	3,999	960
Knox	1,428	12
Lamar	5,584	2,544
Lamb	4,183	124
Lampasas	1,082	8
LaSalle	856	3
Lavaca	3,351	23
Lee	1,903	13
Leon	1,844	11
Liberty	6,057	70
Limestone	3,289	66
Lipscomb	881	13
Live Oak	1,657	33
Llano	1,080	10
Loving	90	11
Lubbock	26,450	6,125
Lynn	2,022	38
Madison	1,063	-
Marion	1,122	12
Martin	1,023	-
Mason	802	22
Matagorda	4,989	606
Maverick	1,724	433
McCulloch	1,590	19
McLennan	25,142	7,750
McMullen	394	7
Medina	3,706	69
Menard	594	7
Midland	12,739	1,704
Milam	3,415	20
Mills	951	7
Mitchell	2,110	21
Montague	2,484	12
Montgomery	5,230	70
Moore	3,239	56
Morris	2,450	19
Motley	596	4
Nacogdoches **	3,958	1,186
Navarro	4,867	2,355
Newton	1,953	22
Nolan	4,405	1,401
Nueces *	38,627	6,987

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Ochiltree	1,977	36
Oldham	549	7
Orange	12,167	1,144
Palo Pinto	3,716	1,439
Panola	2,808	27
Parker	4,061	43
Parmer	2,085	39
Pecos	2,990	66
Polk	2,372	17
Potter	15,696	5,683
Presidio	1,063	20
Rains	500	-
Randall	7,481	937
Reagan	867	-
Real	406	12
Red River	2,210	11
Reeves	2,995	445
Refugio	2,546	48
Roberts	315	4
Robertson	2,360	17
Rockwall	935	6
Runnels	2,436	40
Rusk	6,769	173
Sabine	1,229	21
San Augustine	1,282	49
San Jacinto	1,119	-
San Patricio	7,252	184
San Saba	1,186	12
Schleicher	628	10
Scurry	4,243	983
Shackelford	845	9
Shelby	2,253	40
Sherman	808	18
Smith	13,967	3,586
Somervell	476	2
Starr	5,338	172
Stephens	1,768	17
Sterling	302	6
Stonewall	856	7
Sutton	801	10
Swisher	2,320	33
Tarrant **	88,626	28,856
Taylor *	12,345	3,675
Terrell	628	4
Terry	2,936	809
Throckmorton	642	-
Titus	2,701	18
Tom Green	10,358	4,386
Travis	38,512	11,573
Trinity	2,642	34
Tyler	1,781	52
Upshur	3,110	29
Upton	1,382	32
Uvalde	2,532	665
Val Verde	2,724	859
Van Zandt *	2,761	20
Victoria	9,897	1,548
Walker	2,583	625
Waller	2,030	20
Ward	2,827	58
Washington	2,839	23
Webb	9,702	2,501
Wharton	6,667	76
Wheeler	1,381	9
Wichita	15,963	5,284

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED
Wilbarger	2,680	1,371
Willacy	3,238	561
Williamson	4,686	31
Wilson	2,106	41
Winkler	2,824	355
Wise	2,760	30
Wood	2,974	14
Yoakum	1,714	17
Young	2,460	24
Zapata **	1,075	21
Zavala	1,607	72
TOTAL	1,712,992	342,671
GRAND TOTAL	2,055,663	

* The Tax Assessor-Collector gave us the information over the telephone, because his January Report has not been received.

** In a few cases the reports have not been received and for that reason the Tax Assessor-Collectors gave us an estimate of the number of Poll Tax Receipts and Exemption Certificates issued. In other cases we found errors as to the total number of receipts and certificates that were reported, and we have not received a reply from those Assessor-Collectors advising what change should be made.

In several counties the number of exemption certificates issued will include a few 1959 certificates, that were used in voting at the general election in 1960, and those certificates cannot be used in voting in elections held since January 31, 1961. Due to these facts a slight change will be made in some of the counties, when we receive and make a final audit of the reports.

1963 VOTING POLL TAX RECEIPTS AND EXEMPTION CERTIFICATES

ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1, 1963 THROUGH JANUARY 31, 1964
(AND IN SOME INSTANCES THE EXEMPTION CERTIFICATES RUN THROUGH MARCH 31, 1964)

TO BE USED IN VOTING DURING THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 1, 1964 THROUGH JANUARY 31, 1965

-ALSO-

POLL TAX NOT PAID RECEIPTS ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 5, 1964 THROUGH MARCH 6, 1964
TO BE USED IN VOTING FOR FEDERAL OFFICES ONLY
FOLLOWING MARCH 6, 1964 THROUGH JANUARY 31, 1965

This exhibit shows the voting poll tax receipts and exemption certificates and the poll tax not paid receipts issued in each county, as compiled from the reports filed with this Department by the County Tax Assessor-Collectors.

COMPILED BY ROBERT S. CALVERT, COMPTROLLER OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED	TOTAL NOT PAID ISSUED	COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED	TOTAL NOT PAID ISSUED
Anderson	7,639	2,495	217	Cottle	1,174	25	3
Andrews	1,443	563	39	Crane	1,684	45	24
Angelina	17,153	2,344	407	Crockett	1,226	65	5
Aransas	1,972	76	21	Crosby	2,611	44	14
Archer	1,833	58	-0-	Culberson	865	13	6
Armstrong	784	18	9	Dallam	1,597	50	-0-
Atascosa	4,949	211	23	Dallas	276,024	56,030	19,651
Austin	3,329	58	20	Dawson	4,403	1,355	37
Bailey	2,514	58	21	Deaf Smith	3,758	100	77
Bandera	1,341	27	5	Delta	1,384	39	5
Bastrop	4,033	137	17	Denton	11,589	2,629	631
Baylor	1,443	50	1	DeWitt	4,483	132	30
Bee	4,872	1,009	28	Dickens	1,382	86	11
Bell	15,613	4,342	393	Dimmit	2,142	108	9
Bexar	139,242	40,234	9,570	Donley	1,476	45	4
Blanco	1,147	56	5	Duval	4,721	167	19
Borden	416	9	-0-	Eastland	4,748	597	71
Bosque	2,794	66	17	Ector	23,207	3,585	1,544
Bowie	15,867	3,544	226	Edwards	694	25	-0-
Brazoria	24,930	969	135	Ellis	8,148	1,657	266
Brazos	10,777	3,487	366	El Paso	51,335	11,317	4,601
Brewster	1,802	111	21	Erath	3,901	157	75
Briscoe	1,188	35	1	Falls	3,996	90	60
Brooks	3,263	115	7	Fannin	5,393	132	49
Brown	5,969	2,778	93	Fayette	4,359	91	30
Burleson	2,807	42	6	Fisher	2,169	78	43
Burnet	2,651	56	48	Floyd	3,328	80	37
Caldwell	3,731	112	20	Foard	828	19	-0-
Calhoun	4,960	237	67	Fort Bend	10,252	347	94
Callahan	2,218	51	55	Franklin	1,602	56	4
Cameron	25,226	6,005	1,991	Freestone	3,177	76	6
Camp	2,155	20	24	Frio	2,396	122	4
Carson	2,361	101	15	Gaines	3,367	117	31
Cass	5,118	56	56	Galveston	41,943	8,007	582
Castro	2,526	102	7	Garza	1,797	66	10
Chambers	3,659	75	6	Gillespie	2,898	112	13
Cherokee	7,725	117	287	Glasscock	342	-	-0-
Childress	2,430	63	9	Goliad	1,454	39	1
Clay	2,356	34	8	Gonzales	3,702	88	9
Cochran	1,774	61	2	Gray	8,379	2,179	63
Coke	1,075	23	6	Grayson	16,261	5,629	469
Coleman	3,043	96	12	Gregg	20,143	5,013	245
Collin	9,763	1,844	160	Grimes	2,786	60	88
Collingsworth	1,562	20	9	Guadalupe	6,544	1,337	71
Colorado	4,966	159	17	Hale	8,891	2,060	133
Comal	5,336	1,516	40	Hall	2,067	46	2
Comanche	2,899	64	24	Hamilton	2,248	105	11
Concho	1,050	34	2	Hansford	1,938	83	23
Cooke	5,995	2,206	195	Hardeman	2,140	39	-0-
Coryell	3,742	101	140	Hardin	7,511	175	23

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED	TOTAL NOT PAID ISSUED
Harris	361,560	89,796	11,934
Harrison	9,867	2,909	75
Hartley	873	24	8
Haskell	2,913	36	21
Hays	4,730	1,046	41
Hemphill	1,069	32	4
Henderson	6,075	140	295
Hidalgo	34,064	8,100	1,449
Hill	5,483	1,017	47
Hockley	5,715	912	73
Hood	1,538	34	-0-
Hopkins	4,531	-	93
Houston	4,510	108	122
Howard	9,364	2,210	172
Hudspeth	752	16	1
Hunt	8,608	2,620	182
Hutchinson	10,387	1,482	146
Irion	442	-	-0-
Jack	1,904	44	10
Jackson	4,071	151	28.
Jasper	5,815	181	13
Jeff Davis	430	18	-0-
Jefferson	72,494	16,507	612
Jim Hogg	1,992	67	12
Jim Wells	10,147	2,200	54
Johnson	8,251	2,801	172
Jones	3,824	114	55
Karnes	3,915	110	21
Kaufman	5,741	1,735	57
Kendall	1,801	49	21
Kenedy	197	-	-0-
Kent	680	-	-0-
Kerr	3,980	1,416	96
Kimble	1,184	44	6
King	226	4	-0-
Kinney	635	17	1
Kleberg	6,169	1,574	69
Knox	1,842	69	4
Lamar	7,672	2,913	141
Lamb	5,843	181	52
Lampasas	2,147	32	52
LaSalle	1,301	22	27
Lavaca	4,419	94	21
Lee	2,405	55	11
Leon	2,724	60	15
Liberty	7,970	232	34
Limestone	4,131	108	32
Lipscomb	1,168	47	3
Live Oak	2,257	93	9
Llano	1,662	42	14
Loving	95	24	-0-
Lubbock	36,974	9,317	965
Lynn	2,751	104	10
Madison	1,861	-	15
Marion	2,005	45	15
Martin	1,313	40	9
Mason	1,168	31	11
Matagorda	6,754	1,053	33
Maverick	3,107	621	14
McCulloch	2,151	49	27
McLennan	34,070	9,945	683
McMullen	459	13	-0-
Medina	4,612	126	16
Menard	806	29	3
Midland	20,585	3,323	551
Milam	4,866	120	26
Mills	1,461	50	7
Mitchell	2,706	95	36
Montague	3,765	83	10
Montgomery	8,692	170	115
Moore	4,583	166	51
Morris	3,593	77	38
Motley	831	34	2
Nacogdoches	6,934	1,772	469
Navarro	6,401	2,916	487
Newton	2,806	78	2
Nolan	5,017	1,721	64
Nueces	51,176	11,234	2,719
Ochiltree	2,656	96	20
Oldham	637	17	8
Orange	16,708	1,657	221
Palo Pinto	5,107	1,623	44
Panola	5,266	113	20
Parker	6,029	231	76
Parmer	2,733	119	10
Pecos	3,830	154	21
Polk	3,895	83	54
Potter	21,911	7,473	799
Presidio	1,624	57	6
Rains	893	-	14
Randall	12,774	1,931	590
Reagan	1,157	28	10
Real	376	41	-0-
Red River	3,594	66	12
Reeves	4,068	692	68
Refugio	3,251	102	18
Roberts	401	19	4
Robertson	3,283	65	70
Rockwall	1,534	14	31
Runnels	3,265	114	16
Rusk	10,406	526	79
Sabine	2,207	51	6
San Augustine	2,202	28	4
San Jacinto	1,841	83	7
San Patricio	10,129	352	104
San Saba	1,647	74	5
Schleicher	786	25	5
Scurry	5,318	1,280	60
Shackelford	1,190	38	8
Shelby	5,479	108	5
Sherman	1,008	38	3
Smith	22,977	5,647	816
Somervell	765	20	9
Starr	6,019	140	7
Stephens	2,244	62	27
Sterling	314	8	-0-
Stonewall	1,197	28	1
Sutton	1,001	21	-0-
Swisher	3,097	100	23
Tarrant	133,867	40,628	6,480
Taylor	20,312	5,796	2,155
Terrell	753	16	3
Terry	4,646	1,185	46
Throckmorton	995	24	5
Titus	4,752	75	64
Tom Green	14,677	5,584	203
Travis	58,527	17,425	1,023
Trinity	2,576	72	4
Tyler	2,586	84	12
Upshur	5,953	137	45
Upton	1,766	67	6
Uvalde	4,321	1,172	21
Val Verde	4,864	1,281	34
Van Zandt	4,652	72	47
Victoria	12,807	2,345	184
Walker	4,163	1,061	128
Waller	2,908	70	26
Ward	4,092	161	56
Washington	3,914	94	36
Webb	10,825	2,812	2,681
Wharton	8,821	219	57
Wheeler	2,126	26	14
Wichita	24,179	6,973	672
Wilbarger	4,145	1,868	53
Willacy	4,045	135	15
Williamson	7,437	242	62

COUNTY	TOTAL POLLS ISSUED	TOTAL CERTIFICATES ISSUED	TOTAL NOT PAID ISSUED
Wilson	3,988	133	2
Winkler	4,043	630	58
Wise	4,165	113	33
Wood	4,559	49	35
Yoakum	2,431	56	19
Young	3,855	104	18
Zapata	1,601	48	-0-
Zavala	2,585	218	4
TOTAL	2,411,679	480,991	84,297

GRAND TOTAL 2,976,967

NOTE: In some instances the information was given to us by telephone.

2,976,967
125
148,483,5
59,393,4
29,696,7
372,120,8 7 5

No. of tot. 409.

STATE OF TEXAS
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78711

Crawford C. Martin
SECRETARY OF STATE

May 22, 1964

MAY 25 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

We regret that we are unable to send you a racial breakdown of registration figures.

Enclosed is a copy of the 1963 Voting Poll Tax Receipts.

If this office can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

CRAWFORD C. MARTIN
Secretary of State

By Sybil Dickinson
Sybil Dickinson, Director
Administrative Division

SD/ca
Enclosure

June 1, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: Telephone Conversations with Larry Goodwyn

On 3/10/64, Larry Goodwyn called regarding the statistical report prepared on 1/28/64. He was particularly concerned about the estimate of 380,000 non-white registrants in Texas. He indicated that he felt this was a 1964 estimate, and the 1963 figure should be 180,000, the number of poll tax actually paid for participation in last year's elections. He added that there were about 200,000 poll tax payers, and 60,000 holders of certificates for the Federal elections only.

In four major Texas cities, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Fort Worth, there was a total increase of about 332,000 new registrants over 1960 figures as compared with an increase of 180,000 in 1963.

Following is a breakdown of total registration in selected Texas cities:

City	1960	1964	Estimated Negro Increase - 1964
Houston	324,000	452,000	11,000
Dallas	226,000	333,000	30,000
San Antonio	123,000	177,500	20,000
Fort Worth	125,000	170,000	
Jefferson County	72,000	90,000	
Corpus Christi	47,000	51,000	
El Paso	46,000	62,000	
Galveston	41,000	49,000	
Austin	47,000	75,000	

In San Jacinto, there are now more Negroes registered than whites. In Polk County, 41% of the qualified voters are Negro.

It was also stated that $29,176.36 was spent by Labor and Liberals in a "Get Out the Vote" campaign during the free election period.

On 5/19/64, we had telephone contact again with L. Goodwyn. He was (and still is) in El Paso, assisting a Coalition-supported candidate, Malcolm McGregor, who will be in a run-off for a seat in the State Legislature on June 2.

RP 3-22

In this conversation, Larry gave some estimates on Negro registration in selectdch areas:

County	1963	1964
Jefferson (Beaumont & Pt. Arthur	8,967	17,000
Dallas (Dallas)	20,705	52,000
McLennan (Waco)	3,931	5,840
Travis (Austin)	4,827	7,080
Tarrant (Ft. Worth)	8,737	12,000
Bexar (San Antonio)	10,000	12,800
65 E. Texas Cities	60,000	90,000
Harris (Houston)	70,135*	90,425*

*In 43 entirely Negro precincts, the registration was 59,635 in 1963 and 67,425 (poll tax payers) in 1964 plus 9,000 free certificate holders. In 22 other precincts with heavy Negro population, there were 10,000 Negro voters in 1963 and 14,000 in 1964. The poll tax lists are not divided by race and this count was done by workers in Houston from the official lists.

The number of qualified Negro voters has increased from 162,000 in 1962 to 186,802 in 1963 to about 285,000 in 1964. This 285,000 figure includes the free electors. There has been an increase of about 100,000 (40%) since 1963.

Regarding free electors, Larry estimated about 80,000 total for the state, and 60,000 are estimated to be Negro. These are concentrated primarily in the metropolitan areas. He indicated that in many areas, no one qualified as a free elector. (This is substantiated by report recently received from the office of the Secretary of State). There were campaigns in many areas deliberately calculated to discourage persons from seeking certificates to participate in Federal elections.

On 5/26/64, in another phone conversation, Larry indicated that the registration in Texas is probably 150,000 to 200,000 more than the official reports show. Persons over 60 years of age do not have to pay the annual poll tax of $1.75. In cities over 10,000 in population, this is not a requirement. On election day, these persons can present acceptable proof of age and will be permitted to cast their vote.

Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

file Texas Reg data

COUNTY	TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO POPULATION	ELIGIBLE NEGRO VOTERS	NEGROES PAYING POLL TAX	PAST ELECTION VOTERS	ADDITIONAL POTENTIAL VOTERS
Anderson	28,162	8,359	3,946	953	528	3,418
Angelina	39,814	7,077	3,297	796	436	2,861
Bowie	59,971	14,408	7,326	1,694	984	6,342
Brazos	44,895	9,401	4,792	1,127	649	4,143
Cass	23,496	6,983	3,268	794	437	2,831
Cherokee	33,120	8,527	4,301	1,038	593	3,708
Collin	41,247	4,421	2,163	532	297	1,866
Delta	5,860	855	418	97	53	365
Ellis	43,395	10,255	5,194	1,257	748	4,446
Fannin	23,880	2,497	1,183	287	159	1,024
Freestone	12,525	4,925	2,409	591	337	2,072
Grayson	73,043	6,519	3,213	776	438	2,775
Gregg	69,436	15,969	8,021	1,983	1124	6,897
Grimes	12,709	4,846	2,391	585	319	2,072
Hardin	24,629	4,014	1,984	481	275	1,709
Harrison	45,594	19,833	9,867	2,395	1397	8,470
Henderson	21,786	4,487	2,269	554	309	1,960
Hopkins	18,594	2,328	1,213	298	167	1,046
Houston	19,376	7,436	3,679	936	511	3,168
Hunt	39,399	6,454	3,189	792	436	2,753
Jasper	22,100	5,491	2,716	645	352	2,364
Jefferson	245,659	57,217	28,532	7,074	3981	24,551
Kaufman	29,931	8,963	4,426	1,092	625	3,801
Lamar	34,234	6,470	3,191	754	437	2,754
Leon	9,951	3,789	1,923	473	261	1,662
Liberty	31,595	7,390	3,704	915	519	3,185
Limestone	20,413	5,793	2,831	701	396	2,435
Madison	6,749	2,242	1,138	258	159	979
Marian	8,049	4,225	2,076	483	281	1,795
Morris	12,576	3,393	1,653	409	229	1,424
Montgomery	26,839	6,153	3,084	754	433	2,651
Nacogdoches	28,046	7,558	3,747	921	524	3,223
Navarro	34,423	8,578	4,306	1,034	603	3,703
Newton	10,372	3,439	1,792	428	241	1,551
Orange	60,357	6,052	3,058	753	429	2,629
Panola	16,870	5,184	2,624	647	367	2,257
Polk	13,861	4,438	2,185	535	309	1,876
Red River	15,682	3,823	1,937	459	253	1,684
Robertson	16,157	6,557	3,203	791	446	2,757
Rockwall	5,878	1,407	721	162	98	623
Rusk	36,421	10,640	5,342	1,307	755	4,587
Sabine	7,302	1,897	932	226	129	803
San Augustine	7,722	3,023	1,564	384	217	1,347
San Jacinto	6,153	3,209	1,638	403	214	1,424
Shelby	20,479	5,271	2,655	648	362	2,293
Smith	86,472	23,397	11,542	2,831	1603	9,939
Titus	16,785	2,923	1,437	346	195	1,242
Trinity	7,539	2,051	1,016	238	139	877
Tyler	10,666	2,249	1,156	274	153	1,003
Upshur	19,793	5,126	2,571	637	354	2,217
Van Zandt	19,091	1,433	728	175	98	630
Walker	21,475	7,059	3,543	879	501	3,042
TOTALS	1,590,571	376,034	187,094	45,593	25,860	161,234

file JR
Jet.

95% of NVAP in counties having 1,000 or more NVAP

State TEXAS

County	VAP	WVAP	NVAP	%N	[redacted]	TOTAL VOTE 1960	KEN. VOTE	NIXON VOTE	OTHER N.P.I. [redacted]	NReg [redacted]				Remarks
x ANDERSON	17544	13114	4430	25		6982	3296	3642	44					OTHER- PROH. - 3870 WRITE-IN: 175 CONST. 18169
x ANGELINA	23811	20049	3762	16		12510	7046	5169	295					
x AUSTIN	9016	7450	1566	17		3738	1725	1978	35					
BASTROP	10428	7561	2867	27		4080	2866	1208	6					
BELL	55160	48932	6228	11		15288	10651	4606	31					
BEXAR	377990	350918	27072	07		140245	75373	63934	938					
x BOWIE	36260	28576	7684	21		15193	9198	5927	68					
x BRAZORIA	43264	37767	5497	13		21705	10561	10880	264					
x BRAZOS	24944	19987	4957	20		10477	5907	4553	17					
x BURLESON	6797	4926	1871	27		3143	2466	672	5					
CALDWELL	10236	8732	1504	15		4222	2729	1482	11					
CAMP	4782	3196	1586	33		2200	1307	873	20					
x CASS	14020	10511	3509	25		5290	2934	2322	34					
x CHAMBERS	5894	4750	1144	19		2816	1524	1260	32					
x CHEROKEE	21319	16480	4839	23		7882	4544	3233	105					
x COLLIN	25723	23448	2275	09		9158	5229	3865	64					
COLORADO	11022	8493	2529	23		4247	2299	1909	39					
DALLAS	570267	493340	76927	13		240299	88876	149369	2054					
x DENTON	27605	26011	1594	06		11119	5366	5724	29					
DEWITT	12712	11013	1699	13		5029	2253	2763	13					
ECTOR	49494	46903	2591	05		20672	8996	11145	531					
x ELLIS	26183	21069	5114	19		9543	5841	3666	36					
EL PASO	166101	160240	5861	03		47677	26027	21551	99					
x FALLS	13096	9466	3630	28		4965	3399	1559	7					
x FANNIN	16277	14920	1357	08		6138	4282	1844	12					
FAYETTE	13614	11980	1634	12		5699	3462	2213	24					
x FORT BEND	22252	17879	4373	20		7711	4339	3301	71					
x FREESTONE	7803	5272	2531	32		3650	1997	1629	24					

State _____

County	VAP	WVAP	NVAP	%N	Reg.	WReg	NReg	% VAP Reg	VAP Reg	% W VAP Reg	% N VAP Reg	Remarks
x GALVESTON	82515	65830	16685	20	40828	23740	16373	515				
GONZALES	10758	9006	1752	16	4291	2730	1554	7				
x GRAYSON	46076	42364	3712	08	17231	9866	7312	53				
x GREGG	41449	32941	8508	20	18737	7765	10679	293				
x GRIMES	7733	5068	2665	34	2778	1713	1053	12				
GUADALUPE	16608	14684	1924	11	6787	3116	3657	14				
x HARDIN	14031	11905	2126	15	6451	4315	2115	21				
HARRIS	722957	586839	136118	19	325399	148275	168170	8954				
x HARRISON	26281	15994	10287	39	9945	5108	4613	224				
x HENDERSON	13521	11299	2222	16	5970	3411	2521	38				
x HILL	15660	13743	1917	12	6593	4340	2226	27				
x HOPKINS	12326	11146	1180	09	5357	3228	2117					
x HOUSTON	12247	8341	3906	32	4383	2703	1591					
x HUNT	24758	21544	3214	13	8242	4116	4084					
x JASPER	12640	9892	2748	22	5123	3004	2102					
JEFFERSON	143433	112761	30672	21	70331	40533	29395					
x KAUFMAN	19048	14411	4637	24	5768	3008	2717					
x LAMAR	21918	18342	3576	16	9076	5084	3964					
LAVACA	12732	11559	1173	09	5522	4002	1507					
x LEE	5611	4459	1152	20	2451	1369	1048					
x LEON	6168	4128	2040	33	2684	1803	868					
x LIBERTY	18012	14216	3796	21	7345	3902	3361					
x LIMESTONE	13307	10187	3120	23	5511	3472	2023					
LUBBOCK	84831	78842	5989	07	35607	15340	20065					
x McLENNAN	91322	78090	13232	14	35156	20100	14926					
x MADISON	4395	3185	1210	27	1552	909	607					
x MARION	4681	2463	2218	47	1691	904	742					
MATAGORDA	14344	11474	2870	20	5998	2971	2975					

State _____

County	VAP	WVAP	NVAP	%N	Reg.	WReg	NReg	% VAP Reg	VAP Reg	% W VAP Reg	% N VAP Reg	Remarks
MIDLAND	37252	33970	3282	09	17645	5842	11343					
x MILAM	13806	11686	2120	15	5556	3640	1898					
MONTGOMERY	15644	12398	3246	21	6937	3510	3309					
x MORRIS	7206	5615	1591	22	3544	1952	1569					
x NACOGDOCHES	16936	13093	3843	23	6732	3522	3042					
x NAVARRO	21909	17323	4586	21	8901	5540	3361					
x NEWTON	5750	4047	1703	30	2590	1815	756					
NUECES	115697	109917	5780	05	48368	29361	18907					
ORANGE	32706	29595	3111	09	14637	9078	5483					
x PANOLA	9953	7483	2470	25	4518	2187	2264					
x POLK	8152	5958	2194	27	3360	2037	1268					
POTTER	65061	61007	4054	06	23229	8989	14202					
x RED RIVER	9913	7929	1984	20	4389	2850	1527					
x ROBERTSON	9586	6173	3413	36	3616	2669	935					
x RUSK	22331	16907	5424	24	10840	4390	6001					
x SAN AUGUSTINE	4439	3002	1437	32	1961	1269	638					
x SAN JACINTO	3556	1878	1678	47	1570	1115	448					
x SHELBY	12493	9838	2655	21	4993	3266	1679					
x SMITH	51573	39152	12421	24	20821	8494	12042					
TARRANT	320355	287360	32995	10	132986	59385	72813					
TAYLOR	58166	55618	2548	04	21650	9347	12258					
x TITUS	10514	8922	1592	15	4946	2701	2216					
TOM GREEN	37897	36052	1845	05	15246	7031	8176					
TRAVIS	123395	108111	15284	12	49264	27022	22107					
x TRINITY	4843	3665	1178	24	2264	1521	707					
x TYLER	6286	5187	1099	17	2656	1242	1401					
x UPSHUR	11761	9161	2600	22	5554	3248	2262					
VICTORIA	25285	22957	2328	09	10397	5779	4591					

State _____

County	VAP	WVAP	NVAP	%N	Reg.	WReg	NReg	% VAP Reg	VAP Reg	% W VAP Reg	% N VAP Reg	Remarks
x WALKER	13435	9127	4308	32	3604	1832	1750					
x WALLER	6685	3527	3158	47	2267	1101	1115					
x WASHINGTON	12186	8947	3239	26	4489	1864	2613					
WHARTON	21117	16949	4168	20	8458	5004	3387					
WICHITA	72057	67002	5055	07	27213	14587	12587					
WILLIAMSON	21248	18673	2575	12	7870	5410	2429					
x WOOD	11403	9899	1504	13	5112	2633	2400					
			417751									

Texas
N.V.R

NVAP in counties of 20% or more 205,137
" " " 25% or more 70,203
" " " " 30% or more 37,372

	Total VAP	W.	N.	%N
San Augustine	4610	3088	1522	33.0
San Jacinto	3678	1938	1740	47.3
Waller	7668	3617	4051	52.8
Grimes	7964	5191	2773	34.8
Robertson	9886	6342	3544	35.8
Leon	6244	4119	2125	34.0
Freestone	8025	5386	2639	32.8
Houston	12729	8635	4094	32.1
Camp	4925	3274	1651	33.5
Marion	4834	2535	2299	47.5
Harrison	27524	16590	10934	39.7
Lamar	22704	18987	3717	16.3
Red River	10185	8118	2067	20.2
Bowie	37422	29471	7951	21.2
Cass	14467	10811	3656	25.2
Morris	7478	5781	1697	22.6
Titus	10811	9158	1653	16.2
Wood	11802	10154	1648	13.9
Upshur	12201	9456	2745	22.4
Gregg	43136	34205	8931	20.7
Smith	53866	40666	13200	24.5
Hunt	26064	22714	3350	12.8
Kaufman	19715	14810	4905	24.8
Ellis	27236	21862	5374	19.7
Hill	16114	14091	2023	12.5
Navarro	22654	17902	4752	20.9
Henderson	14000	11688	2312	16.5
Rusk	23129	17424	5705	24.6
Panola	10329	7711	2618	25.3
Anderson	18071	13449	4622	25.5
Cherokee	22043	17019	5024	22.7
Nacogdoches	17949	13913	4036	22.4
Shelby	12925	10116	2809	21.7
Sabine	4520	3521	999	22.1

	Total DAP	W	N.	% N
Angelina	24695	20784	3911	15.8
Trinity	4950	3746	1204	24.3
Polk	8425	6134	2291	27.1
Tyler	6521	5348	1173	17.9
Jasper	13120	10218	2902	22.1
Newton	5980	4189	1791	29.9
Orange	34312	31039	3273	9.5
Hardin	14597	12382	2215	15.1
Jefferson	149201	117141	32060	21.4
Chambers	6101	4901	1200	19.6
Galveston	85328	68020	17308	20.2
Matagorda	14902	11914	2988	20.0
Wharton	22079	17716	4363	19.7
Gonzales	11091	9265	1826	16.K
Colorado	11341	8716	2625	23.1
Fort Bend	23389	18766	4623	19.7
Austin	9278	7641	1637	17.6
Harris	751703	608947	142756	18.9
Montgomery	16199	12812	3387	20.9
Liberty	18638	14656	3982	21.3
Walker	15377	10887	4490	29.1
Madison	4532	3265	1267	27.9
Brazos	27831	22623	5208	18.7
Burleson	7026	5073	1953	27.7
Washington	12666	9282	3384	26.7
Lee	5754	4562	1192	20.7
Bastrop	10756	7775	2981	27.7
Milam	14184	11975	2209	15.5
Falls	13468	9690	3778	28.0
Limestone	13747	10504	3243	23.5
McLennan	95935	82088	13847	14.4
~~Hill~~	2010,034	1595801	414233	

# of voters by counties in same order as this listing, 1st figure is polls second-second figure is redemption certificate second-Total of the 2 figures is # of voters as of 1-31-62

1282	
	49
1119	
2030	
	20
2141	
2260	
100	
	17
1844	
	11
1916	
	15
2792	
	20
1198	
	23
1122	
	12
6107	
2111	
5584	
2544	
2210	
	11
10040	
2558	
3262	
	23
2450	
	19
2701	
	18
2974	
	14
3110	
	29
16236	
3800	
13967	
3586	
4675	
1794	
3304	
1162	
5165	
1173	
3537	
	32
4867	
2355	
3475	
115	
6769	
173	
2808	
	27
4762	
1760	
4589	
	48
3958	
1186	
2253	
	40
1229	
	21
8614	
1673	
2642	
	34
2372	
	17
1781	
	52
3504	
	50

2 3 5 5
3 4 7 5
1 1 5
6 7 6 9
1 7 3
2 8 0 8
2 7
4 7 6 2
1 7 6 0
4 5 8 9
4 8
3 9 5 8
1 1 8 6
2 2 5 3
4 0
1 2 2 9
2 1
8 6 1 4
1 6 7 3
2 6 4 2
3 4
2 3 7 2
1 7
1 7 8 1
5 2
3 5 0 4
5 0
1 9 5 3
2 2
1 2 1 6 7
1 1 4 4
5 3 2 2
6 3
6 4 6 0 7
1 1 7 6 7
2 8 7 0
2 8
3 4 6 7 1
5 8 0 6
4 9 8 9
6 0 6
6 6 6 7
7 6
2 7 0 4
3 4 8 4
5 3
6 2 3 8
9 1
2 9 7 2
1 5
2 7 4 7 6 6
6 5 2 9 3
5 2 3 0
7 0
6 0 5 7
7 0
2 5 8 3
6 2 5
1 0 6 3
6 7 5 6
2 6 4 5
2 1 1 4
1 8
2 8 3 9
2 3
1 9 0 3
1 3
3 0 3 9
6 2
3 4 1 5
2 0
2 6 8 7
1 1 3
3 2 8 9
6 6
2 5 1 4 2
7 7 5 0
7 6 9 3 0 7 *

COMMISSION

HERBERT C. PETRY, JR., CHAIRMAN
CHARLES F. HAWN
HAL WOODWARD

TEXAS HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

AUSTIN 14, TEXAS

STATE HIGHWAY ENGINEER
D. C. GREER

IN REPLY REFER TO
FILE NO. D-16

Mr. John W. Walker
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

We have available certain maps showing the Legislative District and the Congressional District of Texas and are enclosing these maps for your use.

We do not, however, maintain maps of wards and precinct divisions.

Sincerely yours,

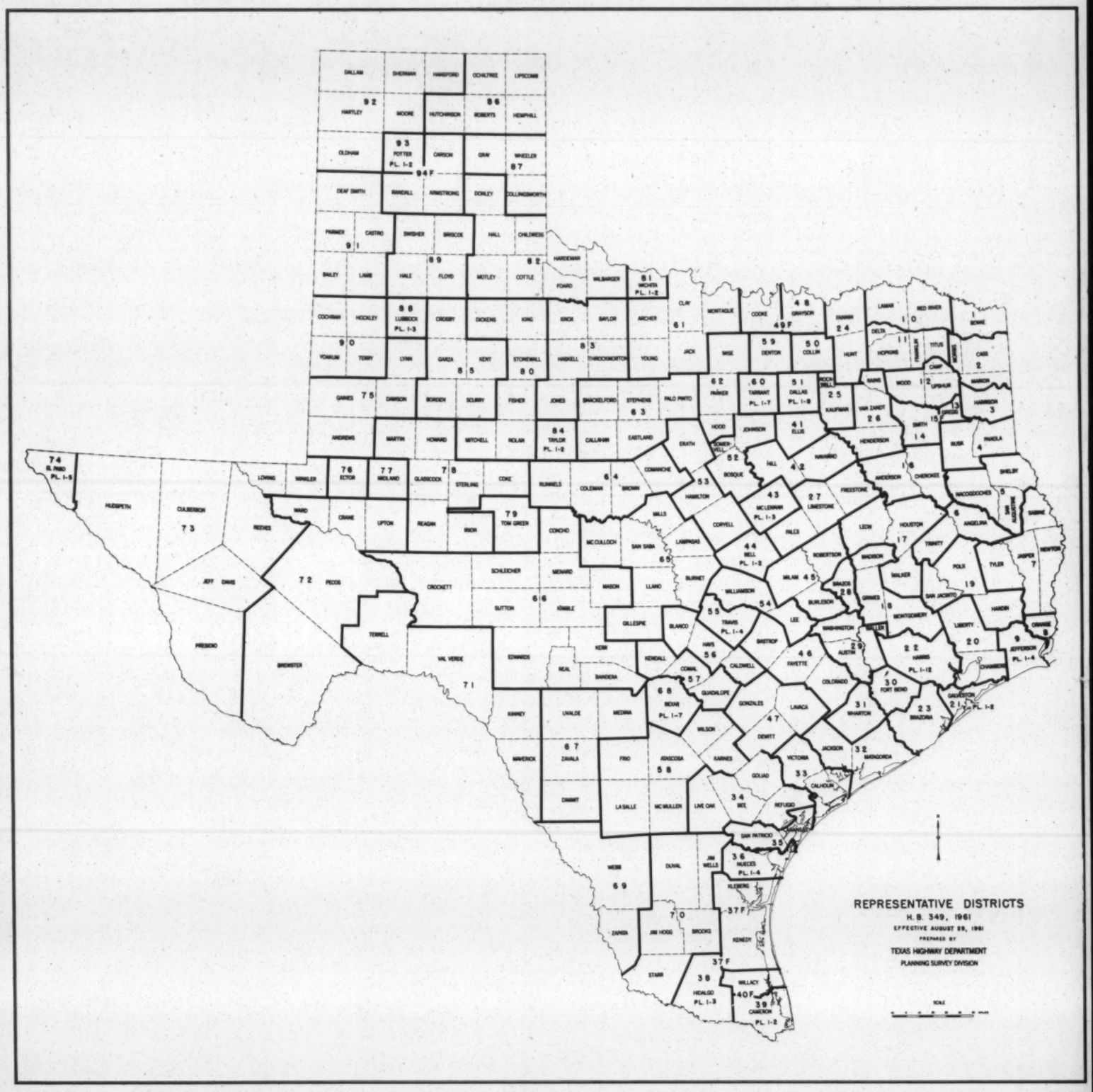
D. C. Greer
State Highway Engineer

By: Tom H. Taylor

Tom H. Taylor, Director
Travel and Information Division

ADM:ws

Enclosure


REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS
H.B. 349, 1961
EFFECTIVE AUGUST 28, 1961
PREPARED BY
TEXAS HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT
PLANNING SURVEY DIVISION
SCALE

TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS
2600 FLORA STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

Make file
V.O.T.E.

JUL 20 1963

July 18, 1963

Honorable Lewis E. Martin
Vice-President
National Democratic Executive Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Martin:

We are now working on our program for our poll tax and/or registration drive to begin in October. We are working in a campaign to get out the vote in November when the issue of abolishing the payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting will be voted upon.

The Texas Council of Voters has joined with the Latin-Americans, Labor and independent democrats in the campaign to get out the vote for the November election on the poll tax issue.

We are now working on a joint program to push the registration drive.

The Texas Council of Voters carried on a campaign for the President and the Vice-President in 1960. The largest number of Negro voters in the history of Texas voted that year. We have in Texas approximately one million, seven hundred thousand potential Negro and Latin-American voters. The leaders of both groups have agreed to unite in our future political program. A group of leaders from each of these groups will sit down somewhere in Texas between now and Labor Day and map out a program that will carry us through the election in 1964. We will need both advice and financial assistance in our efforts.

Texas Council of Voters was able to raise all of its money to finance the 1960 campaign. We have a greater job, however, to do between now and the election to be held in 1964 than we had in 1960, in that we hope to have 65 per cent of the Negro and Latin-American voters qualified to vote, then we will be compelled to follow through to get the Negro and Latin-American voters to the polls on election day.

If the Democratic Party is to carry Texas, we must have the Negroes and Latin-Americans vote in large numbers to fill the vacuum that has been made in the democratic rank by the conservative democrats going to the Republican Party. We have nowhere else to look for votes to fill this vacuum.

We will certainly appreciate any advice and aid that you can give.

I am enclosing photostat copies of news releases concerning recent meetings of the Texas Council, Latin-Americans, liberals and independent democrats.

Respectfully,

W. J. Durham

WJD:mew
Enclosures

cc Honorable Phil Weightman, Washington, D. C.
" Wiley Brant, Atlanta, Ga.

Dallas News Staff Photo.

Newly elected Democratic Coalition co-chairmen are, from left: Albert Pena, Hank Brown and W. J. Durham. The fourth co-chairman, Franklin Jones Sr. of Marshall, was not present at the Hotel Adolphus meeting.

Connally Petitioned By Negroes

Texas Negro leaders meeting in Dallas Saturday petitioned Gov. John Connally to speedup desegregation in Texas by means of executive orders similar to those issued by the governors of North Carolina and Kentucky.

Citing the action taken by Gov. Bert Combs (Kentucky) and Gov. Terry Sanford (North Carolina) the group asked for an end to

Democratic coalition formed in Dallas, Sec. 1, Page 17.

segregation in all state facilities including parks and hospitals, all businesses operated in Texas requiring a state license, and all jobs under the direction and supervision of state officials.

The petition was sent to Gov. Connally by telegram after the Hotel Adolphus meeting of the Democratic Coalition, a newly formed liberal group seeking an increased voice in Democratic party affairs.

The petition was signed by 10 members of the subcommittee of the Texas Council of Voters' Executive Committee. It began with a national note:

"We recognize the urgency of the demand for equality of opportunity now being made by Negroes in every area of our country.

"We are persuaded that every means available to our elected officials should be used in meeting the demand of this cause."

Gov. Connally was then asked to issue the broad executive order.

The telegram was signed by Mrs. Erma LeRoy of Houston, W. J. Durham of Dallas, the Rev. C. William Black Jr. of San Antonio, Francis L. Williams of Houston, Willie Melton of Kendleton, Moses LeRoy of Houston, Marion J. Brooks of Fort Worth, B. T. Bonner of Austin and G. J. Sutton of San Antonio.

State's Liberals Join in Coalition

Immediate Goal: 'Participation In Election to Repeal Poll Tax'

By ED COCKE

The sometimes ailing cause of liberal Democrats in Texas was put on an organized basis here Saturday as some 300 liberals from across the state met for the official organization of a new political group known as the Democratic Coalition.

The afternoon-long, closed door meeting in Hotel Adolphus was described as a "leadership group," intended to produce a workable return "to the historic Roosevelt-ian coalition."

On a more practical level, the coalition centered based on support from Negro, labor, Latin-American and liberal-loyal Democratic groups—the traditional "splinter" groups of Texas politics—which the coalition's statement of principles described as "the core of support for the programs, principles and candidates of the national Democratic party."

There was little doubt left about the new organization's practical and immediate aims. The first point in the statement called for "maximum voter participation in the Nov. 8 election to repeal the poll tax."

This move is to be followed by a "grass roots organizing effort . . . with the objective of obtaining the largest possible number of qualified voters for the 1964 primaries and general election."

Desegregation speedup sought, Sec. 2, Page 8.

Specific attention is to be given to "selected precincts and counties" where potential liberal support exists.

Drawing from the four major bodies which comprise its membership, the coalition elected four co-chairmen, who will preside on a revolving basis.

They are W. J. Durham, Dallas attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and president of the Texas Council of Voters; Hank Brown of Austin, president of the state AFL-CIO; Albert Pena, president of the Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations, and Franklin Jones Sr. of Marshall, a recognized spokesman for the group known as liberal-loyalist Democrats.

The group adopted the statement of principles, with the addition of an amendment proposed by the Negroes, which was further amended after discussion.

The Negro groups asked for and received a 5-point amendment demanding an equal share in policy making, equal consideration at the polls, no secret sessions and limited support to candidates who would work for equal rights legislation.

The amendment would deny support to candidates "in the untenable position of accepting or defending tokenism or gradualism as symbolized by the voluntary approach to these problems as advocated by the conservative element because of social pressures."

Durham explained that this amendment was offered "because Negroes have participated in coalitions before, had produced and did not receive any benefits for their efforts."

Tarrant County Dist. Atty. Doug Crouch questioned the wording of the amendment on the ground that it limited the appeal to Negroes. His position was backed by AFL-CIO leader Brown who entered the further amendment, adding Latin-Americans, labor and liberal Democrats.

In what appeared to be a compromise all around, the coalition adopted a veto plan under which any one of the recognized factions can void the majority opinion of the others.

The prime targets for voter registration were displayed on charts during the meeting. Included were maps showing potential targets for legislative gains in counties throughout the state, as well as counties with more than 25 per cent Negro population.

Attendance at the meeting was split about evenly among Negroes, Latins and Anglos, and the prepared statement said that it would work through "local labor unions, PASO chapters, voters' leagues, senior citizens, Young Democrats and other loyal organizations."

One of the features of the meeting was a short talk by Randolph T. Blackwell, field director of the Voter Education Project, based in Atlanta, Ga. The Negro vote leader said he was "very impressed with the coalition concept," and anticipated that it may lead to a "stronger voice for minorities in the Democratic party."

Sunday, July 14, 1968 — DALLAS TIMES HERALD

Liberals Join In Coalition

Statewide Vote Drive Set By Negroes, PASO, Labor

Liberal Democrats from all over Texas met behind closed doors in Dallas Saturday to mold their dissension-plagued factions into a unified organization in the Democratic Coalition.

Some 300 delegates met at the Hotel Adolphus, then issued a statement of principles which called for a push for poll tax repeal at the election in November.

In addition to poll tax repeal, the statement of principles said the group will work to mobilize the liberal vote throughout the state by concentrating on certain key counties and precincts.

Named as co-chairmen of the [illegible] were Blanche [illegible], Texas AFL-CIO president, Albert Pena, president of the [illegible] of Mexican-American Organizations (PASO); [illegible] Jones of Marshall and Negro attorney W. J. Durham of Dallas.

Those participating in the meeting identified themselves as members of the "four groups which historically in Texas have constituted the core of the support for the programs, principles, and candidates of the national Democratic Party."

The statement said the four groups are the Negroes, the Latin Americans, labor and loyal Democrats.

Negro delegates insisted on an amendment to the statement of principles to include guarantees Negroes will share in group-making, will receive the same consideration at the polls, will be included in all secret sessions and will be offered equal opportunity and protection guarantees by any coalition-backed candidate.

Another amendment pushed by Negroes attending the meeting stated that the coalition will back no candidates or issues that would place Negroes in support of "tokenism or gradualism" as symbolized by the voluntary approach to civil rights problems.

The amendments desired by the Negroes were approved after they were amended to make the guarantees to the Latin Americans and the "loyal, liberal Democrats" as well as the Negroes.

When the meeting was adjourned, a 30-man subcommittee of the executive committee of the Texas Negro Council of Voters shot off a telegram to Gov. John Connally demanding that he issue an executive order to end discrimination in the state.

W. J. DURHAM
PRESIDENT

MOSES LEROY
REV. L. B. GEORGE
JOHN COLEMAN
VICE-PRESIDENTS

H. L. GARNER
TREASURER

M. W. PLUMMER
LEGAL COUNSELOR

MRS. L. M. JORDAN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RI 2-8582

WBB
JMJ
RTB

Texas Council of Voters

2600 FLORA STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

August 1, 1963

Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

AUG 2 1963

Attention Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

Gentlemen:

A few days ago I wrote Mr. Lewis Martin, Vice Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee and mailed a copy to you in order that you would know what the Texas Council of Voters is doing politically in Texas.

We have been furnishing such information to the National Democratic Executive Committee and Mr. Phil Weightman, of Labor, periodically since 1960, the year Texas Council of Voters was organized.

In order that you might have some idea of Texas Council of Voters, what it is, its program and objectives, and how it operates, I am attaching hereto a mimeographed information sheet for your consideration.

The Council has 927 representatives on its mailing list who are cooperating with it in various sections of Texas and who worked with the Council in 1960 and 1962 in the poll tax drives and in the Council's effort to get out the vote on election day.

You will note that existing organizations are accepted as members of the Council without re-organization and without losing the identity of the existing organizations. By this method, we have been able to bring a large number of existing organizations in addition to the local units into the Council.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Amarillo —
Rev. A. W. Harvey

Ames —
Edward Wickliff

Austin —
~~Virgil Cloff~~
~~Rev. J. L. Boxx~~
M. J. Anderson
Mrs. U. V. Christian
~~Dr. E. H. Givens~~ dec'd.
Arthur Dewitty

Beaumont —
Theodore Johns
Dr. E. D. Sprott

Bonham —
Elmo Willard
Rev. B. K. Johnson

Bryan —
J. L. Thomas

Center —
Rev. C. D. Daniels

Clarksville —
Rev. J. H. Harris

Cleburne — Cleburne
Mrs. Argoldia Smith

Corpus Christi —
Mrs. Lillian Leathers

Crockett — Dr. H. Boyd Hall
~~Dr. Jodie Sandford~~
~~Cato Woods Jr.~~

Dallas —
Mrs. I. W. Rowan
Cedar A. Walton
Mrs. J. E. Craft
Fred Finch, Jr.
Dudley V. Powell
Rev. Caesar Clark
Rev. B. E. Joshua

Ft. Worth —
L. Clifford Davis
~~[illegible]~~ Dr. J.M. Burnett
J. Dorsey Adams
Mrs. Lenora Rolla
Dr. Marion Brooks

Galveston —
Thomas H. Dent
T. D. Armstrong
J. H. Clouser

Greenville —
M. S. Durham

Houston —
Mrs. Erma LeRoy
Aloysius M. Wickliff
Francis L. Williams
E. Stanley Branch
Mrs. F. A. Robinson
Sid Hillard
E. M. Knight
Mack H. Hannah, Jr.
Barbara Jordan

Jefferson —
George Gorman
Dr. R. D. Douglas

Kendlton —
Willie Melton

Kaufman —
William Glenn

Kilgore —
T. L. Lockhart

Liberty —
Walter Fontenont

Longview —
Rev. S. Y. Nixon
L. Swifty Davis

Lubbock —
Dr. J. A. Chatman

Lufkin —
Rev. A. D. Thomas
Mrs. A. D. Thompson

Marlin —
Leon Dorsey

Marshall —
~~[illegible]~~
~~John Hightower~~
~~[illegible]~~
Rev. J.J. Johnson

Texarkana —
J. L. Montgomery
J. E. Pettaway
V. H. Rosborough

Paris
Rev. A.M. Seamon

Mt. Pleasant —
Rev. J. C. Chambers

Odessa —
Julius Tave

Palestine —
Capt. H. G. Neely

Port Arthur —
Mack H. Hannah, III
~~[illegible]~~
Buddy Roosevelt

Pittsburg —
Rev. L. B. Cash

San Antonio —
G. J. Sutton
Valmo Bellinger
Samuel Shaw
Rev. Emerson Marcee

San Angelo —
H. L. Enid

Temple —
Robert Penrice

Waxahachie —
Willie L. Lewis

Waco — Robt. Penrice
Rev. M. L. Cooper
~~[illegible]~~
Fred Hicks

Wichita Falls —
Rev. L. B. Bell
Tyler
Mrs. M. A. Calvin

STANDING COMMITTEES

Committee on Political Education and Research

Aloysius M. Wickliff, Chairman

Rev. R. B. Stacey
Billy Gillon
Mrs. Jewell James
Dr. H. Boyd Hall
Father John Epps
~~Elmo Willard~~
George William King

Mack H. Hannah, III
~~[illegible]~~ W.E.Thompson
Nathaniel Collins
C. E. Hall
M. E. Ervin
Buddy Roosevelt

Rev. E. C. Hawkins
Raymond Duncan
Rev. H. G. Tillman
Rev. J. H. Harris
Dr. Marion Brooks
Mrs. Bevie Tyler

Committee on Membership

Rev. W. I. Menefee, Chairman

J. W. Peavy
Solomon Johnson
John Harris
Rev. B. C. Green

H. P. Carter
George Davis
~~[illegible]~~

Rev. U. L. Sanders
John Syers
George Scott
John Freeman

Committee on Finance

Mack H. Hannah, Jr., Chairman

Luther Wells
George Smith
Glenn Gamble
Tom Cheatham

Mrs. M. A. Calvin
T. L. Lockhart
Dr. E. H. Givens

Rev. J. T. Scott
L. K. Chadwick
Burless Mitchell
H. B. Tex Brady

Committee on Employment and Appointment

M. W. Plummer, Chairman

Rev. L. H. Simpson
~~[illegible]~~ Jessie Rogers
J. Dorsey Adams
B. H. Rosborough

~~[illegible]~~ M. E. Erwin
Mrs. Gracie Franklin

Rev. M. L. Cooper
Roosevelt Johnson
~~[illegible]~~
Moses LeRoy
I.G. Lockett

This has proven very profitable, for the reason that the size of Texas and the cost and time it would require to set up local units in every area of Texas prohibits us from going out to set up local units in Texas. We simply invite existing organizations to become affiliated with the Council and many of the already existing organizations are now affiliated with the Council and did effective work in the 1960 and 1962 poll tax drives.

I am enclosing also herewith a photostat copy of two (2) news articles concerning a Coalition recently formed between Labor, Latin Americans, independent liberal democrats and Texas Council of Voters (composed of Negro and Latin American voters with a small number of independent liberal non-Negro democrats).

The Coalition was set up so as to give each member of the Coalition veto power, thus preventing the Negro voter and the Latin American voter from being committed to any issue or the candidacy of any candidate which in the opinion of the leaders of these groups was not in the best interest of such voters.

There has been a meeting between the leaders of Texas Council and the organization of the Latin Americans in addition to the Coalition, and an agreement reached between the Latin American voters and the Negro voters that they will sit down together and pool their voting strength in the coming elections and will not split in their support of candidates as they have heretofore done.

The Latin Americans agree now that they need the support and cooperation of the Negro voters, and it is obvious to the Negro leaders that they need the united front and cooperation of the Latin American voters.

There are in Texas potential Negro and Latin American voters aggregating approximately one million seven hundred thousand and for the first time the Latin Americans and Negroes have made a realistic appraisal of their past mistakes and potential strength and what must be done to make this voting strength effective.

We are all amateurs in politics. We need advice and counseling, as well as financial assistance.

I believe an examination of the number of Negroes who voted in 1960 will demonstrate that the Negro vote put Texas in the democratic column in 1960.

We solicit your advice and help.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Durham,
P R E S I DE N T

WJD:mew
Enclosures

Via: Air Mail Special Delivery

P. S. Will send under separate cover our proposed program beginning September to run to election day in November 1964.
W.J.D.

I N F O R M A T I O N

TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

WHAT IT IS, ITS PROGRAM AND OBJECTIVES

Prior to August 1960, there was no organization composed of Negro citizens on a State-Wide basis, attempting to make the Negro vote effective, through political education, in his fight for first-class citizenship and equal opportunities for all citizens in Texas.

PREAMBLE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCIL

Humbly invoking the blessing of Almighty God, the members of the Texas Council of Voters consider it imperative and necessary to band together for the purpose of perpetuating these truths; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are the Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Assembly, Freedom of Association, life liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure and maintain these rights it is the considered judgment of the members of the Texas Council of Voters that every citizen must qualify to vote and consistently exercise his right to vote; therefore we ordain and establish this Constitution and By-Laws for the government of the Texas Council of Voters.

PURPOSE AND AIMS OF THE COUNCIL

1. To work for a sound and economical administration of the affairs of government, and to work and vote for candidates who will work for the protection, by the government, of all of its citizens, and for benefits flowing from the operation of government for all citizens, on the same basis and to encourage each citizen to discharge his responsibility to his government.
2. To encourage every citizen in Texas to qualify to vote and to exercise such rights to vote at all elections held within the State of Texas and/or elections held within the locality where the voter resides.
3. To carry on educational program for voters and inform the voter of his right and duty to vote, the value of his vote and the power of his vote.
4. To study and compile records of all persons who offer themselves as candidates for public office and to disseminate such information to the voters in the State of Texas.
5. To carry on, on a yearly basis a "POLITICAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH PROGRAM" on the procedual processes of City, County, State and Federal government, including the number of employees employed by the City, County, State and Federal government, in its various departments, its annual payroll covering employees in various

departments, and the number of Negro citizens appointed to government positions, and employed in various departments of the government, a failure of the various governments to appoint or employ any appreciable number of competent Negro citizens and members of other minority groups.

5. To work through the ballot box (by encouraging Negro citizens to actually qualify and vote), to eliminate racial discrimination against Negroes in the appointment and employment of competent Negroes and members of other minority groups.

6. To encourage our younger citizens in their quest for an education to prepare themselves for government employment and appointments to government positions.

7. To work for the appointment of competent Negroes and members of other minority groups in every area of government.

8. To disseminate information periodically on the power of the vote and the duty and responsibility of the Negroes to qualify and vote.

9. To gather data and information on any citizen of Texas, who offers himself for public office, and to disseminate such information to the voters throughout the State, in order that the voter before election time will have all relevant information with reference to the candidate, thereby enabling the voter to intelligently and wisely cast his vote on election day.

METHOD OF OPERATION AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE COUNCIL

1. The membership is composed of individual members, who have no organizational connection.

2. Any existing organization whose members agree with the purpose of the Council may become a member of the Council by making application, and such organizations are allowed from three (3) to ten (10) votes, based upon the membership or the persons represented by such organization.

3. The member organization does not lose its identity, and is not merged with the Council, but remains an independent organization, while such organziation holds membership in the council, with right to vote and receive information on all political candidates and public issues.

4. Local units of the Council are likewise organized, and the number of votes allocated to local units are on the same basis as Independent organizations, which are not local units of the Council.

METHOD OF OPERATION

The Council in addition to its educational program and its effort for employment and appointment of competent Negro citizens and members of other minority groups in various governmental positions, and for equal opportunities for all citizens, support and work for candidates for State and Federal offices, based upon their

public record or agreement to work for equal opportunities for all citizens without reference to race, creed or color.

The program for the local area, the local citizens select the candidates that they will support in the local areas, and if the local citizens feel the need of State support, they apply to the Council Headquarters for such aid.

5. Where a candidate running for a State or National office lives in a particular area, he must obtain first favorable commendation from the Negro leaders and workers in the area where he lives, before the Council will consider his candidacy (he cannot by-pass the leaders and workers in the area where he resides, By this procedure he is made to know that the Negro leaders and workers in his area must be first recognized.).

6. There is no membership fee. Any person holding a Poll Tax receipt or an Exemption Certificate qualifies himself for membership.

7. There is a representation fee for individuals of One and No/100 ($1.00) Dollar in the Annual or Special Meeting and a fee for organizations according to the membership ranging from $10.00 to $25.00 at the Annual or Special Meeting.

8. Areas and individuals are at time requested to make voluntary contributions to carry on the work of Political Education and Research Committee. The Council has no authority to penalize any area or organization if they fail to make such contributions. These contributions are voluntarily made.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL UNIT

A group of citizens, not less than ten (10) may assemble and elect a President, as many Vice-Presidents as the local unit desires, a Secretary, a Treasurer and an Auditor, and appoint the following standing committees:

Executive Committee
Committee on Political Education and Research
Committee of Employment and Appointments
Committee on Membership
Committee on Local Program
Committee on Finance, and such other committees as the local units deems advisable.

Thereafter notify the Executive Secretary, Mrs. Lorrayne M. Jordan, P. O. Box 641 Dallas, Texas, giving the names and address of the principal officers. The Executive Secretary will enroll the local unit by number and name, and such officers will be placed on the mailing list and will receive periodically information gathered and compiled by the State Committee on Political Education and Research. Five and No/100 ($5.00) Dollars will be sent by the new local unit along with its report, showing the organization of the unit.

It is the purpose of the State Council to increase the status of every local leader and worker, and to make his or her influence known to all public officials, and to aid such leaders and workers to increase their usefulness politically and

otherwise.

FUTURE

There are thousand of other positions where competent Negro citizens in the future will obtain appointments and employment, provided that the Council step up its program for Poll Tax Payment, Political Education and Research and its Crusade to increase the number of Negro voters who actually go to the Polls and vote on Election Day.

The Council needs your support in its future program.

The Council solicits the membership of every local organization and individual citizen.

We ask that the leaders and workers in each area immediately organize a local unit, or the now existing organization become members of the Texas Council of Voters and make your report to the Executive Secretary, and receive your Charter.

Respectfully,

TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

BY: W. J. Durham

W. J. DURHAM, PRESIDENT

Lorrayne M. Jordan

(Mrs.) LORRAYNE M. JORDAN,
Executive Secretary

WJD:lmj

PARTY VACUUM CLAIMED

Times Herald 9-21-63

Negroes, Latins Seek Dem Role

By KEITH SHELTON
Political Writer

Negro and Latin American voters must step in to fill the vacuum created in the Democratic party by the departure of conservatives into the GOP.

This is the foundation stone of the new coalition of Negroes, Latins, labor and liberals, according to one of the co-chairmen, W. J. Durham of Dallas.

President of the Texas Council of Voters, a Negro registration group, Mr. Durham heads the Negro segment of the loose political cooperative.

Coalition leaders have no desire to become a third party force in Texas, Mr. Durham said in an interview with The Times Herald Saturday.

Instead, the coalition will make itself felt in next year's Democratic primary from the precinct to the state convention. He indicated an all-out fight for control of the Democratic party.

Negroes and Latin Americans are the ones to fill the vacuum in the Democratic party, Mr. Durham said, and labor and the Democrats elsewhere realize it.

"Negro voters have been loyal to the Democratic party since Roosevelt's day. I see no weaning away of them at this time."

VAST POTENTIAL

There are 1,700,000 potential Negro and Latin American voters in Texas, Mr. Durham says. The new coalition is the first joint effort of the two groups with a working agreement tying them together.

In 1960, about 300,000 Negroes were qualified to vote in Texas and the largest percentage of qualified Negroes voted — 78 per cent. The largest previous turnout was 63 per cent in 1948 when President Truman was running.

Studies show a 60 per cent turnout of qualified Negroes could have decided most of the recent governor's races.

There were indications the coalition will rival the United Political Organization, of which Rev. H. Rhett James of Dallas is a leader and which has been tied to Gov. Connally.

"The head of the UPO says it is a conservative organization," Mr. Durham said. "Sen. Eastland and Bruce Alger represent what they claim is conservatism. We don't believe that type of conservatism is good for the Negro voter or even America."

POLL TAX DRIVE

Mr. Durham's Texas Council of Voters will spearhead the coalition's drive to repeal the poll tax in the Nov. 9 special election. The council has 527 members in 102 Texas counties.

A coordinating director likely will be designated to steer the drive from Austin. The council will hold a meeting of about 250

See ROLE on Page 27

★ ROLE

Continued from Page 25

Negro leaders by Labor Day on a ranch near Houston or Fort Worth to lay plans for the campaign, which will be launched Labor Day.

PASO, the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, representing the Latin Americans, has discussed the campaign with the council and other segments of the coalition will be brought in.

Mr. Durham said a coalition organization in some form will be set up in Dallas County. He named Dr. Dudley Powell, Rev. Caesar Clark and E. L. Haywood as probably Dallas coalition leaders.

He said the new coalition differs from the old Democrats of Texas (DOT) and other coalitions of the past in its permanent nature. "The present group appears to have a long-range program, a continuity of action from year to year," he said.

Dallas Morning News 7-27-6

CONNALLY'S RIGHTS TALK LAUDED, HIT

Stand Denounced By NAACP, Lauded By Civic Leaders

NAACP leaders Saturday charged that Gov. John Connally's racial stand would "cut the guts" out of the civil rights bill, but other Dallas leaders hailed the governor's position as reflecting the views of most Texans.

Clarence Laws, secretary of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) for five states, disputed statistics used by the governor and said that calling civil rights a local issue is just another way of passing the buck.

W. J. Durham, national Negro leader and attorney for the NAACP in school desegregation cases, said: "If what I read in the papers is correct, Gov. Connally would cut the guts out of the civil rights bill."

He challenged Gov. Connally's statement that integration has been accomplished on a volunteer basis. "The facts are that the Negro has been required to spend large sums of money in court battles in order to bring about desegregation with few exceptions until the national administration requested action," he said.

CABELL PRAISES

Mayor Earle Cabell complimented the governor for a forthright speech. "I believe sincerely that he has expressed the opinion of the vast majority of the better-thinking, forward-thinking citizens of Texas," the mayor said.

Robert B. Cullum, president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, said he was very much impressed with the governor's talk on a statewide television hookup Friday night.

"I agree heartily with everything he had to say and I was very much pleased with the firmness with which he took his stand," Mr. Cullum said. "Yet, he did not equivocate for a moment

See RIGHTS on Page 27

RIGHTS

Continued from Page 25

with the responsibility Texans have to the Negro."

Cliff Cassidy, vice chairman of the county Democratic Executive Committee, commented in the absence of the county chairman, Lee Smith, who is in Colorado.

"The governor's views will bring approval and congratulations from the majority of all Texans," he said.

NOT PLEASED

The Negro leaders were not so pleased, however.

Mr. Durham noted Gov. Connally's mention of Negroes he has appointed to state posts. Gov. Allan Shivers and Gov. Price Daniel also appointed Negroes, he said.

"That's nothing new, but as far as we have been able to ascertain, Gov. Connally has not appointed a single Negro to a government position with any salary attached.

"A Negro cannot feed his family or buy a home on honor. He reportedly appointed one Negro to a job with a salary, but the only work we have been able to ascertain that he does is political work. We checked it."

Mr. Durham did not name the appointee, but indicated he was referring to the president of the United Political Organization, a Negro voter registration group.

The Texas Council of Voters, Negro voting group of which Mr. Durham is president, has asked Gov. Connally to issue an executive order clearing the way for the appointment of Negroes to the state highway patrol and other positions.

CALLED MISLEADING

Mr. Laws, the NAACP secretary, said Gov. Connally's figures, if not inaccurate, are at least misleading. Gov. Connally said 212 Texas school districts have taken steps toward desegregation. "The facts are that at the close of the school term only 177 out of 919 school districts were desegregated," he said.

"The governor says that 53 per cent of the Negro school children were in school districts which have a program for desegregation. What he failed to say was that actually less than 3 per cent of Negroes in public schools in Texas are actually in desegregated situations."

Mr. Laws said only 7,000 out of 304,000 Negro school children are in integrated schools, or 2.3 per cent.

"We take the position that to say civil rights is a local issue is just another way of passing the buck — of avoiding responsibility. Civil rights should be no more of a local responsibility than the conservation of the state's natural resources, higher education, tourism and some of the governor's other pet projects.

The NAACP leader said that while Gov. Connally's views were clothed in "pious sugar-coated platitudes, they are no more palatable than the pronouncements of his fellow governors, Wallace and Barnett."

He said the NAACP takes the position that human rights supercede any property rights involved in the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill.

W. J. DURHAM
PRESIDENT

MOSES LEROY
REV. L. B. GEORGE
JOHN COLEMAN
VICE-PRESIDENTS

H. L. GARNER
TREASURER

M. W. PLUMMER
LEGAL COUNSELOR

MRS. L. M. JORDAN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Rec'd 8/17/63

Texas Council of Voters

2600 FLORA STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

August 14, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Mr. Durham is ill and has been out of the office for several days. He was hospitalized today, but hopes to be out within a week or ten days.

I told him of the receipt of your letter of August 6, 1963, and he asked me to write you advising of his illness, and that he would send you his program as soon as possible upon his return to the office.

Very truly yours,

Mary E. Walton

(Mrs.) Mary E. Walton
Secretary to Mr. Durham

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Amarillo —
Rev. A. W. Harvey

Ames —
Edward Wickliff

Austin —
Arthur Dewitty

Beaumont —
Theodore Johns
Dr. E. D. Sprott
Elmo Willard

Bonham —
Rev. B. K. Johnson

Bryan —
J. L. Thomas

Center —
Rev. C. D. Daniels

Clarksville —
Rev. J. H. Harris

Cleburne —
Mrs. Argoldia Smith

Corpus Christi —
Mrs. Lillian Leathers
Dr. H. Boyd Hall

Daingerfield —
H. D. Darden

Denton —
Mrs. Jewel James

Dallas —
Mrs. I. W. Rowan
Cedar A. Walton
Mrs. J. E. Craft
Fred Finch, Jr.
Dr. Dudley V. Powell
Rev. Caesar Clark
Rev. B. E. Joshua
E. Brice Cunningham

Ft. Worth —
L. Clifford Davis
J. Dorsey Adams
Mrs. Lenora Rolla
Dr. Marion J. Brooks
Dr. J. M. Burnett

Galveston —
Thomas H. Dent
J. H. Clouser

Gladewater —
Dell Lockett
John Coby

Greenville —
M. S. Durham

Henderson —
Jessie Rogers

Houston —
Mrs. Erma LeRoy
Aloysius M. Wickliff
Francis L. Williams
E. Stanley Branch
Mrs. F. A. Robinson
Sid Hillard
E. M. Knight
Mack H. Hannah, Jr.
Barbara Jordan

Jefferson —
George Gorman
Dr. R. D. Douglas

Kendlton —
Willie Melton

Kaufman —
William Glenn

Kilgore —
Calvin Taylor
T. L. Lockhart
Mrs. G. M. Lloyd

Liberty —
Walter Fontenont

Longview —
Rev. E. C. Hawkins
Rev. S. Y. Nixon
L. Swifty Davis
Rev. E. C. Mitchell

Lufkin —
Rev. A. D. Thomas
Mrs. A. D. Thompson

Marlin —
Leon Dorsey

Marshall —
George Sanford
John A. Anderson
Rev. W. I. Menefee
Rev. J. J. Johnson

Mt. Pleasant —
Rev. J. C. Chambers

Odessa —
Julius Tave

Palestine —
Capt. H. G. Neely

Paris —
Rev. A. M. Seaman

Port Arthur —
Mack H. Hannah, III
Buddy Roosevelt

Pittsburg —
Rev. L. B. Cash

San Antonio —
Rev. C. W. Black
G. J. Sutton
Samuel Shaw
Dr. Ruth Bellinger McCoy

San Angelo —
H. L. Enid

Texarkana —
J. L. Montgomery
J. E. Pettaway
V. H. Rosborough
Roscoe R. Jones

Tyler —
Mrs. M. A. Calvin

Waxahachie —
Willie L. Lewis

Waco —
Robert Penrice
Rev. M. L. Cooper
Fred Hicks

Wichita Falls —
Rev. L. B. Bell

August 6, 1963

Mr. W. J. Durham, President
Texas Council of Voters
2600 Flora Street
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Durham:

Thank you for your informative letter of August 1 pertaining to the activities of the Texas Council of Voters. It would appear from the information furnished to us that your organization is non-partisan even though the membership may have been active to a rather large extent in Democratic party politics. I point this out only to emphasize at the beginning the non-partisan interests of the Voter Education Project.

We will be pleased to study any proposal which you care to submit to us and just as soon as your proposal is received we will give immediate consideration.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

4/ VOTES

W. J. DURHAM
PRESIDENT

MOSES LEROY
REV. L. B. GEORGE
JOHN COLEMAN
VICE-PRESIDENTS

H. L. GARNER
TREASURER

M. W. PLUMMER
LEGAL COUNSELOR

MRS. L. M. JORDAN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SEP 16 1963

Texas Council of Voters

2600 FLORA STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

September 14, 1963

Via: Air Mail

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206-5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Shortly after I wrote you on August 12, 1963, I sustained a back injury, was confined to the hospital and as a result of such injury I have been kept away from the office until today. I am sending this letter by Air Mail containing our program.

The organization is nonpartisan in that its prime purpose is to encourage Negro citizens to qualify to vote, and thereafter to carry on an educational program informing Negro electors of their right and obligation to vote.

The membership of the Texas Council of Voters is made up of democrats, republicans and independents; however, the members work for individual candidates at the election. The majority of the members are democrats.

Our program is set to start on the 15th day of September, however the 15th falls on a Sunday but the program will start Monday, September 16, 1963. If we are able to get the financial assistance set out in the outline attached, we will be able to prosecure a full program. If we do not get any financial assistance, we will prosecute the program to the best of our ability with the funds we have on hand.

With highest personal regards, I am

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Durham

WJD:nws
Outline Attached

SEP 1 1963

TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

ITS PRESENT FACILITIES

1. A general office located in the Universal Life Building at 2600 Flora Street, Dallas, Texas, a part of which is used by the Dallas Unit of Texas Council of Voters.
2. Equipped with desks, tables, filing cabinet, chairs, mimeograph machine, typewriter, letterhead and supplies.

RECORD
For Dallas County

1. A complete breakdown of the qualified Negro voters in Dallas for 1962 in card form including the names, addresses and telephone numbers of every qualified voter in the Dallas County.

PROGRAM
For Dallas County

1. On September 15, 1963, a survey will start to obtain the name, address and telephone number of every Negro citizen in the County above 21 years of age. (As much of this work will be done as possible by December 31, 1963. During the last month of the registration drive, we will make a special drive to see those who do not hold poll tax receipts for the year of 1963 and encourage such persons to register.)
2. Our records (cards) will be revised after the payment of poll tax campaign end, so as to show the name, address, and telephone number of every qualified voter in Dallas County 1963. (1964 election)
3. An effort will be made to get one citizen in each block to allow his home to be used for a block headquarter where information and literature will be given out and where the voters in that block can register.

PUBLIC RELATIONS -
ADDITIONAL PROGRAM

1. The Council will use the facilities of the newspapers to publish news releases written by members of the Public Relations Committee. We will use other medias such as radio and T V, all organized efforts among Negro citizens now in existence such as clubs etc. will be solicited to aid in the crusade through their officers and influential members. This will include social clubs, Barber and Beautician Unions, Business and Professional Clubs, Churches, Greek Letter Fraternities etc. (This method was used in 1960 to get out thr vote which was successful in Texas.)
2. Workers will be enlisted and employed to do block work by going from door to door handing out literature and encouraging the Negro elector to register, thereafter go to the polls and vote.
3. Car pools will be formed to assist electors in going to the polls on election day to vote.
4. News letters will be sent out periodically to every potential voter in the county informing the voter of his right and duty and the value and power of his vote, and encouraging him to exercise his right tovote by acutally going to the polls in every election and cast his vote.
5. Telephone committees will be organized as in the past, who will call voters encouraging them to register, and then to vote at the coming election.

There are between 76,000 and 80,000 Negro citizens residing in Dallas above 21 years of age who are potential voters.

The largest number of Negro citizens in Dallas County who has qualified to vote in previous years are slightly in access of 23,000.

We believe by the use of the above program and other additional techniques and efforts that will be developed as we go along, if the payment of poll tax is abolished on November 9, 1963, we can qualify between 40,000 and 60,000 Negro voters in the county.

In my opinion, in order to prosecute the program, it will take between $8,000.00 and $10,000.00.

STATE

1. We have local units of the Texas Council in the various sections of the state of texas which include existing organizations (such as Harrison County Council of Organizations with many thousands of members and similar organizations throughout the state of texas) already in existence. Social Clubs, Business and Professional Clubs, Beautician and Barber Unions become members of the Council by applying to the Council to become an associate member without changing the purpose or the name of the existing organization.

They are admitted as members of the Texas Council with full right to participate in its educational program. Leaders of these organizations worked in the Council program in 1960-62 in the poll tax campaign and the program to get out the vote campaign. The organizations that are a part of the Council have among their membership such persons as: Dr. Marion J. Brooks, Dr. J. M. Burnett, Mr. J. Dorsey Adams, Mrs. Lenora Rolla all of Fort Worth, Texas; Rev. C. A. Black, Dr. Ruth McCoy and J. G. Sutton of San Antonio, Texas; Dr. Dudley M. Powell, Dr. J. R. Williams, Attorney E. Brice Cunningham, Attorney J. L. Turner, Jr., Dr. C. A. W. Clark, Mr. Ernest Haywood, and Mrs. Judy Lott and many other leaders of Dallas, Texas; Honorable Fred Hicks and others of Waco Texas;

Dr. E. D. Sprott, Attorney Theodore Johns, Attorney Elmo Williard, Attorney Mack H. Hannah III of Beaumont, Texas, and Mr. Buddy Roosevelt, all influential leaders of Beaumont-Port Arthur, Texas. Attorney Francis Williams, Mr. Sid Hilliard, Mrs. E. M. Knight, Mr. W. C. Day, Attorney W. M. Plummer, Mr. H. L. Garner, Mrs. F. A. Robinson, (Head of Grand Court of Calanthes with many thousand members,) Mack H. Hannah, Jr., as well as a host of other political and labor leaders of Houston, Texas; Mr. John J. Jones, Mr. J. E. Pettaway, Mr. B. H. Rosborough of Texarkana, Texas; Mr. Arthur Dewitty and others of Austin, Texas.

2. A record in card form of more than 900 leaders in various sections of the State of Texas, including their names and addresses, who have heretofore worked with the Council and more than 80 per cent have agreed to work from September, 1963 through 1964 in getting out the vote and the crusade by the Council for Payment of poll tax and/or encouraging the voter to register, in the event election to be held on November 9, 1963 is won to abolish the payment of poll tax in Texas.

3. The Council has leaders and local units and organizations in various other smaller towns reaching from Texarkana, Texas to Shelby County, running down the east and central portion of Texas, including such towns as Paris, Clarksville, Naples, Daingerfield, Pittsburg, Atlanta, Jefferson, Marshall, Longview, Carthage, Center, Huntsville, Lufkin, Liberty, Orange, Corsicana, Cleburne, Denton, Navasota, Bryan, Hearne, Kendleton and various other towns in the state.

4. The same program as set up for the Dallas program has already been set up in some counties and the Council expects to set up

a similar program in all of the smaller towns named above and it has already asked the leaders in such cities as Beaumont, Port Arthur, Houston, San Antonio, Austin, Waco, Fort Worth to initiate this program on a local basis.

5. To allocate funds, as we are able, to leaders in each of the last named cities to carry out the program directly without the State Organization being compelled to handle expenditures and responsibilities of seeing that money is spent well and the objective of the Council is achieved.

In the smaller towns first mentioned above, our experience 1960-62 convinces us that these counties should be handled and supervised directly by the Council who already has a full time Executive Secretary and two traveling representatives and will need more travelling representatives, the first above-named cities and counties reach from Texarkana, Texas to Center and have more than 200,000 Negro citizens above twenty-one (21) years of age. This is a conservative estimate.

1. The office equipment and facilities described in Paragraphs 1 and 2 in this outline were purchased and paid for by the state organization (Texas Council of Voters).

2. The largest number of qualified Negro voters in the history of Texas was in the year 1960 when between two hundred seventy-four thousand (274,000) and two hundred eighty thousand (280,000) qualified to vote. It is the opinion of the officers of the Council that if the election is won on November 9, 1963 to abolish the payment of a poll tax as a requirement to vote, that a half million (500,000) Negro electors can be encouraged to qualify to vote through registration, and eighty per cent (80%) of that number can be encouraged to go to the polls on election day, if the program outlined herein is properly executed.

3. If the November 9th Election is not won, we still believe because of the interest being manifested in the civil rights movement and the stand taken by the President and the Vice-President of the United States on this question, then through the prosecution of the program such as is outlined here, at least three hundred fifty thousand (350,000) Negrores in Texas could be encouraged to qualify to vote and eighty per cent (80%) of that number could be encouraged to go to the polls and actually vote in 1964.

4. Because of the size of Texas and the area that must be covered, in our opinion, it will require the expenditure of between Eight Thousand Dollars ($8,000.00) and Twelve Thousand Dollars ($12,000.00) in addition to what the Council now has in sight to do the job in the East Texas area outlined in this program.

As we have stated before, we believe the most effective way to handle the program in the large cities: Fort Worth, Waco, Austin, San Antonio, Houston, Beaumont-Port Arthur, would be as suggested in this outline; that is, any financial assistance allocated for work in those cities should go directly to the groups dedicated to this program in each of said cities, and in addition to any outside financial assistance these groups would be able to raise finance locally to implement such outside aid or obtain the voluntary services of dedicated citizens to the crusade.

Our campaign, beginning on the 16th day of September, 1963 will, until the election on November 9, 1963, devote the time of the workers, exclusively, to getting out the present qualified voters to the election to be held November 9, 1963. This will be done both in the counties, as well as on the state level.

Respectfully,

TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

By: _____

October 16, 1963

Mr. W. J. Durham, President
Texas Council of Voters
2600 Flora Street
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Durham:

Under the provisions and terms of the U.S. Treasury Department concerning the tax-exempt status of the Voter Education Project, we have been charged with the responsibility of being able to account for all expenditures of our funds, including, of course, those distributed by us in the form of grants. For this reason, we are sending you, under separate cover, a supply of voucher forms with these instructions.

A voucher form should be filled out to support each and every expenditure of the $2000 grant to your program from the Voters of Texas Enlist. These should be sent to VOTE on a routine schedule (perhaps cumulatively by week or month, depending on the rate at which expenditures are made) and they, in turn, will be responsible for supplying us with this information.

We realize this may impose somewhat of a burden on your staff, but it is a fact of life that we cannot avoid and we will appreciate your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. Larry Goodwyn

WBV

W. J. DURHAM
Law Offices
UNIVERSAL LIFE BUILDING
2600 FLORA STREET
P. O. BOX 641
DALLAS 21, TEXAS

RI 7-4835 RI 7-4836

OCT 30 1963

October 28, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta , Ga.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Durham is out of the city in the trial of a case and has been for more than ten (10) days; he expects to be out of the office another ten (10) days. Upon his return to the office I shall call his attention to your letter dated October 16, 1963 and I am sure he will communicate with you at his earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Mary E. Walton

(Mrs.) Mary E. Walton,
Secretary to Mr. Durham

VEP 3.22

VOTE

WB
JL

W. J. DURHAM
Law Offices
UNIVERSAL LIFE BUILDING
2600 FLORA STREET
P. O. BOX 641
DALLAS 21, TEXAS

RI 7-4835 RI 7-4836

NOV 4 1963

November 1, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I have been away from my office trying a lawsuit for about three weeks during which time I have only been in Dallas on weekends; therefore, I have not answered your letter under date of October 16, 1963.

I am today mailing the vouchers which you sent me to Mrs. Julia Scott to whom the money was sent by Mr. Larry Goodwyn, and who along with Mrs. Mary Wilson handled the expenditures.

A copy of my letter to Mrs. Scott is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Durham

WJD:mew
Enclosure

3-22

November 1, 1963

Mrs. Julia Scott
2105 N. Akard
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mrs. Scott:

I am enclosing vouchers sent me by Mr. Wiley A. Branton in a letter advising me to have such vouchers filled out showing the expenditure of the $2,000.00 which was sent you by Mr. Larry Goodwyn.

As soon as you have filled them out, please return them to me, in order that I might immediately return them to Mr. Branton. Your prompt attention to this matter will be appreciated.

With highest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

W. J. Durham

WJD:mew

cc - Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

12-4-63

November 26, 1963

Mr. W. J. Durham
P.O. Box 641
Dallas 31, Texas

Dear Mr. Durham:

I was extremely sorry to learn of your injury and I certainly hope that you will soon be up and about and back to your regular routine. I am certain that the tragic events in your city over the week end have delayed your own recovery.

We shall expect the cancelled checks and vouchers at an early date as mentioned in your letter of November 21.

I would be interested in knowing what plans you have for a poll tax campaign inasmuch as the repeal of the poll tax was defeated on November 9.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

3-22

WBV

W. J. DURHAM
Law Offices
UNIVERSAL LIFE BUILDING
2600 FLORA STREET
P. O. BOX 641
DALLAS 21, TEXAS

RI 7-4835 RI 7-4836

November 21, 1963

NOV 26 1963

Honorable Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have just been released from the hospital where I was confined as a result of an injury which I sustained to my back. The doctor is not allowing me to resume my full duties at the office.

I had a conference with the Committee on November 20, 1963 and they brought me the vouchers showing the expenditures of the Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) granted to the Dallas Unit and I have asked them to go to the bank and get all of the cancelled checks. As soon as I am able to resume my duties, which should be in the next ten (10) days, we will give you a full and complete accounting of the ($2,000.00).

I regret that this matter has been delayed.

With highest, personal regards, I am

Respectfully,

W. J. DURHAM

WJD/wt

W. J. DURHAM
Law Offices
UNIVERSAL LIFE BUILDING
2600 FLORA STREET
P. O. BOX 641
DALLAS 21, TEXAS

RI 7-4835 RI 7-4836

JAN 8 1964

December 31, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Mr. Durham is still out of the office on account of a back injury, and has asked me to write and sign this letter.

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 12, 1963, regarding the Dallas Voter Education Project.

As the vouchers attached to cancelled checks Nos. 12, 13 and 16 indicated, these checks were made to the Dallas Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax for the purpose of paying a pro rata share of the utility expenses of the Headquarters.

Dallas Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax was a non-partisan group; as a matter of fact, it was set up by the Texas League of Women Voters. As you know, the League of Women Voters was a leading group in favor of abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Texas, and it also enjoys a tax exempt status.

The Dallas Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax was sponsored and staffed by the League of Women Voters, as well as independent citizens, who were Republicans, Democrats and independents.

On all the literature which the League of Women Voters mailed out during this campaign to abolish the poll tax, they requested contributions which they advised would be tax deductible, since they enjoyed tax-exempt status, and the funds so raised were used to finance the campaign to repeal the poll tax.

Under the circumstances, it is believed that the sharing of expenses for utilities with a tax-exempt group would not affect the tax-exempt status of the funds represented by those checks.

vep 3-22

Based upon the facts stated above, please advise me whether or not you are still of the opinion that the funds represented by the three checks, Nos. 12, 13 and 16, were improperly spent and must be refunded. I will attempt to comply with your instructions.

If you need further information, please advise.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. DURHAM

By:

E. Brice Cunningham
Associate

cc - Mrs. Mary Wilson
6658 Avalon
Dallas, Texas

12-19-63

December 12, 1963

Mr. W. J. Durham
P.O. Box 641
Dallas 21, Texas

Attention Mr. E. Brice Cunningham

Dear Mr. Durham:

Larry Goodwyn was in our office on December 9 and brought us a financial report concerning your Dallas voter education project. We have since received a copy from you in the mail. We note that Checks 12, 13, and 16 were made payable to the Dallas Committee to A bolish the Poll Tax. While we do not know the exact nature of these expenditures we are led to believe that this was for partisan politics and as such cannot be appproved by the Voter Education Project.

We realize now that we never informed you as to the limitation which we must place on all VEP grants as a result of our Internal Revenue Service tax exemption. The grant was made to V.O.T.E. and that organization made the grant to you. VEP funds may not be used to engage in partisan politics in any manner whatsoever or to support or oppose any legislation, or on behalf of or against any political candidate or issue.

We, therefore, request that your committee immediately obtain funds from some other source and repay the total amount of these checks ($222.41) to the Dallas Voter Education Project, and inform us in writing when this has been done.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mrs. Julia Scott
Mr. Larry Goodwyn

W. J. DURHAM
PRESIDENT

MOSES LEROY
REV. L. B. GEORGE
JOHN COLEMAN
VICE-PRESIDENTS

H. L. GARNER
TREASURER

M. W. PLUMMER
LEGAL COUNSELOR

MRS. L. M. JORDAN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Texas Council of Voters

2600 FLORA STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

WB —
JL

December 10, 1963

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Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Find enclosed a report including photocopies of invoices, receipts, cancelled checks and bank statements showing the disbursements made from the Two Thousand ($2,000) Dollars allocated to the Dallas area for educational work in connection with the vote to repeal the poll tax.

I trust this report will comply with your requirements.

You will observe that we had a balance remaining in the sum of Four Hundred Fifty-eight & 21/100 ($458.21) Dollars. We have a small light bill which we have not received a statement for and a small telephone bill which will probably be received during the month of December, both of which we expect to pay out of the balance remaining. Also, there is a check in the amount of Eight and 50/100 ($8.50) Dollars which was paid for the use of voting machines rented to teach voters how to use the voting machine, which check had not cleared the bank at the time we received the last bank statement.

We have already opened our headquarters for the poll tax campaign. We propose to use the balance of the $2,000.00 in connection with our educational program to encourage voters to pay their poll tax. Out of this money, we plan to have leaflets, etc., printed to be sent to prospective voters giving reasons why the poll tax should be paid and the value of paying the poll tax and voting, as well as to help pay the salary of a full-time director. I trust this will be acceptable to you.

With highest personal regards, I am

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Durham

WJD:mew
Enclosures

WB ✓
RTH
BW ✓

Thursday night, Feb. 20th

Dear Wiley:

I know this is an unpardonably long letter, but the implications of Mr. Durham's letter for the future of the Coalition were so severe that I felt impelled to make as much headway as possible toward clearing up these incredible misunderstandings.

I ask you to forgive the henscratchings on the attached: the original to Mr. Durham is much clearer, but the reproducing machine seems to acentuate type-overs. Don't blame my secretary--from the internal evidence in the attached letter, you will discover she suffered from one of VOTE's periodic economy waves. I typed it myself.

I am sending a copy of the letter to Durham to Mr. Phil Weightman. He is very close to Mrs. LeRoy, whom he trained, and I know he is following events in Texas with acute interest. Phil has been out of town on each of my last five trips to Washington so I have not seen him since last July. This was just before we started our huge blockworker program. It is too bad, for I have suffered due to a lack of close contact with Phil.

I am going to make the assumption that VEP will feel constrained to direct any future assistance to Texas through the Texas Council. Therefore, in the interest of our general cause, may I volunteer one or two guidelines? I hope you will not regard them as brash. (1) One of every 5 Texas Negroes lives in Houston. There are 63 predominantly Negro precincts, most of them in two wards, the third and the fifth. With 250,000 Negroes in the city, the project is simply too huge to function out of one office, in my opinion. I was hopeful that VOTE could encourage two budgets for Houston, one for each ward. Now I am hopeful that VEP can so encourage. You need a project director in each ward (at about $200 each for the final two weeks of the free registration period, ending March 6th) and an assistant project director in each(at about $100 each, or $50 a week for the final two weeks). And each ward office needs three telephones, so that's another $35 for each office. Total, each ward--$335.00 or a total of $670 for the city. For the sake of harmony, the parent organization the Harris County Council of Organizations should get an allocation of say, $100, as they will want to do a mailing or some other non-blockworker type of effort. Total, therefore, for Houston $770.

I didn't put Houston into the VOTE budget because we didn't have the money to do it right, so there was no point in giving them a smaller amount than they needed to do the job--the money wouldn't perculate down to the precincts where it needs to be spent. Fort Worth ought to have a little help--enough to keep Lenora Rolla in that office for two weeks--$150 plus $50 for phones. Again, I had to choose between Dallas and Fort Worth and gave Dallas enough ($400) to do the job right, leaving nothing for Fort Worth. Mrs. Plummer in Beaumont is a good project director--she will get some folks registered if she had a little help. $150 would do it. I have sent all these projects the necessary materials (free registration post cards), and they know how to mobilize blockworkers. They just need to keep the office open, the telephones paid up, and some money for themselves. $2,000 to the Texas Council, spent in Houston, Fort Worth and Jefferson County(Beaumont,Port Arthur) would register a passable amount of people. VOTE is covering Dallas, San Antonio, Midland-Odessa and $600 to Mr. Durham that he requested in his letter. Must run and get this in the mail so you will get it Friday. We may have some stunning news on poll tax registration. The preliminary reports are so good they scare me. We're going to have some mighty proud blockworkers if the latest estimates stand up.

Cordially,

Larry

Larry Goodwyn

VOTE

WB-
RTB
BW

VOTERS
OF
TEXAS
ENLIST

"A Million More for '64"

1317 SOUTH CONGRESS • HI 2-0855 • AUSTIN, TEXAS

February 19, 1964

Mr. W. J. Durham
President, Texas Council of Voters
2600 Flora
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Durham:

Though the purpose of a conference of leadership, such as the Coalition, is to facilitate communication between leadership, it is apparent that I have failed--even more than I feared--to maintain satisfactory communications. I shall endeavor, with this letter, to correct this insofar as one letter can do the job.

This Monday morning's mail brought your lengthy letter, with the attached note by your secretary explaining why the letter was not mailed until February 14th(Friday).

I know that you, by reputation, and also, perhaps, because of your legal training, are a man of restraint so I know that you did not undertake to write me without reflecting on the matter for some time. This makes it all the more clear to me that I should cover this matter as thoroughly as possible in an effort to el eliminate all possible misunderstandings. I do not suggest that VOTE is a well oiled machine that does not make mistakes, but I do hope I can demonstrate that whatever we have done, both the successes and failures have been a product of a good faith effort.

Running through your letter was the theme of the termination of Mrs. LeRoy so I think I should address myself to this subject first. Mrs. LeRoy's services have, indeed, been intermittent, but this was the way things were originally planned. On July 28th, 1963, at a special called meeting of the Coalition's Steering Committee, I proposed a rather bold step: the hiring of four directors of voter registration to serve the four "legs" of the

2) Mr. W. J. Durham

Coalition and the purpose of the Coalition generally. I proposed this step on the basis of the future funds I thought the Coalition would be able to raise as a result of my first fund-raising trip to Washington and New York in June. (Prior to the June trip, all expenses of the Coalition since it was first constituted in November, 1962, had been deferred through funds raised in Texas by mail and through one large mass meeting back in January, 1963. It is pertinent to record that during these months, when the coalition concept was largely a dream sustained by the faith of many interest liberals, some of whom were members of the Texas Council and others from the independent Democratic community, that serious deficits were incurred, amounting at one bad moment, to $3,900 in the red on May 30, 1963. During this period, the "Team Program" of speakers was developed and became the chief tool of carrying the message of the "brand new Democratic Party" we were trying to build. The development of the Team Program was one of several things that sustained us in our faith, even when the deficits were becoming oppressive. It was against this backdrop, that I proposed the expansion to the Steering Committee.

To the proposal for four statewide directors, each of the Coalition's legs responded in a slightly different way, reflecting their individual needs. PASO DECIDED NOT TO PUT on a staff representative but to use the proposed $600 salary as traveling expenses to be divided among four part-time registration workers. The labor movement agreed to pay, out of labor funds, a registration worker to represent labor on the Coalition and they named Mrs. Latane Lambert to this post. The Texas Council, meeting in Houston in August, named Mrs. Erma LeRoy and she began on September 1st. The independent liberals named Martin Wiginton.

During the period, Sept. 1st to Nov. 9th, these arrangements were carried out, with the following specifice expenditures:

1). PASO received $600 for the month of September as travel allowance, $600 for October, and $300 for November. Total to November 9th...$1,500.

2). Mrs. Lambert began on September 15th. She received $300 plus $150 expenses for September, $600 plus $150 expenses for October, and $180 for the 9 days in November. Total...$1,380.

3). Mrs. LeRoy received $600 plus $268.25 expenses for September, $600 plus $418.44 expenses for October, and $180 plus $160 expenses for the 9 days in November. Total.....$2,226.69

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4) Mr. Wiginton received $600 plus $330.10 expenses for September, $600 plus $421,60 expenses for October and $180 plus $105 expenses for the 9 days in November. Total.....$2,236.70

The four PASO representatives traveled by car in the southern tier of 30 counties between the Rio Grande River and San Antonio, predominantly Mexican-American in population.

Mrs. LeRoy traveled by car in the eastern tier of approximately 40 counties bordering Louisiana where the heaviest concentration exists of rural Negro population.

Mr. Wiginton traveled by air, to each of the 15 metropolitan areas in which the VOTE blockworker program was being inaugurated, and to all other major population centers as well, ranging from Amarillo in the North and El Paso in the West to Brownsville in the South and Port Arthur in the East.

Mrs. Lambert stayed in Austin, manning the Wide Area Telephone (WATS) phone, through which all project directors reported in their requests for materials, blockworker kits, IBM lists, and through which schedules were arranged for the appearances of the Team Program of speakers.

These staff expenditures amounted to just under $7,400; yet they did not constitute the major part of the VOTE budget. For, additionally, the following expenditures were authorized by the steering committee to run through the period Sept. 15-Nov. 9th: full time local project driectors to supervise the blockworker program in Mexican-American areas in 5 cities (San Antonio, El Paso, Corpus Christi, Hidalgo County and Cameron County)...and full time local project directors to supervise the blockworker program in Negro areas in 9 cities (Houston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, Galveston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Waco, Austin, and San Antonio). Each of these blockworker directors received $300 a month, beginning September 15th and though there were minor variations according to the exact date of hiring, they received roughly $570 each. Expenditures were considerably higher than this is the two Texas cities with the largest Negro population--Dallas and Houston, and an extra $100 was allocated to San Antonio during the final week. Additionally, the Coalition projected a rural program, including a workshop, in South Texas and a rural program in East Texas. Altogether, the Coalition and

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VOTE spent slightly over $12,000 on local projects, exclusive of printing materials.

In answer to requests made individually by Houston, Dallas and East Texas to Mr. Wiley Branton, the Voter Education Project made a grant of $9,000, resulting in allocations of $2,000 to Dallas, $2,700 to East Texas and $4,150 to Houston. VOTE kept $150 to help defray long distance phone calls in administrating these funds.(I shall refer to VOTE's role in administering these grants later in this letter).

Additionally, the Coalition printed and distributed through Project Directors and the staff registration workers of each of the groups in the Coalition, some 12,000 blockworker kits containing 240,000 brochures, 480,000 hand cards and various other materials, plus the reshuffling, via IBM machines, of poll tax lists from 15 cities contained a total of 239,000 names---all these expenses totaling in excess of $25,000 and duly reported to the Steering Committee meetings in November. In all these instances, no funds from the Voter Education Project were used during the period October 22 through Nov. 9th so that it would be clear that no VEP funds had been used for partisan purposes. Our records show that something like $14,000 was expended in this period by the Coalition, with well over half of it going to project directors working in Negro areas, to Mrs. LeRoy, and for printing of repeal-the-poll-tax literature. All of these funds came from independent Democratic sources.

As you noted in your letter, the Dallas project people made an inappropriate expenditure of $200 from the VEP grant in their possession, which was the only deviation from the plan in any of the 15 cities. After Mr. Branton's office called this Dallas matter to my attention, I undertook steps to correct this mistake which I, myself, had not caught in the process of forwarding the vouchers to the VEP.

On November 9th, this entire registration organization was temporarily disbanded as VOTE had no further funds. As a matter of fact, we fell some $8,000 short of the $50,000 goal to be raised during the final 60 days of the repeal campaign. I signed a personal note at the Austin National Bank for $5,000 in the middle of November to keep the VOTE office open pending further fund-raising efforts. I had signed, and subsequently repaid, a similar note during the early, struggling days of the spring of 1963.

The principal personal crisis I had at this time, other than my own,

concerned Martin Wiginton. Unlike either the labor or Negro registration worker (there being no PASO worker), Mr. Wiginton was sole support of his family and prior to the time he was offered this post (which necessitated his giving up his law practice in El Campo and moving his wife and two young children to Austin), I sought and received from the independent Democratic wing of the Coalition a verbal commitment that they would underwrite his salary for one year. Short of this, Mr. Wiginton could not afford to leave his law practice. Since the independent Democrats had no other qualified worker free at the time to take the post, they agreed to underwrite his salary. This was eminently satisfactory to me since I was out of the office and, indeed, out of Texas, about one-third of the time on administrative and fund-raising missions and needed someone in Austin to help carry on the day-to-day business of VOTE and the Coalition. However, after the heavy drains made on the liberal community in the course of the poll tax campaign--drains not only for their own local programs but for support of the statewide effort as well--the liberals appeared well on their way to failing in their commitment to Mr. Wiginton. Following the Nov. 9th election, he stayed in Austin (he hardly had a choice) but he was not being paid.

At this juncture a series of basically unrelated events combined to solve this problem. To explain them, I will have to digress for a paragraph or two. One of the changes in the structure of Texas politics achieved in the course of the repeal election was the removal of white liberal influence in Negro precincts. This was greatly desired by individual Negro leaders in various cities--a point they emphasized to me with great clarity. This objective was achieved, through the joint cooperation of the state VOTE office, local Negro leaders and also with the cooperation, in the case of Houston, of the white liberals themselves. All card files, block-worker lists, etc, in the possession of the Harris County Democrats, for example, were transferred--bag,baggage and file cabinets--to the office of the Harris County Council of Organizations. Thus the blockworker program for the repeal election in Negro precincts was entirely Negro-directed. It was at this point, in the two weeks following the repeal election, that my problem concerning Mr. Wiginton and the independent liberals was solved. At a VOTE meeting in Austin, attended by Mr. Cunningham, three Negro leaders rose to "put the heat" on the independent segment of the coalition. These three were Dr. Marion Brooks of Fort Worth, Mr. G. J. Sutton of San Antonio and Mr. Moses LeRoy of Houston. Each cited the success of the blockworker program in their respective cities and challenged the (now unemployed) white liberals to do the same in previously neglected low-income white precincts. Following this meeting, a group of the independents met and mapped out a blockworker program for low-income white precincts, specifically emphasizing the cities of Dallas and Houston. I might insert here that this had been a long-range objective of Mr. Randolph Blackwell of the VEP, first

proposed by him to me back in July, 1963, which I, as the Coalition's executive director, had been trying to implement, without too much success I concede, until Mssrs. Brooks, Sutton and LeRoy made my task somewhat easier. I wrote the VEP about these efforts, summarizing their successful culmination in a long letter to Mr. Branton in December. The independents mapped out of alow-income white precinct program for the poll tax drive, using full-time volunteer project directors to be recruited from among the women in politics of which we have so many in Texas. And to coordinate this volunteer program, one statewide staff person would be needed--to see that each locality understood and implemented the new blockworker program...and so, Mr. Wiginton was saved, for the independents forthwith met their obligations concerning his overdue salary, and pledged to do the same in the future.

During this period between the Nov. 9th election and Jan. 1, 1964, there was no poll tax selling campaign in Texas, as you perhaps recall. The tax-assessors in the various counties around the state did not have their poll tax books printed and ready as they had to await the outcome of the repeal election before they knew whether the printed forms were to read $1.75 per poll tax (if repeal failed) or 25 cents (if repeal succeeded). While these books were being printed in December, nothing happened on the poll tax front. During this period, not only was Mrs. LeRoy not on salary, but neither was Mrs. Lambert nor any of the many local project officers employed in the poll tax campaign around the state. Mr. Wiginton, in accordance with the new aims of the independent Democratic group in the coalition, proceeded to begin setting up the machinery for a registration drive in white or anglo Democratic precincts. Further, in response to our severe financial condition, I took the additional economy measures of (1) letting go the secretary in the VOTE office (2) publishing no newsletters in this period. The only persons employed, then, by VOTE between Nov. 9th and January 1st were myself and Mr. Wiginton, and while the latter received some income from the independent Democratic group, I was not paid as we simply had no money. I go into these details, Mr. Durham, simply to illustrate that VOTE has, since its inception, struggled along as best it could, meeting all its obligations but not necessarily meeting them with great promptness in all cases

Meanwhile as the year ended, the coalition's deficit climbed slightly over $10,000. I renewed the note at the Austin National Bank. A number of obligations remained unpaid, including the final $160.00 of the $2,200 paid to Mrs. LeRoy during her ten weeks on staff, plus back salary and expenses of my own amounting to $1,219.83 as of Dec. 31st and a large printing bill which Futura Press, as always, was quite gentlemanly about. I made two separate trips to Washington and New York in December and had some good fortune, especially good, I thought, since we had lost the repeal election. At the statewide coalition meeting on December 28th, I was able to proposed a $39,000 budget for the period January 1-31, the crucial last 30 days of the

poll tax drive. (The actual amount proposed for spending in January was slightly over $28,000, the remaining going to defray the deficit). The budget came about as a result of a $10,000 pledge from the AFL-CIO, a pledge of $6,500 from the independent segment of the Coalition, plus various out-of-state commitments. It became impossible for me to raise additional funds over $6,500 from the independent segment of the Coalition, as they became preoccupied with their own low-income white program and the generally heavy expenses of their overall local poll tax campaigns. Accordingly, I wrote the VEP, requesting a $10,000 grant for the month of January, to be used in the support of the poll tax drive among Negro and Latin-American voters (roughly 70% Negro and 30% Latin-American expenditures). To our joy, this grant was made in full, and the January drive launched.

As stated in the letter of invitation to all steering committee members for the Dec. 28th meeting, the budget for the January registration drive was to be considered in an open meeting of the entire steering committee. This was done. After much discussion, the committee voted to have the official four-man VOTE board of directors draft the final details for the budget. The VOTE board thereupon met in the same room at the conclusion of the Steering Committee meeting. In the absence of you and Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Moses LeRoy, as Vice-President, represented the Texas Council. The other three VOTE board members present were Mr. Albert Fuentes, executive secretary of PASO, Mr. Roy Evans, Secretary-Treasurer of the State AFL-CIO, and Mr. Houston Thompson, the officially designated representative on the VOTE board of the independent Democrats. Two budgets were drafted--one to allocate all existing monies on hand; the second to allocate additional monies as they were raised in January. A priority was agreed on, so that the first additional money received would go to print more materials, then to hire additional local project officers in some of the smaller cities, and so on. I was then instructed by the VOTE board to proceed on this basis.

It is to be noted that, once again, each of the legs of the Coalition made different arrangements in the handling of its statewide registration worker. PASO requested VOTE to underwrite $1,000 if possible, but at least $500, for long distance phone calls from the PASO State Headquarters in San Antonio to the 30-odd counties in South Texas where they had set up registration campaigns manned by volunteers. It was PASO's intention to supervise these volunteers by long distance phone, feeling this would get more results with less money than hiring a person to tour so many counties in so short a period of time.

The Texas Council, through its senior representative at the Dec. 28th meeting, Mr. LeRoy, indicated its desire to continue as in the past, with Mrs. LeRoy traveling in East Texas.

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I received a request from Rev. Thomas, Rev. Henderson, Rev. Walker and Willie Jerry Jones, of various East Texas counties, for $150 each for gasoline allowance to conduct registration drives in their area. For this, I had nothing in my budget, as it was approved by the VOTE board. By sheerest coincidence, Mr. Blackwell of the VEP, was in my office on a trip from Atlanta at the time this came up and I discussed this problem with him and he suggested I put the issue up to the leadership of the Texas Council. So I phoned Mr. Cunningham and explained that I was not authorized to put both Mrs. LeRoy and the East Texans to work for the month of January, but that I could do one or the other. Mr. Cunningham said he would check with you (I believe you were just home from the hospital) and phone me the next day. After checking with me once in the interim to verify the names of the four people involved, Mr. Cunningham subsequently contacted me to say you had approved the money going to the four East Texans on the ground that the nearer the money was to the local sources the more productive you thought it would be. I informed Mrs. LeRoy of this decision, but asked her to "stand by" for we intended, at the very minimum, to promote a massive all-East Texas workshop, for which her familiarity with the region would be helful. Further, if certain fund-raising hopes we had did materialize, we had even larger plans. I proceeded, then, to make out four checks of $150 each to Mssrs. Thomas, Walker, Henderson and Jones. These were reported, routinely, in VOTE's periodic accounting statements to the Voter Education Project.

What we now know to be the highly successful registration drive followed. Yet, throughout January, VOTE continued on a hand-to-mouth basis, due to the fact that independent liberal money sources suddenly dried up in the face of new demands on them from various prominent state and local candidates who needed money for filing fees and intial campaign printing orders. As a result, I did not get the $6,500 from these citizens. As of this date, the VOTE office has received $2,800. As this situation became apparent to me around January 15-20, I made certain economies in the budget--in accordance with the priorities set up by the VOTE board--for example: cancelling a projected South Texas workshop, and sharply reducing printing orders. All this was in an effort to avoid a deficit at the end of January. I also held off paying accrued debts (to Futura Press, to Mrs. LeRoy, to Mrs. Lambert, to Mr. Wiginton, and to myself) until I had a better idea of when I could safely discharge these responsibilities. Throughout this period, VOTE paid all local project officers on time and in full, a step we all felt was necessary to morale in the field; knowing that the staff leadership were old hands, it was felt they could more safely ride out this period without any drop in morale.

As a result of running as tight a ship as possible, we emerged on Jan. 31st with only a $1,200 deficit, despite the unexpected drop of $3,700 in receipts.

I should like to take special pains to point out that not one penny of the $10,000 grant from the VEP went to defray the cost of the State

office, the rent, the salaries of myself, Mrs. Lambert, or Mr. Wiginton, the cost of the office clerical help, or any of the reproduction equipment we rent. The VEP money went into the field--to local project officers and for the materials sent to these local people. When I was able, finally, to pay the top staff people their back travel expenses, this too came from non-VEP funds. All VEP funds are kept in a separate account and the expenditures, by name and by amount, are reported to the Atlanta office. The records of the distribution of the $10,000 VEP grant reveal no expenditures for myself, or the prepresentatives of the other groups who were on the state staff.

On January 31st, the labor representative, Mrs. Lambert, returned to her home in Dallas to await further word on the next round of fund-raising and all local project officers were told to stand by as we anticipated that theyratification of the 24th amendment to the US constitution would occur shortly, thus necessitating still one more last 30 day campaign, this time a "free" registration for federal elections. The four East Texans likewise received no further assistance from VOTE after Jan. 31st and similarly, PASO having no field person to lay off, that relationship was concluded with the payment of the PASO phone bill. Meanwhile, Mr. Wiginton is hopeful the independent liberals will continue to underwrite his efforts and, after the experiences of January, I am hopeful, too, only not so hopeful as I used to be. (But we shall see. I still am optimistic and the fact remains, these good people have put in over $15,000 in the past year, most of it going to support the state office and the printing, with less than $3,000 being spent in their own independent liberal precincts, so I am certaintly gratified with their faith and their labors and in no mood to depreciate their efforts, even though their actual dollar contributions in January were not quite as large as I, in my optimism, had hoped.)

I hope this necessarily long reconstruction of events serves to clarify the situation surrounding Mrs. LeRoy*s "termination." She has been terminated no more than Mrs. Lambert has, or any of the many local project officers; except in the one single instance of which you approved, or I understand from Mr. Cunningham, that you approved. All of our local project officers seem in the best of spirits following their various local successes in the poll tax drive and all are ready to go ahead on a big two week push for free registration as soon as VOTE, once again, can find some way to finance it.

Now, Mr. Durham, I should like to direct a few words in explanation of a paragraph on page 7 of your letter to me. Your paragraph reads: She (Mrs. LeRoy) advises me, however, that her services were terminated about the time the election was held, or shortly thereafter, and that she was not permitted to work in the educational program, except she might have been called in one time to help set up a meeting, where

Negro citizens were asked to meet and an attempt had been made to hold a meeting prior to the time she was asked to set the meeting up, without any success in the first effort. Only a few Negroes attended the first meeting, or first effort to hold a meeting."

Early in January, a small leadership meeting of the top Negro registration people in the 7th congressional district was set up by the Musslewhite people. This meeting was held as scheduled. Mr. Wiginton, en route from Waco to Houston, stopped off and delivered some material to this meeting, which was held in Crockett. Purpose of the meeting was to plan, and divide up responsibilities for, a huge mass meeting. The Musslewhite people envisioned a mass meeting only of people in that district, but Mr. Wiginton prevailed upon them to cooperate with VOTE in expanding the meeting to all the counties of East Texas. A date was fixed for the mass meeting and areas of responsibility divided up among those present.

I, personally am familiar with the huge workshop which resulted for it was a gigantic effort of a whale of a lot of people and it resulted in such a striking success that most everybody connected with it felt refreshed by the event and we have all been telling others about it ever since. Our opening salvo was to mail out some 520 letters to every East Texas Negro leader we knew of. I would estimate that somewhere between 60% and 75% of these names have been provided, in the course of several years, by Mrs. LeRoy and represent the remarkable end result of her years of effort to find, train, and motivate leadership in this most hostile of all Texas areas. We followed up this letter with personal contact which we handled in the following manner: In the 13 counties of Musslewhite's district, the top leaders involved in the earlier planning session were to be responsible for contacting rank and file people. In all other counties, I asked Mrs. LeRoy to be responsible. I arranged for Mrs. LeRoy to have access to the free Wide Area Telephone Service (WATS) phone available through independent liberal leaders in Houston--to phone in a personal invitation to all the people on her list outside of these 13 counties. VOTE agreed to pay her at the rate of $25 a day for the two days she would spend on the telephone. I requested further that she attend and address the meeting, as it was to bring together so many of her protoges. VOTE, of course, was to defray her expenses for this trip, as well as a side trip of Mrs. LeRoy's to a meeting in San Jacinto Cty. Further, Mr. DeWitty, Austin leader and originator of the "Team Program" of Speakers--and a man who has traveled extensively in East Texas for the AFL-CIO-- wrote letters of invitation to his many acquaintances in the area.

On "workshop day," no less than 209 people met in Crockett. I felt then, and still feel, that there was glory and accomplishment enough for everyone in this achievement. It was truly a history-making event and everyone felt so--in fact, the phrase "history-making day in East Texas" was used by quite a few people there that day, both by those in

the audience and those on the speaker's platform. (It is interesting to compare 209 people at a regional rural meeting with the 50 people U.P.O. got to attend their highly touted statewide meeting in Dallas). The register kept at the Crockett meeting shows that slightly more than 150 persons came from the 13 counties of Musslewhite's district, with the remaining coming from the other 40 counties. I feel this is a further evidence of the enduring qualities of Mrs. LeRoy's past work, and so told her at the time, for she not only found and helped train Rev. Thomas, et al, but she found many of the people whom Rev. Thomas and his young associates got to the meeting. Indeed, it is because of Mrs. LeRoy's spadework in 1962 and earlier in the 13 counties of the 7th district that such a large turnout was possible. I do want to add, however, that I think Revs. Thomas, Walker, Henderson and Mr. Jones in East Texas, and Mr. DeWitty in Austin, did their job well, too--as is further evidenced by the tremendous increase in poll taxes in Angelina, Rusk and other counties in that area. An increase in Angelina from 11,000 to 15,000 is something everyone connected with the East Texas effort can be proud of. (Here is a typical report I am getting in the VOTE state office. From Emerson Stone, Jr., the Ralph Yarborough leader in the area, comes this: "The increase in Negro voter registration in Rusk County is fantastic, Larry. You should have seen that courthouse crowd when they saw the big change. Whether they like it or not--and some didn't-- they all knew a new day had dawned in Rusk County.")

The mention of Musslewhite brings up another subject touched on in your letter. May I say at the outset that I have had a few troubles of my own with Benton, traceable to what I consider his failure to live up to some contractual arrangements. I do not know whether Mrs. LeRoy, with whom I worked in Benton's campaign two years ago, has had similar difficulties, but I have made it clear to Benton that he hasn't shot completely squarely with me. In mitigation, it must be said that like all candidates, and particularly candidates on our side of the fence, he has had insuperable financial problems. It is not easy to run against a six-term Dixiecrat incumbent like John Dowdy. But an even more germane reason why I continue to try to live with Benton is his courage on the one issue so essential to the Coalition--namely civil rights. Benton attended the Crockett workshop, the only public office-holder or candidate in the area to do so; indeed, the only white person in the district to do so. The only other whites present were myself and Roy Evans of the AFL-CIO and we appeared as part of the Team Program, along with Arthur DeWitty and Rev. Lavert Taylor of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who has been working in Tyler with Mrs. Wheat of the NAACP. We have come to expect our Senator Yarborough to pioneer in these matters, but Benton is the first person running in a purely East Texas constituency who is willing to buck the old traditions. So I try to work with him as best I can, and put the past asside.

Now then, you had some specific questions concerning the $2,700 grant from the VEP for the East Texas project back last October. When I

first told Rev. Thomas (after talking to Wiley Branton) that I thought he might, indeed, be expecting some help shortly from the VEP, I received a phone call from Musslewhite asking that the grant be handled with as much discretion as possible and specifically requesting that it not be processed through a Lufkin bank, as local political figures, including local bankers, were well aware of the fact that Rev. Thomas is a pro-Musslewhite man. Benton feared that Dowdy, whom as we all know is a demagogue of the worst sort, would make a campaign issue out of "outside money coming into the district to register Negroes." Since grants made by the VEP carry various reporting requirements, such as all checks be printed in triplicate, and all VEP money be kept separately in a separate account, the problem was a real one. For similar reasons, I do not keep the VOTE account in an Austin bank--either the VOTE regular account (which contains VEP funds) or the VOTE special account (which contains funds from the independent Democratic community and from labor). Instead, I use the bank of Walter Hall who is the only banker in Texas who is a liberal. This bank is located in Dickinson, Texas.

Accordingly, I arranged for Mr. Hall to open a new account, "East Texas project," to print up the necessary checks in triplicate and to send a signature card to Rev. A.D. Thomas. In a phone conversation to Mr. Branton, I mentioned that the East Texas Project money was being placed in a bank out of the area, for reasons of political discretion as we had a congressional race coming up in that district.

As to the other specific questions about the specific number of poll taxes sold by each worker in East Texas, I can only call your attention, Mr. Durham, to the new mass-volunteer method of blockworkers that is the cornerstone of the Coalition's entire program. that has as its principal aim the doing away with the old method of paid deputies being compensated on the basis of the number of poll taxes sold, or compensated in any other manner. None of the paid project directors of the VOTE effort, sell poll taxes. They recruit blockworkers who go door to door acquiring registrations on a volunteer basis. For this reason, I cannot at this time report the number of poll taxes resulting from VEP-supported programs in East Texas, any more than I can for the VEP supported effort in Houston and Dallas or the joint VOTE-VEP programs in 12 other Texas cities. I can say we have poured some 6,000 volunteer blockworkers into the precincts and that in every urban area having project directors of VOTE, a record poll tax sales has been announced by the county officials.

The VOTE state office has received carbon copies of correspondence from these local projects to the VEP and I have kept informed as best I could. There is still a minor question, concerning $250 sent to Mr. Francis Williams for the Houston project, which VEP has asked me to clear up..and there was that question about the $200 expenditure

in Dallas. But, so far as I know, there has been noproblem about lack of reporting by the East Texas project to Atlanta. You ask specifically: "Was that money placed in a South Texas bank and paid out by someone other than Rev. Thomas?" I will check this personally and report it to you within the next few days, but it is inconceivable to me that Rev. Thomas did not, in fact, sign the signature card and was not, in fact, the person signing the checks. Copies of these checks go to Atlanta, and since they made the grant to Thomas, presumably they would have called me before now had anyone else been signing checks. I will say this: I will share your disappointment--and I will have to revive my attitudes accordingly--if any of this $2,700 did not, in fact, go for voter registration.

Another point, bearing on this. As you perhaps know, VOTE has tried vigorously to implement a blockworker program in Tyler, the largest city in East Texas. A Mr. Charles Coleman, as President of the Progressive Voters League there, resists any effort on the part of the Texas Council of Voters people or any other "outsiders" suggesting that he update his techniques. Vew few Negroes are registered in Tyler. In one big precinct, with some 6,900 persons over 21, only 1,200 are registered or have exemptions, despite the fact that almost 1100 persons are over 60 and thus are entitled to free poll taxes. Competent local leaders, like Mrs. Wheat of the NAACP are in despair over Mr. Coleman. At one point last fall, I asked Julia Scott, your project director in Dallas, if she or Mr. Cunningham or both, could drive over to Tyler to try to enlist Mr. Coleman's cooperation. But Julia pleaded--correctly, there is no doubt--that she was too swamped with the mammoth job at hand in Dallas. To local people in Tyler, Mr. Coleman had already expressed his lack of warm feelings for Mrs. LeRoy. (Before our wfforts were done, Mr. Coleman expressed his lack of warm feelings for just about everybody--the only requirement to get his wrath being, apparently, that the person be from outside of Tyler) In any case, we ran just about everybody at Mr. Coleman. During this period, Mrs. LeRoy was touring sections of East Texas other than Tyler and Thomas' people were covering the heart of the East Texas area. So I phoned Mr. Musslewhite. I pointed out that under the terms of the grant from the VEP, as I understood the request signed by Mr. Thomas, many counties outside the 7th district were to be included. I suggested, rather firmly as I recall, that perhaps part of this $2,700 should be spent outside his district. I explained that our reports indicated the need to (1) activate Tyler, which is outside his district and (2) activate some young students in East Texas Negro Colleges--Prairie View, Mary Allen, Texas College, Butler, etc. VOTE already was financing, partly independent of VEP funds, a pilot student program involving one and subsequently two students from Prairie View. I stated to Mr. Musslewhite that we were desirous, but lacked funds, to put Mr. B. T. Bonner on the road to talk to students and also to Mr. Coleman. (Mr. Coleman had expressed the view that no one was "militant" enough for him, so we thought Mr. Bonner might have the necessary credentials to induce him to listen to the merits of the blockworker approach to political organization and voter registration.)

I further explained to Mr. Musslewhite that we wanted to load Mr. DeWitty's car up with registration-by-mail forms and blockworker kits hand have him distribute them in the smaller hamlets of the counties in which Mrs. LeRoy had visited the larger towns. Though none of the ground to covered by Mr. Bonner and Mr. DeWitty was in Musslewhite's area, they were in the area covered by the grant authorized by the VEP. I accordingly suggested, somewhat insistantly, to Mr. Musslewhite that unless Rev. Thomas had other plans for allocating funds outside the 7th district, that perhaps it would be appropriate for $900 of the $2,700 grant to be used for the various purposes outlined above, including the paying of additional materials to be distributed in rural areas. In due course, monies of the East Texas project amounting to $900, or approximately $900, were forthcoming and were used to defray the traveling expenses of Mr. Bonner, Mr. DeWitty and for the material they distributed.

It was during the travels of Mr. Bonner and Mr. DeWitty that we learned that the Texas Council had persons traveling in the extreme North, Northeast part of Texas. All in all, I think the joint efforts of all became widespread, more so than at anytime in the past--with the Texas Council people, Mrs. LeRoy, Mr. DeWitty for a brief period, Mr. Bonner, the Prairie View students, and Thomas and his people all trying to get the job done. (Mr. Coleman remained resistant to the end. He took the IBM lists of Tyler Negro precincts that VOTE had prepared but did not use them, nor did he use the freedom kits, nor did he recruit any blockworkers. There was, accordingly, a very light vote on Nov. 9th in Tyler. Mr. Coleman is an enigma. He is a Yarborough Democrat and dislikes UPO but apparently he can find no grounds for dealing with Mrs. LeRoy, DeWitty, Bonner, Rev. Taylor of the SCLC, Mrs. Wheat of the NAACP, or anyone else. Bonner completed our confusion by reporting that Mr. Coleman said his idols are Malcolm X and Roy Wilkins!)

I would summarize this East Texas thing with these observations: It is clear that Rev. Thomas and Mr. Musslewhite have worked together a long time, not only in the fall of 1961 and the spring of 1962 but again this fall leading up to the repeal election, and since. Rev. Thomas was deeply depressed when the poll tax was not repealed. He had worked, as no man had worked, in that immediate area. I have always felt that he should have felt disappointed about the performance of the white people of that area, for they certainly didn't support repeal, but he tended to be most concerned about the lack of a truly high Negro turnout for what he regarded as a pivotal election. Actually, the Negro turnout was good for an off-year special election. It was higher, in most instances, than the white vote. In any event, he soon plunged back into the struggle in the registration drive. I do not know the nuances of his relationship with Musslewhite. I can only say, for the two of them, that theirs is a lonely task, in a difficult area, and that Musslewhite is the best white politician we have in East Texas and Thomas the best local leader. On that basis, I am prepared to continue to do what I can to help, insofar as it pertains

to voter registration--with the proviso that I am going to try not to be involved in the transmission of funds regarding them in the future, for it proves too burdensome. As I'm sure you appreciate, the VOTE office has enough problems just trying to get the job done on a day-to-day basis.

Now then, Mr. Durham, I apologize for the length of this letter. I am hopeful it makes up for the long period of our lack of contact. I hope I have covered all the essential points.

In summary, I would like to say that VOTE has no long-term budget, is not underwritten by anybody, and thus cannot make long-range plans. We live on a day-to-day basis and we expand our program as we acquire funds. Sometimes we are more or less forced to expand on the basis of anticipated funds, and in one or two instances, this has resulted in a temporary deficit causing top staff people to have to wait awhile for their expenses. We could have been more conservative in our activities, but then we wouldn't have registered nearly as many new people, either, I judge. On balance, I believe we have done pretty well; we ended up on Jan. 31 with a relatively small deficit which has since been made up, and everyone connected with VOTE and the Coalition has been paid in full through January 31st. Therefore, the Texas Council will not have to pay the expense of Mrs. LeRoy as you mentioned in your letter.

Secondly, VOTE's budgets were submitted to, altered by, and approved by the official VOTE board of directors, Mr. Cunningham representing the Texas Council in the discussions of the first budget and Mr. LeRoy for the second. In no instances has any authorization of the VOTE board not been carried out. Additions have been made, as we acquired funds, but no deletions without prior approval of the group involved.

Thirdly, it is certainly my hope that this letter has cleared up any doubt as to whether VOTE has attempted to infringe on the prerogatives of the Texas Council of Voters. If, in any way, you feel this has not been satisfactorily cleared up, you have only to let me know and I will make a trip to Dallas to discuss this with you.

Fourthly, the total funds expended by VOTE and by the Coalition on voter registration activities in Negro areas of Texas is in excess--in fact, substantially in excess--of the funds received by grants from the Voter Education Project. In the course of last fall's effort, it is true that some VEP money was used to pay VOTE staff persons, myself included, but this was by prior arrangement with Mr. Branton--all of these funds were more than made up during the period Oct. 22-November 9th when <u>all</u> activities by everyone statewide were paid by the Coalition from non-VEP funds. This latter includes all funds for local project directors working in Negro precincts in Houston, Beaumont, Galveston, Port Arthur, Dallas, Fort Worth, Waco, Austin and San Antonio. All of these allocations, of course, merely reflected the combined will of all four legs of the Coalition, as announced at the first statewide coalition meeting in Dallas which you

you attended last July. As you said then, you have been coalitioning a long time and you know, as fully as any of us, that though the concept is sound, its day to day implementation is difficult. I have had it impressed upon me by many events that weekly communication is almost essential to keep everyone appraised of new events so misunderstandings do not develop. I accept full responsibility for not staying in closer touch with you, Mr. Durham. Though you weren't available by phone, I could have written you, and now realize I should have, at least once a week.

All we had at the beginning was faith; now we have faith, plus 6,000 trained blockworkers, massive new precinct machinery, autonomously directed by each member group of the coalition, the beginnings of machinery in low-income white precincts, and hundreds of new local leaders trained in the blockworker concept of mass use of volunteers. We also have somewhere in the vicinity of 300,000 new Negro and Mexican-American voters on the rolls. Our next challenge, of course, is to improve the blockwroker organization so that as many of these new people as possible actually walk in and vote next May and again next November.

These developments have already begun to have an effect on politician s which is, perhaps, the soundest barometer we have of our progress. I noticed yesterday that the conservative Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate felt constrained to identify himself as a conservative on economics but a "liberal on civil rights." He went on to say he couln't take a stand on public accomodations as he "had not read the bill," but even with this disclaimer, his position is far removed from the heydey of Allan Shivers, isn't it?

A word, in closing, about the budget for the free registration period. At this moment, we have $5,000 from the AFL-CIO and $1,500 from independent liberals for a total of $6,500. Now, $500 of this is reserved for that PASO phone bill; I am awaiting the forwarding of the telephone company statement by the secretary in the PASO office. Out of the independent liberal contribution, $750 is ticketed for Wiginton's salary for five weeks (Feb 1-March 7) and $350 for travel expenses for him in the same period. The various debts, including Mrs. LeRoy's mentioned earlier, have all now been paid and must be deducted from the total available. This morning, after checking with our bookkeeper, I drew up a proposed budget that visualizes the following allocations:

Anglo project, west Texas	$500
Labor project	$500
Latino project (Valley-wide)	$900
Midland-Odessa (Negro) proj	$200
Texas Council project	$600
Dallas project (Negro)	$400
San Antonio project(Negro)	$200
150,000 registration post card	$270
State office, newsletters, clerical & shipping, rent & salary of exec-sec	$1,280
	$4,850

(Calvin Lee has done an outstanding job in Midland-Odessa Negro precincts & we thought it proper to give him som e help for the first time; Julia Scott in Dallas also has a fine record & we hope to add 10,000 free voters there; Santone money is for M.D. Wright, an associate of Mr. Sutton's.

17) Mr. W. J. Durham

The $600 for the Texas Council is in accordance with your recent letter. This total of $4,850, when coupled with the expenditures summarized in the preceding paragraph puts us some $2,500 over the budget of $6,500. Nevertheless, I think it is a reasonable figure for I hope to be able to raise $2,500 by March 6. Note that this is an urban-centered budget. There are 100,000 unregistered Negroes in the big cities and 100,000 unregistered Mexican-Americans in the deep Rio Grande Valley. Since our inestimable Texas lawmakers have forced this abrupt 30-day period on us, I think the time element precludes intelligent expenditures in rural areas. I propose instead to send 1,000 of the free registration postcards to the Negro leadership in our files in each of the 50 counties of East Texas--or, if you would prefer to use the mailing facilities of the Texas Council, I can ship 50,000 of these postcards (one is stapled at the bottom of this page) to your office in Dallas.

Instead of calling a special meeting of the four VOTE directors (I know everyone is a little worn out from so many meetings--six, since November 9th) I thought I'd try to do it by mail and save everyone some travel expense. Therefore, I am sending a copy of this budget to Albert Pena, Houston Thompson and Roy Evans, all in today's mail, so that by Friday, we can proceed to allocate these disbursements.

A final note. When we got a breathing spell after Jan. 31st, we got some volunteers in the office and I ran off my entire mailing list of 8,500 names, including some 3,000 Negro blockworkers, on 3 X 5 cards. These I am now preparing to ship to you for your permanent files of the Texas Council. However, in mailing the last newsletter to this list, I got quite a few returns, indicating this is a highly mobile list. Some 400 of the Negro blockworkers have already moved. So, tommorrow, we are having another "stuffing party" at the office in which volunteers willextract the obsolete blockworkers from the list. When we finish this task, I will ship the box of some 8,000 names to you at 2600 Flora. They represent the top leadership in Texas in the liberal community, including all four groups in the coalition, in all 254 of Texas' counties. You may want to invite some, or all, to the Texas Council's annual meeting in Fort Worth on March 6-7.

Respectfully,

Larry Goodwyn

Larry Goodwyn

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

WBC
BW
RTB

W. J. DURHAM
Law Offices
UNIVERSAL LIFE BUILDING
2600 FLORA STREET
P. O. BOX 641
DALLAS 21, TEXAS

RI 7-4835 RI 7-4836

February 20, 1964

FEB 21 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I have not had a reply or heard from Larry Goodwyn in response to the letter I wrote him after I saw you in Fort Worth, Texas, a copy of which was sent you.

I am sending you a news item that was carried in the Dallas News and given by the Tax Assessor Collector of Dallas County. His opinion that a vigorous campaign registration up to March 6th would probably increase the present qualified voters by fifty thousand (50,000). I think that his opinion supports the conclusion we came to in Fort Worth that a vigorous two (2) weeks campaign over the state would increase the voting strength of the Negro electors from fifty thousand (50,000) to seventy five thousand (75,000).

With highest personal regards, I am

Respectfully,

W. J. Durham

WJD/wt

Encl.

VOTE.
3.22

Aid Funds Pour In

By JAMES EWELL

Workmen, supervised by firemen, Tuesday began hauling away debris left in the wake of Sunday's killer fire, so investigators could examine the ruins.

Firemen said it may be a week or more before investigators can enter the basement of the Golden Pheasant Restaurant, 1417 Commerce, where four firemen perished while fighting the 5-alarm blaze.

Prime arson suspect quizzed by investigators, Sec. 1, Page 1.

Investigators were convinced that the blaze started in the basement. But the wreckage so far has blocked their efforts to determine the origin of the fire.

Contributions to the families of the dead firemen, meanwhile, continued pouring into City Hall and The Dallas News Tuesday.

City Hall tabulators quit for the day Tuesday afternoon with $2,269.85 on deposit, assistant city auditor C. F. Craig reported.

The figure included some, but not all, of the $2,470.35 received by The News since Monday.

The debris removal was authorized by fire officials only with the agreement that it be done under fire department supervision. Fire officials took the step to guard against destroying possible clues to the origin of the blaze.

Fire Chief C. N. Penn put all resources at his command into the investigation. The entire 7-man arson squad was ordered to stay on the probe round-the-clock. Inspectors from the fire-prevention bureau took over the squad's routine investigations for the duration of the top-priority probe.

"We don't know what regular hours are any more," said one investigator, who was still making inquiries at 3 a.m. Tuesday.

None of the arson men was able to attend funerals conducted Tuesday for three of their fellow firemen.

While prevented from making a close-up physical inspection of the ruins, investigators have been interrogating persons connected with the firms involved in the blaze.

Persons desiring to contribute to the fund for families of the four victims should make checks or money orders payable to the Dallas Policemen and Firemen's Welfare Fund. In addition, donors should note whether they want their contributions to go to a specific family or to all four families.

Contributions may be sent to The Dallas News or Dallas City Hall, Room 211.

Among contributions Tuesday was a $100 check from County Commissioner Jesse Bell, a former Dallas fireman. The Garland Firefighters Association collected $125 from Garland fire stations.

Gentle Says 50,000 More Could Vote

By DON MILLSAP

More than 50,000 additional voters qualified to cast ballots in federal elections could be added to Dallas County's voter lists if civic and political groups would get out and work, Tax Assessor-Collector Ben Gentle said Tuesday.

Gentle earlier had predicted that the special 30-day registration period — which began Feb. 5 following passage of the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolishing the poll tax—would result in at least 50,000 extra voters.

"I've given out some 150,000 applications for registration to both political parties and to individuals," Gentle said. "If they will get out and work, the figure will be much higher than 50,000."

Gentle also said that preliminary figures show that 333,333 persons had purchased poll taxes or received exemptions before the Jan. 31 deadline. This qualifies poll tax payers to vote in all elections—local, county and state, in addition to federal elections.

"The final figure probably will be a little smaller than this due to duplication of receipts and exemptions," Gentle said.

But registration of voters who will only be able to vote for federal posts—President, vice-president, senator and congressman—is going well, Gentle said.

His downtown courthouse office is now registering an average of about 135 per day, he said.

And with subcourthouse registration and through the use of numerous special registration booths set up in businesses throughout the county, Gentle feels his prediction will be met.

To help qualify voters, the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee is planning a massive registration drive from Feb. 27 to March 1.

This campaign will be sponsored in cooperation with other interested civic, service and political groups as a non-partisan community effort similar to January's Poll Tax Torchlight Parade, said William H. (Bill) Clark III, Democratic county chairman.

Clark said volunteers will be stationed in major grocery stores throughout the county to sign up the voters.

Although no door-to-door campaign is yet planned by the Republican party, GOP county chairman John Leedom said that party headquarters is encouraging precinct chairmen to contact unregistered voters urging them to obtain the free registration.

Any citizen of Texas between the ages of 21 and 60 years is eligible to register for federal elections by the March 6 deadline if they have not already purchased a poll tax receipt.

Persons over 60 may not register because of the poll tax exemption regulation of Texas voting laws.

Dick West
Editorial Editor

WEDNES[illegible]Y, FEBRUARY 19, 1964

Redistricting

POPULATION equality must be the basis for congressional districts, the Supreme Court ruled. But Monday's decision that Georgia's present districting is unconstitutional failed to spell out the rules for equality and constitutionality. The Texas situation is still not clear.

Some unanswered questions:

- Will the Supreme Court approve flotorial redistricting, which ignores county lines, to achieve population equality? (Texas now does this in its own House of Representatives, but not in districting for Congress.)
- If the Texas Legislature should be called in special session and reapportion representation, would the plan meet the undefined court standards for equality?
- Must population equality be the sole yardstick? As Lt. Gov. Preston Smith has pointed out in an earlier article on this page, that would make one Texas district larger than Oklahoma. And, as Federal Judge James Noel pointed out in his dissenting opinion in the 3-judge Texas ruling last fall, population as the sole basis can create lack of representation for minority groups even worse than now exists.

OTHER MYSTERIES of the courts' reasoning on redistricting remain. They confirm the wisdom of Gov. John Connally's decision earlier not to call the Texas Legislature into special session to redistrict. The result might have been far worse—and Texas taxpayers would have paid a heavy cost—if the Legislature had rushed into this dark and troubled forest as many demanded that it do.

Even now, there is a possibility that courts could call for at-large election of Texas' congressmen. Or there could be a ruling that new districts must be created before the November election, improbable as such legislative action would seem in view of past history.

About the only certainty in the whole atmosphere is that federal courts, including the Supreme Court, are determined to bring about districting to make every man's vote equal.

HOW TO DO THIS is the Gordian knot which legislatures must cut through, unless they want courts to redistrict for them. Most Texans and citizens of other states do not want federal domination of states' rights to district.

None of this lessens the obligation of the Texas Legislature to redistrict. Dallas and other cities are shamelessly outvoted by rural electorates. Redistricting should be the first order of business when the next Texas Legislature convenes; it should be done as equitably as possible according to population, but with due concern for representation and rights of rural minorities.

This obligation is no greater than the compulsion upon courts to set clear, fair rules for the game which the judiciary is determined to referee.

Our Legislature can't act until it knows the rules. This was Gov. Connally's position when Republicans were criticizing him, and he was right.

Caught on the Hook

Panamanian leaders, like so many Latin-American politicos, have often whipped up nationalistic fervor to win an election by attacking the gringos. [illegible] easier to blame every-

for assignment at other posts in this country and abroad that make up the free world's air-defense nework.

Nor does efficiency suffer when the full-time Guard batteries take over. The opportunity to train as a permanent unit brings the Guard mis-

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February 27, 1964

Mr. W. J. Durham
President
Texas Council of Voters
2600 Flora Street
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Durham:

This will acknowledge receipt of your lettem of February 20, and 24, respectively, and will also confirm our telephone conversation of February 25.

As I explained on the phone I will not be able to attend the meeting of the Texas Council of Voters in Fort Worth on March 6 and 7, at the Blackstone Hotel. However, we have arranged for Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, our Field Director, to attend this meeting.

Mr. Blackwell expects to arrive in Fort Worth on the morning of March 6 and would like for you to make reservations for him at the Blackstone Hotel if at all possible.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mrs. Lenora Rolla

P.S. I might take this opportunity also to tell you that the check we had intended holding had already been mailed when I spoke to you on the phone, although we did not know this at the time.

3-22

V.O.T.E.

W. J. DURHAM
PRESIDENT

MOSES LEROY
REV. L. B. GEORGE
JOHN COLEMAN
VICE-PRESIDENTS

H. L. GARNER
TREASURER

M. W. PLUMMER
LEGAL COUNSELOR

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Texas Council of Voters

2600 FLORA STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

WB ✓
RTB
BW

February 24, 1964

FEB 24 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

As President of the Texas Council of Voters and on behalf of the officers, and members, we extend to you an invitation to attend the Fourth Annual Convention of the Texas Council of Voters which will be held on the 6th and 7th of March, 1964 at the Blackstone Hotel, Continental Terrace Room, located at 5th and Main Streets, Fort Worth, Texas, and address one of the sessions of the Convention.

Your reservations will be made if you can appear. Please wire at my expense, if it is possible that you can attend. We expect to give a press release about Thursday of this week and the program will be made up over this week end.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the notice and a rate sheet.

Respectfully,

W. J. Durham, President
TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

WJD/wt

Encl.

VIA-AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS
Universal Life Building
2600 Flora Street
Dallas, Texas

February 13, 1964

The Texas Council of Voters will hold its Fourth Annual Convention at the Blackstone Hotel, Continental Terrace Room, located at 5th and Main Streets, Fort Worth, Texas, March 6,7, 1964.

All members of the Council, members of organizations affiliated with the Council, all citizens eligible to vote and the members of the Texas Coalition are specially invited to attend the Convention.

You are invited to bring as many citizens with you who are holders of poll tax receipts for 1964 and any and all persons who have qualified to vote without the payment of poll tax at all Federal elections. The election in 1964 will be a crucial election, not only for the members of the Council but for every American citizen.

Our government is now passing through one, if not the most crucial period, in the history of its existence. Texas will be a battleground in the 1964 election. Let all of us meet in Fort Worth on the 6th and 7th of March, 1964 and do our whole duty as American citizens, by setting up a constructive and workable program that will cause the largest number of electors in Texas to go to the polls on election day (primary and general elections) and cast the biggest vote in the history of this state for men seeking public office who have shown by their acts and conduct while serving as public officers that they believe in equal rights as well as equal opportunities and equal treatment for all Americans. We must vote and ask our neighbors to vote for men who have never held public office but who make their positions crystal clear on the above questions.

You are not required to have a membership certificate in the Council before coming to Fort Worth. You will be allowed to register after you reach Fort Worth and enjoy full participation in the proceedings of this Convention.

This is a special invitation to each person to whom this invitation is addressed to attend this Convention. Those desiring accommodations (room and board), please write Mrs. Lenora Rolla at 1414 W. Humboldt Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas or call Ed2-4721, ~~JE4-1349 or ED6-5836.~~

Please notify the Assistant Executive Secretary, Mrs. Wanda Thomas, P. O. Box 641, Dallas, Texas your name and address and the names and addresses of all other delegates, who expect to attend the Convention. If you will give the Assistant Executive Secretary your cooperation by sending the names and addresses of all persons who expect to attend the Convention, it will save considerable time, in that the Assistant Executive Secretary can begin now making up the Convention roll from names sent in, and the roll can easily be completed at the Convention from those who register at the Convention. By this procedure, we can save a great deal of lost motion in making up the Convention roll, which will enable us to get down to the work of the Convention immediately.

It is important that all delegates and guests be present at the opening session of the Convention. Men of National reputation will address the Convention each day.

Respectfully,

W. J. DURHAM, PRESIDENT
TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

WJD/wt

HEADQUARTERS FOR THE 1964 STATE CONVENTION

OF THE TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS

CONTINENTAL TERRACE ROOM

BLACKSTONE HOTEL

5th AND MAIN STREETS

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Delegates, Visitors, and Guests may obtain reservations at the following places:

Blackstone Hotel 1914 Commerce Fort Worth, Texas	Single Room Double Rooms Suite	$ 6.00 to 8.00 to 20.00 to	$ 10.00 13.00 25.00
Texas Hotel 815 S. Main Fort Worth, Texas	Single Room Double Rooms Suite	6.00 to 8.50 to 22.50 to	20.00 22.50 100.00
Westway Motel 5619 Camp Bowie Blvd. Fort Worth, Texas	24 hours	Single Room Double Rooms	$5.15 6.18
Lincoln Motor Motel 1451 E. Rosedale Fort Worth, Texas (CAN USE ONLY 8ROOMS)	24 hours	Single Room	5.00
Lakeside Motor Hotel 2612 Quail Road Fort Worth, Texas	24 hours	Single Room Double Rooms	5.15 6.18

Lenora Rolla
Housing Committee

BP
Democ. Coalition

Microfilm Code No.
Pol-Tex
SERS Library

DALLAS
MORNING NEWS
Sec. 1-3
Date MAR 1 1964

Liberals Pick Slate For Texas

HOUSTON, Texas (AP) — The "independent liberals" of the Democratic Coalition threw their full support to Don Yarborough, candidate for the nomination for governor, at a statewide organizational meeting Saturday.

Some 200 men and women voted to form under the name Texas Organization of Liberal Democrats (TOLD)—with their slogan, "liberalism, brotherhood and justice" (LBJ)—and also endorse these other candidates in the May 2 Democratic primary:

Albert Fuentes Jr., San Antonio, lieutenant governor; Ralph W. Yarborough, Austin, senator; Dan Sullivan, Andrews, congressman-at-large; John C. White, Austin, commissioner of agriculture; Jesse Owens, Vernon, railroad commissioner, and Fred H. Williams, Dallas, land commissioner.

Don Yarborough called Gov. John Connally a "Tory," a "mossback" and a "Republican" and referred to him as "the sorriest, worst and least effective governor in the history of the state."

The youthful Houston attorney charged "the state Democratic executive committee is controlled by people who think more like Republicans than Democrats."

He said the present governor does not want the state to move forward and could credit 70 per cent of his support to Republican voters in the last Democratic primary.

"He thinks Republican. He has Republican sentiments and Republican friends," the candidate said. "A rose is a rose any way you look at it. He is a Republican."

Yarborough said he has a program "for all segments of the state," but did not elaborate. Plans were announced after his speech to give a $100-a-plate dinner to raise some $20,000 for his campaign.

Fuentes, a former official of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO), said "Texas will go down the drain" unless a lieutenant governor is elected to handle properly bills to solve the state's economic problems.

He said in particular the problems of state government have increased and that the government "is controlled by out-of-state corporations."

Sullivan called the incumbent congressman-at-large, Joe Pool, a "Republican" who is not worthy of liberal support.

Loosely organized for about a year, the independent—or doctrinaire—liberals form one of four branches of the Coalition.

The others are the Texas Council of Voters (Negroes), PASO (Latin Americans) and the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Texas NEP

Microfilm Code No.
Pol-Negro

SERS Library

HOUSTON POST
p. 12, Sec. I
Date: FEB 7 1964

2 More In Race for Governor

By JIM MOUSNER
Chief of the Post Austin Bureau

AUSTIN — A woman Bible teacher from Brenham and a Negro minister from Beaumont paid their filing fees to run for governor Thursday, the last day for fee payments.

The Brenham woman, Mrs Johnnie Mae Hackworthe, 59, brought a $1,000 cashier's check to the state Democratic headquarters in Austin.

The Negro, the Rev M. T. Banks, 71, a retired Baptist minister, sent a Western Union money order.

MRS HACKWORTHE, who operates the House of Prayer in Brenham, entered the capitol news room, held her Bible aloft, and said, "This is my platform."

She was one of 70 candidates in the 1961 special election in which U. S. Sen John Tower, R-Texas, was elected.

Hugh Wilson, a Port Arthur industrial worker who filed as a Democratic candidate in the U. S. Senate race, informed the State Democratic Executive Committee that he would contest the legality of the filing fee requirement, a committee spokesman said.

HE WAS not among the 48 Democratic candidates certified to the secretary of state by the SDEC. This group also included Democrats running for seats on the state's 13 courts of civil appeals.

The SDEC also reported that Joe Pitzinger of Dallas, a 41-year-old engineer and architect, had withdrawn as a candidate for congressman-at-large. This leaves five Democrats seeking the nomination for this office.

The state Republican headquarters certified 15 persons as cadidates for the GOP nomination to 11 state-wide offices.

Among those on the list was Harry Diehl, a Houston businessman who is seeking the Republican gubernatorial nomination. Diehl who filed last Monday, had not paid his $1,000 filing fee late Thursday.

Law Offices
Tucker & Marsh
Southern Aid Building
214 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

S. W. Tucker
Henry L. Marsh, III

Telephone
648-9073

21 August 1964

Mr. Joe L. Tucker
Voter Education Project
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Joe:

In accordance with our conversation of yesterday I am enclosing list of the 22 counties and cities comprising the Fourth Congressional District. The enclosed chart shows the county or city name, the number of Negroes of voting age, the number of Negroes registered and the number remaining to be registered prior to the beginning of our campaign.

As you probably know, several organizations are making efforts to increase Negro voter registration in various counties in the Fourth Congressional District. Our efforts thus far and our continued goal will be to set up a district-wide machinery by which potential Negro voters will be registered, and then assisted to the polls on election days.

We are making a studied effort to co-operate with the existing groups so as to avoid duplication of effort and to minimize friction caused by organizational jealousies.

We have approximately forty days remaining before election day and plan to make an all-out effort during this period.

Very truly yours,

Henry

Henry L. Marsh, III

HLM:esm

Enclosure

NBC
ITV

As you can see (the official figures are penciled in) there's a tremendous difference

JM

all report written in pencil

FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT VOTER REGISTRATION CHART

	NAME OF COUNTY OR CITY	NO. OF NEGROES OF VOTING AGE	NO. OF NEGROES REGISTERED		NO. OF NEGROES TO BE REGISTERED
Cities	Petersburg	9821	2881	2672	6940
	Suffolk	2769	1480	478	1289
	Hopewell	1549	350	20	1199
	Franklin	2160	600	320	1560
Counties	Amelia	1924	734	693	1190
	Appomattox	1142	260	205	882
	Brunswick	4734	796	815	3938
	Buckingham	2208	480	360	1728
	Cumberland	1647	750	425	897
	Dinwiddie	8587	749	1057	7838
	Greensville	3885	1078	870	2807
	Isle of Wight	4317	1245	1163	3072
	Lunenburg	2534	431	374	2103
	Mecklenburg	6624	495	241	6129
	Nansemond	9806	1953	2075	7853
	Nottoway	3458	785	840	2673
	Powhatan	1563	539	535	1024
	Prince Edward	2896	725	735	2171
	Prince George	2420	578	478	1842
	Southampton	7435	1245	695	6190
	Surry	1842	764	480	1078
	Sussex	3706	1020	970	2686
		87027	19938	16551	67089

The Afro-American 1/4/64

Expulsion Of John Riddick Called 'Act Of Vengeance'

'Disloyalty' charge scored as cover-up

By RAY BOONE
Special to the AFRO

SUFFOLK, Va. — Is there more to the Nansemond County Democratic Executive Committee's membership expulsion of John R. Riddick — youngest brother of Moses Riddick Jr., No. 1 colored leader of this heavily colored populated county — than "disloyalty" to the party?

An emphatic "yes" was the answer that Moses, the oldest of three politically aggressive, closely-knit brothers, gave the AFRO here last Friday.

Big Brother Moses charges that the expulsion of John was "an attempted act of vengeance" stemming from his recent political success.

The Hampton Institute-educated Moses, who defeated incubent N. T. Poarch — white and a Democrat — Nov. 5 in the general election battle for a seat on the County Board of Supervisors, said:

* * *

"THE CHOPPING of my brother's head off was really a chop at me because of my victory. The white folk downtown still haven't gotten over the fact that there's colored representation on the 'inside' "

"Poor fellow," he added, shaking his head "they sure are taking it hard."

Then he said firmly: "All of this is going to boomerang right back in their faces."

John, one of two non-whites elected Sept. 4 to the local Democratic Executive Committee for the first time in modern history was ousted last Wednesday night after a fiery meeting in which the third Riddick brother, Haywood, came to the defense of John.

And, in refusing to yield the floor, Haywood forced the Executive Committee into a secret session behind closed doors at the County Court House.

* * *

JOHN, AS a committeeman was charged with disloyalty in refusing to sign a newspaper advertisement supporting [illegible] "so why should my brother be?"

Moses refers to the Cross case as another tactic of the Executive Committee to split the colored vote and keep the board all-white.

"But, thank God, he (Cross) saw what was happening and withdrew" says Moses.

After Cross' withdrawal from the race, the battle was between Riddick and Poarch.

* * *

HISTORY would have been against Moses had Cross continued in the race. On two other occasions, when a second colored candidate was in the race, Moses lost by narrow margins.

Moses, who has devoted 17 of his 46 years to almost nothing but building the Independent Voters League, believes the expulsion of John will be a cause for "our people to further unite and accelerate our voting drive" to eliminat "unfair and undemocratic practices."

Apparently, this is the "boomerang" Moses was talking about.

Over the last eight years, says Moses, it has been the IVL — not the local Democratic Party — that has determined who would win or lose in the county.

In the November election, he points out, the IVL — through its bloc voting—defeated three party candidates running for Board of Supervisors seats. There are five seats on the board.

* * *

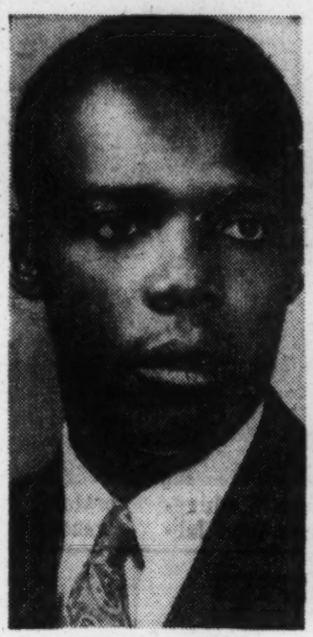
IF THE Riddick Brothers have their way, it is unlikely —in view of John's expulsion —that the trend against party candidates will be changed

"You'll see the results in the next election," Haywood told the Executive Committee at the Wednesday night meeting.

He said that John's expulsion would mop out Mills Godwin's chances of reaching the governor's seat and would also jeopardize reelection of local Democratic officeholders.

* * *

WHY CAN these three col-



JOHN RIDDICK

MOSES RIDDICK

Va. Statewide

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And, in refusing to yield the floor, Haywood forced the Executive Committee into a secret session behind closed doors at the County Court House.

* * *

JOHN, AS a committeeman was charged with disloyalty in refusing to sign a newspaper advertisement supporting Poarch, his brother's political opponent.

All three brothers regard the Executive Committee's stand as an insult to not only themselves — but the colored populace in general.

Asked, John's first verbal reaction on receiving notification of the Executive Committee's charge against him through certified mail was:

"These people must be crazy to think I would turn against my own brother. What they wanted me to do was to sell my people down the river. They must be crazy!"

John has openly declared that he will fight the architects of his expulsion until "the bitter end."

* * *

BIG BROTHER Moses further believes that John's election to the Executive Committee was a part of a plan to split the colored vote —and "keep the Board of Supervisors lily-white."

But they failed, said the hard-working executive secretary of the powerful Independent Voters League here, adding:

"Once again they underestimated the unity of our people and the Riddick brothers. They thought John would fall for their little trick and disown his people and me — but again they were wrong.

"I repeat, all of this is going to boomerang in their faces."

* * *

THE PRACTICE of expelling one and not all who perform identical acts, claims the Brothers Three, is both "unfair and undemocratic." The Democratic Party, they charge further, is employing dual systems of justice.

Executive Committee Vice Chairman Willie C. Knight, accuses John, is as much guilty of party disloyalty as he, but Knight, a white man, hasn't been booted off the committee.

John charges that Knight "circulated and signed" a petition in behalf of the candidacy of Charles E. Cross, a colored businessman once faithful to the Riddick camp, when he (Cross) tossed his hat in the ring as an independent running for the same seat as Poarch and Riddick.

* * *

SEN. HARRY BYRD (D., Va.), charges Haywood, publicly declined to back Stevenson for President in 1952 and Lt. Gov. Mills Godwin refused to endorse President Kennedy in 1960.

"Neither of them were expelled," recalls Haywood, a cause for "our people to further unite and accelerate our voting drive" to eliminat "unfair and undemocratic practices."

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* * *

WHY CAN these three colored brothers talk so big? Mainly because they've got power in numbers (or votes) to back it up. The IVL, of which Moses is kingpin, controls the balance of power in Nansemond County.

Nansmond, which thrives on the peanut industry, has a heavy colored population—outnumbering the whites, 22,000 to 11,000, in round figures.

There are 3,500 eligible colored voters as compared to 4,500 white—and the colored vote, according to Moses, is steadily increasing. "The whites are now scraping the barrel for votes," he added.

* * *

BUT THIS hasn't always been the case in voter breakdown. When Moses returned to his native Suffolk in 1944 from Hampton Institute, he apparently viewed the colored political situation as dark and depressing as Booker T. Washington, also from Hampton, viewed the colored educational condition when he arrived at Tuskegee, Ala., in 1881 to establish a school.

In January 1945 — when the IVL was founded — there were only 83 colored voters in the entire county, recalls Moses.

Is there more to the expulsion case here than "disloyalty?"

Moses thinks it's basically the vote disguised by the word "disloyalty."

Va. Statesmide

At St. Paul's College

VTA Plans Conference On Citizenship April 18

Pour. & Sunday, 4-18-64

LAWRENCEVILLE, Va. — The Virginia Teachers Association has announced that the campus of Saint Paul's College here has been selected as the site of its statewide Conference on Citizenship on Saturday, April 18.

Dr. G. James Fleming, professor of political science at Morgan State College, Baltimore, will be the featured speaker for the meeting of educators from all over Virginia who are expected to convene for this meeting.

Registration will begin at 9:30 a.m., and the first general session will get under way at 10 a.m.

DR. FLEMING, who is also director of Morgan State College's Ford Foundation Institute for Political Education, a project on citizenship, will discuss primarily the teacher's role in encouraging greater participation among students, the parents and the community.

The theme of this day-long gathering is "Needed - Full Citizenship Participation in Virginia." Conference participants will examine the role of the teacher and the citizen in the promotion of dynamic citizenship with both students and adults in the community.

THIS meeting is a follow-up of an earlier meeting, "Virginia Forward," called by the VTA last December, which involved citizens and leaders from throughout the state from all professions and trades. The April 18 meeting here, consisting primarily of teachers, will do essentially what was asked of all leaders attending the December gathering. At this time, it was requested that each group hold a meeting within their own professional or trades' group on a statewide level to promote citizenship — with the full intent to secure new understanding and greater support at these economic levels for effective citizenship action.

Dr. Earl H. McClenney, St. Paul's president, will deliver the luncheon address. Participating on the panel discussion preceding the luncheon will be George Pannell, president, Crusade for Voters, Richmond; George Hill, who was a City Council candidate in the city of Covington not long ago; Moses Riddick, executive secretary of the Independent Voters League in Suffolk and Nansemond county and commissioner; and Mrs. Louise H. Carter, secretary of civic education, VTA, Chesapeake. Mrs. Carter will serve as moderator.

Court Junks Jim Crow In State Records

Jour. & Guide
5-9-64

ALEXANDRIA — In a suit brought about by an integrated group of Northern Virginia residents, a three-judge Federal Court reversed portions of the State Constitution which required indication of race on state poll tax lists, voter registrations and property records.

The group challenged the long-standing law as being unconstitutional. The court in agreeing with the plaintiffs, declared that state laws which require racial designation are in conflict with the 14th amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

Commenting on the decision, Gov. Albertis S. Harrison said, "it may pose some problems and may make it more difficult to identify one voter from another."

THE EXECUTIVE secretary of the State Board of Elections stated that the only effect the reversal would have would be to make it impossible to determine the number of eligible Negro and white voters.

The injunction, which also prohibits the keeping of separate voter registration books for whites and Negroes, will become effective Dec. 31, 1964.

In apparent anticipation of possible attempts to circumvent the decision, the court wrote, "No form of state discrimination, no matter how subtle, is permissible under the guarantee of the 14th amendment."

THE OPINION was written by Judge Albert V. Bryan, of the 4th U. S. Court of Appeals. He was joined by Federal District John D. Butzer Jr., of Richmond and Oren R. Lewis of Alexandria.

~~National Politics~~
Virginia Politics

file Reg Contacts - Va.

JMV

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

December 3, 1963

DEC 5 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of November 21, 1963, requesting me to send you the latest county by county compilation of the registered voters in Virginia.

The latest estimated number of registered voters which we have on file for Virginia is of April, 1963. Accordingly, I am sending you a copy of these figures, which were reported to this office by the Clerks of the County and City Courts.

Trusting this gives you the information you desire, I remain

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND:a
Enclosure

"Courtesy Makes Driving Safer"

JML

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

filing contact

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

December 3, 1963

DEC 5 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of November 22, 1963, in which you state that you note only two cities are listed in the report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth as having general registrars, and you would like to know if these are the only areas in which general registrars have been appointed.

You are informed that all thirty-four cities in Virginia have general registrars, and there are twenty-three counties in this State with general registrars.

Trusting this is the information you desire, I remain

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND:a

"Courtesy Makes Driving Safer"

Vr. V-R file

Negro Vote Register Up In Virginia

1-28-62

Wash Post

RICHMOND, May 28 (AP). There are an estimated 1,051,243 voters registered in Virginia, Electoral Board Secretary Levin Neck Davis said today.

This represents an increase of about 4650 over the number of voters last year, he said.

Negro votes registration jumped about 3900 during the year ended April 1, while white registration was up only 800, Davis said.

White registrants are estimated at 239,303, Negro at 110,747, and Charles City Indians, 71. There's an unspecified category of 1116 where the registrants are not listed by race.

Davis estimates by congressional districts:

1st—White, 78,228; Negro, 13,271; Indian, 71; Total, 91,570.

2nd—White, 101,934; Negro, 20,026; Total, 122,020.

3rd—White, 115,580; Negro, 20,332; Total, 135,912.

4th—White, 65,[illegible]; Negro, 16,736; Total, [illegible].

5th—White, 76,145; Negro, 5,020; Total, 81,165.

6th—White, 108,769; Negro, 8908; Total, 116,[illegible].

7th—White, 50,948; Negro, 3554; Total, 54,502.

8th—White, 75,911; Negro, 11,114; unspecified, 1416; Total, 88,141.

9th—White, [illegible]; Negro, 1568; Total, 181,106.

10th—White, 140,[illegible]; Negro, 3922; Total, 144,[illegible].

July 9, 1962

Director
Virginia State Highway Department
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student at Yale University and am presently doing preliminary research on a political-ecological study of certain Southern States--Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Florida, and Virginia.

I need to know whether or not you have maps available showing the boundaries of political subdivisions down to and including the ward and precinct. If such are available, please mail them to me; if there is a charge, mail them collect.

I will be grateful for any materials along this line which you send.

Very truly yours,

John W. Walker

Same letter sent to other states included in letter

July 10, 1962

Secretary
State Board of Elections
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Sir:

Please send me the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of Virginia by counties and independent cities. I should like these figures broken into white and Negro if you have such data. If there is any charge, you may either send the data collect or bill me.

If your office is not the appropriate place from which to request such information, will you inform me as to how I may go about getting it?

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

H. H. HARRIS, COMMISSIONER
E. P. BARROW, LAWRENCEVILLE, VA.
G. WALLACE CARPER, McLEAN, VA.
W. N. CHINN, JR., FREDERICKSBURG, VA.
S. S. FLYTHE, MARTINSVILLE, VA.
R. S. HOLLAND, NORFOLK, VA.
BURGESS E. NELSON, MT. JACKSON, VA.
W. M. SCLATER, JR., MARION, VA.
TUCKER C. WATKINS, JR., SOUTH BOSTON, VA.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
RICHMOND 19, VA.

F. A. DAVIS
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER & CHIEF ENGINEER
D. B. FUGATE, ASSISTANT CHIEF ENGINEER
D. N. HUDDLE, ASSISTANT CHIEF ENGINEER
GEO. D. FELIX, RIGHT OF WAY ENGINEER
A. B. EURE, FISCAL DIRECTOR
T. ASHBY NEWBY, PURCHASING AGENT
CHARLES NELSON, DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO

July 18, 1962

Mr. John W. Walker
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

Concerning your inquiry of July 9 this agency can supply separate maps of each of Virginia's 98 counties but these maps show only the magisterial districts, These are the voting districts for the counties. We do not maintain city maps or town maps showing voting precincts or other political units. The county maps are available at 10 cents each.

The Virginia State Chamber of Commerce at 611 E. Franklin Street, Richmond, may have booklets on Virginia government which contain maps showing legislative and judicial districts and possibly may have other helpful material.

The best city maps are available from the cities themselves. Enclosed is a map showing U.S. congressional districts in Virginia, a regular state highway map, a sample of our county maps, and a price list for all of our maps.

I am sorry that we could not be of more assistance.

Sincerely,

Donald S. Knight

Donald S. Knight
Director of Public Information

DSK:pls

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

August 3, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 10, 1962, in which you asked us to send you the latest compilation of registered voters for the State of Virginia by counties and independent cities, broken down into white and Negro if we have such data.

Although this office has the number of estimated registered voters in Virginia as of April, 1962, we do not have this information in printed form. The total estimated registration in Virginia as of April, 1962, was 1,051,415. The cities in Virginia have a registration figure of 343,353 white and 63,088 colored. The counties have 596,762 white, 47,025 colored, and 1187 unspecified and Indians.

Trusting this information may be of help to you, I remain

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND:a

Ath VA - VR.

JM

Report No. L-36
September 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Washington Post,* Sunday, July 29, 1962, with permission)

Sunday, July 29,1962 The Washington Post

Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

RICHMOND—In 1957, Editor Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times-Dispatch wrote with accuracy and a heavy heart: "The tragic fact is today that hardly any liaison remains between the white leadership and the Negro leadership."

A year later, Editor James Jackson Kilpatrick of the Richmond News Leader wrote with his typical fiery zeal: "Speaking for those of like mind, let us say this: We do not yield. We do not expect to yield ever."

Dabney's lament and Kilpatrick's proclamation were voiced in the troubled days of "massive resistance" in Virginia and general defiance in the South of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Their views reflected the situation then in Richmond, where traditional moderation, understanding and well-mannered discussion in race relations had been shelved.

Yet today, the progress that has been made in desegregation and non-discrimination in Richmond is one of the exciting racial stories in the South. Its pace astonishes many Richmonders, white and Negro.

Key to the Council

THE NEGRO VOTE, once the kiss of death, now is an asset; no candidate for City Council can afford to offend it and expect to win. The City has adopted a fair employment policy in municipal jobs, unique in the South, and Negro Richmonders have better job opportunities than ever before.

Negroes may stop at several formerly white-only hotels and dine at several formerly white-only restaurants. Some 130 Negro children, probably more, will be attending formerly white-only classes when the public schools reopen this fall.

Perhaps nowhere else in the country, certainly nowhere else in the South, do Negroes use their vote with more sophistication than in Richmond. It wasn't always so.

Not many years ago, the Negro vote in Richmond was a commodity to be purchased on the sly by white politicians from Negro salesmen who claimed they could deliver the goods. Public endorsement of a candidate by Negroes meant disaster, a fact used cleverly by more

than one politician who would circulate a spurious Negro endorsement of his opponent.

During the days of massive resistance and accompanying racial rancor, Negroes tried "single-shot" voting for Negro candidates in City Council campaigns. But these candidates got only that vote and went down to defeat.

The Heberle Case

BUT THINGS changed in 1960 with the emergence of the Crusade for Voters, headed by intellectual Negro leaders. Abandoned was the single-shot technique. Instead, the Crusade examined each candidate for City Council and endorsed a full slate of nine candidates. The change was dramatic, as the case of Councilman Robert J. Heberle shows.

In 1957, Councilman Heberle urged Richmond to withdraw its financial aid to the Virginia National Guard in retaliation for the federalization of the Arkansas National Guard during the Little Rock crisis. In 1958, when President Eisenhower requested public officials to comply with the Supreme Court's school decision, Heberle, as Vice Mayor at that time, fired back a letter of refusal. In 1959, Councilman Heberle advocated that Richmond cut off local funds to any school that became desegregated.

By 1960, therefore, the Crusade for Voters viewed Heberle as an ardent segregationist and he was not among the slate of candidates it endorsed in the City Council elections that year. The 37 per cent of the vote that Heberle got wasn't enough for his re-election.

A Shrewd Demonstration

AFTER TWO YEARS out of office Heberle announced his candidacy for City Council in the June elections this year. He promised to serve and work for all the citizens. He gave his wholehearted support to the City Council's fair employment resolution, which had been approved unanimously shortly before the election.

With a touch of political genius, the Crusade for Voters endorsed Heberle and he led the field of 25 candidates with 51 per cent of the vote. The lesson was clear. The Negroes had bounced a segregationist from the Council, then returned him when he repented.

Lack of the Crusade's support in 1960 also knocked veteran Councilman Phil J. Bagley, Jr. from office. He was returned to the Council this June, however, without the Crusade's endorsement. Yet he still was to feel the influence of the Negro vote.

In Richmond, a new City Council elects the mayor from among its members, and the new Council in June was deadlocked: four votes for Bagley, four votes for Heberle and one vote for Eleanor P. Sheppard. The Crusade leadership said the Negroes would be displeased if Bagley were elected mayor.

On the 25th ballot, Mrs. Sheppard became the first woman mayor in the city's history. She had been endorsed by the Crusade.

Some Clever Timing

LED AND EDUCATED by the Crusade's leadership of Negro professional and businessmen and faculty members of Virginia Union College, about 8000 Negro voters went to the polls in June, two-thirds of the qualified Negro voters in the city. Some 14,000 white Richmonders voted, perhaps one-third of the qualified white voters.

The Crusade didn't announce its endorsements until just before election day, so the candidates worked to win the Negro vote right up to the deadline. The Crusade's selections included members of the two rival tickets, so one ticket wasn't tempted to use Negro support as an issue against the other.

Seven of the nine Council winners had received the Crusade's endorsement. The two losing endorsees came in 10th and 11th. No. 10 was a Negro. Another Negro candidate without the Crusade's endorsement came in 20th.

Negro Richmonders have matured as a political force. They also have matured in the use of their economic power.

The Richmond Citizens Advisory Council was formed by representatives of 36 primarily Negro organizations 18 months ago to help Virginia Union students who had participated in sit-in demonstrations in Richmond department stores and restaurants. Even before the RCAC asked for funds, the Negro community raised $14,000 for that purpose.

The responsibility of the RCAC leadership was shown early when some Negro pickets at a department store carried signs offensive to Jews. RCAC leaders told the Negroes to remove such signs at once or the RCAC would withdraw its support of the picketing. Down came the signs.

Boycotting of the Miller & Rhoads and Thalhimer's department stores undoubtedly was effective. Shopping excursions to Washington stores were organized by the Negroes.

One of the RCAC leaders is J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association (Negro). He advised a Richmond hotel that teachers attending a VTA meeting would try to register at the hotel. The hotel management said it would prefer that the registrants be integrated rather than all-Negro —so some white teachers from northern Virginia came to Richmond and registered at the hotel, too.

Last year, the RCAC went into negotiations with the Virginia Transit Co., a private company with a municipal franchise that operates Richmond's buses, over the hiring of the first Negro bus drivers. Progress was slow. Finally, the Negroes indicated that a bus boycott might be called.

The transit firm then agreed to hire Negro drivers if the RCAC would postpone any action until after the company took up a new rate schedule with the City Council. The RCAC waited.

On March 5, four Negro applicants supplied by the Richmond Urban League began their training with the VTC. They began driving buses April 1.

Negotiations also have gained Negroes jobs as food checkers in chain supermarkets. The RCAC was surprised to learn that meat cutters in the back rooms, jobs sometimes available to Negroes, paid more than the food checkers, but they wanted Negroes as checkers because they are visible to the buying public, a symbol of progress that can be seen.

One of the remaining uncracked fields of segregation in Richmond is the motion picture theaters. Here the Negroes have no ready economic weapon because they haven't been admitted to the white-only theaters in the past and thus can't withhold their patronage now.

Negotiations are under way. It is felt that the theater owners are awaiting the outcome of a pending suit by Negroes against the Mosque and Parker Field.

The colorful Mosque is the city-owned auditorium which is leased to sponsoring organizations. The lease calls for adherence to the state law requiring segregated seating.

In fact, segregation at the Mosque is spottily enforced. Some "Twist Nights" in the Mosque ballroom have been integrated; operatic and symphonic presentations are generally segregated. In any event, Negroes are contesting the state segregated seating law.

Also segregated is Parker Field, the city-owned baseball park leased to the Richmond Virginians, the International League farm club of the New York Yankees. Negro baseball fans must sit in Section 16.

Negroes are testing the state law to force desegregation at Parker Field and it is likely that the baseball management hopes privately that they win. It would nourish the boxoffice if the fans now easily accommodated in Section 16 swelled to such numbers as to overflow several sections.

Negro leaders good-humoredly tell the story of an injured Negro player on the Virginians' team who didn't suit up for a recent game and sat in a white section to watch it. The player refused to move at the request of an attendant who then called a policeman. Recognizing the player, the policeman said he would have to move to the Negro section unless he put on his uniform.

THE PROGRESS of the Negro in Richmond must be credited in part to the rise of firm, responsible and sophisticated Negro leadership which speaks softly and carries a big stick of political and economic power by commanding the support of the Negro community. But white Richmond and its leadership must also be credited for its good will and understanding.

The top academic senior this year at the Medical College of Virginia was Charles Fletcher Christian, 37, a Negro. But neither he nor the five other Negroes in the graduating class of 88 were sent invitations to the social functions of graduation week-end.

MCV President R. Blackwell Smith Jr. said the exclusion policy was designed "to conform

to the social customs of the community." When MCV professors heard about it they voted 70 to 14 against such exclusion. The senior class petitioned the college administration to change the policy.

THE RICHMOND Times-Dispatch said editorially that it was only right for the Negroes to be invited. It also asked understanding of the MCV officials involved. "Like most other Virginians, they have had to adjust their thinking to the changing times," it said.

The Richmond News Leader, while noting that it wasn't yielding in its opposition to school desegregation, said that the Negroes should be invited. "Any other policy is indefensible," it declared.

The MCV executive committee ruled that the Negroes wouldn't be denied admission if they appeared. The policy now is under study and it's unlikely that Negroes will be excluded in the future.

COMPARISON OF the Negro Richmonder's lot today with that in the period of "massive resistance" causes astonishment in observers and participants alike. Yet the progress is not surprising in the light of Richmond's history of race relations before massive resistance.

The city led the South in bus desegregation and the employment of Negro policemen. A Negro won election to the City Council in 1948 with the help of white voters. City officials kept their offices open on Saturdays in 1947 to cooperate with a voter registration drive by the NAACP.

In 1951, the Virginia NAACP held an integrated convention at the Mosque and the city said, well, it's a private organization, and looked the other way. Back in 1925, the city suspended segregation ordinances and Jim Crow regulations when the Negro Elks held their national convention in Richmond.

SOME OBSERVERS see an end to the new political status of the Negro Richmonder if the city succeeds in annexing huge chunks of neighboring Henrico and Chesterfield Counties, reasoning that the white suburbanites would dilute the influence of the Negro vote. The annexation proceedings now are in court.

But others believe that the racial relations progress and the present era of increased racial understanding now have too solid a foundation to crumble. The 225-year-old city, a symbol of Virginia and the South, has turned a historic corner in race relations after a five-year detour.

It was in August, 1958, that the Richmond News Leader urged stubborn resistance to school desegregation as the zero hour neared in "massive resistance."

"Virginians," said the editorial, "are about to have an opportunity to demonstrate to the whole country—indeed, to the whole world—what it means to be a Virginian."

Today, Richmond is demonstrating what it means.

Registered voters in the State of Virginia as of October 2, 1962

COUNTIES AND CITIES BY DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF VOTED BALLOTS FROM PERSONS IN THE ARMED FORCES FORWARDED BY THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS TO SECRETARIES OF APPROPRIATE ELECTORAL BOARDS OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES AND CITIES IN WHICH THE VOTING MEMBER RESIDES AND DATES THAT THE ENVELOPES CONTAINING VOTED BALLOTS WERE TRANSMITTED.			
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS	WHITE	NEGRO	INDIAN	TOTAL
FIRST DISTRICT				
Newport News,	19,409	6,000		25,409
Hampton,	16,737	3,515		20,252
Williamsburg,	1,600	273		1,873
Accomack,	5,436	815		6,251
King & Queen,	860	410		1,270
Essex,	950	315		1,265
Charles City,	470	703	71	1,244
James City,	2,533	610		3,143
Gloucester,	3,226	707		3,933
Mathews,	1,385	210		1,595
Middlesex,	1,550	392		1,942
New Kent,	958	445		1,403
Northampton,	2,150	265		2,415
Princess Anne,	14,649	1,336		15,985
Warwick City,	No longer an independent city			
York,	2,642	2,173		4,815
Virginia Beach,	3,673	102		3,775
SECOND DISTRICT				
Norfolk City,	68,828	11,945		80,773
South Norfolk,	4,135	879		5,014
Portsmouth,	17,181	5,599		22,780
Norfolk, (Co.)	11,790	1,663		13,453
THIRD DISTRICT				
Colonial Heights,	2,748	none		2,748
Richmond City,	52,903	17,355		70,258
Chesterfield,	18,635	1,962		20,597
Henrico,	41,294	1,015		42,309
FOURTH DISTRICT				
Petersburg,	6,015	2,643		8,658
Suffolk,	2,854	600		3,454
Hopewell,	4,400	395		4,795
Amelia,	1,977	672		2,649
Appomattox,	2,575	262		2,837
Brunswick,	3,575	813		4,388
Buckingham,	1,500	355		1,855
Cumberland,	1,540	300		1,840
Dinwiddie,	3,706	1,013		4,719
Greensville,	3,290	1,034		4,324
Isle of Wight,	3,644	1,146		4,790
Lunenburg,	2,650	340		2,990
Mecklenburg,	5,700	408		6,108
Nansemond,	4,063	2,090		6,153
Nottoway,	3,060	635		3,695
Powhatan,	1,471	487		1,958
Prince Edward,	2,765	665		3,430
Prince George,	2,139	510		2,649
Southampton,	4,036	677		4,713
Surry,	1,045	445		1,490
Sussex,	2,285	920		3,205
FIFTH DISTRICT				
Danville,	11,230	2,015		13,245
Martinsville,	3,289	406		3,695
Pittsylvania,	8,084	640		8,724
Henry,	6,545	401		6,946
Franklin,	4,399	370		4,769
Patrick,	4,275	122		4,397
Carroll,	6,445	11		6,456
Grayson,	6,542	119		6,661
Halifax,	5,270	850		6,120
Charlotte,	4,241	524		4,765
Wythe,	11,880	287		12,167
South Boston 5th District	1,450	260		1,710
SIXTH DISTRICT Galax 5th Dist.	1,495	15		1,510

Covington,	2,775	465		3,240		
Roanoke,	31,939	2,860		34,799		
Lynchburg,	13,576	2,042		15,618		
Radford,	4,260	248		4,508		
Clifton Forge,	2,300	215		2,515		
Campbell,	5,485	840		6,325		
Bedford,	6,745	965		7,710		
Roanoke, (Co.)	20,093	592		20,685		
Montgomery,	6,465	325		6,790		
Floyd,	4,567	108		4,675		
Craig,	1,017	none		1,017		
Botetourt,	4,490	154		4,644		
Alleghany,	2,165	160		2,325		
SEVENTH DISTRICT						
Harrisonburg,	3,400	185		3,585		
Waynesboro,	5,244	175		5,419		
Winchester,	3,773	91		3,864		
Staunton,	5,463	402		5,865		
Buena Vista,	1,047	26		1,073		
Clarke,	2,722	221		2,943		
Frederick,	5,745	50		5,795		
Rappahannock,	1,296	190		1,486		
Page,	6,465	80		6,545		
Rockingham,	8,291	86		8,377		
Shenandoah,	6,098	96		6,194		
Warren,	3,722	132		3,854		
Amherst,	5,741	686		6,427		
Augusta,	8,588	214		8,802		
Bath,	1,490	75		1,565		
Highland,	1,005	8		1,013		
Madison,	2,163	240		2,403		
Nelson,	3,665	467		4,132		
Rockbridge,	5,030	430		5,460		

EIGHTH DISTRICT					
Charlottesville,	10,100	1,406		11,506'	
Fredericksburg,	3,813	906		4,719	
Albemarle,	4,875	780		5,655	
Caroline,	1,917	793		2,710	
Fauquier,	4,340	500		4,840	
Fluvanna,	1,260	186		1,446	
Goochland,	2,062	776		2,838	
Greene,	1,228	92		1,320	
Westmoreland,	3,633	407		4,040	
Lancaster,				1,116	this county doesn't divide by race.
Richmond,	1,390	180		1,570	
Northumberland,	3,101	835		3,936	
Hanover,	5,951	811		6,762	
King George,	1,361	263		1,624	
Loudoun,	7,963	401		8,364	
Louisa,	2,135	432		2,567	
Orange,	2,695	265		2,960	
Prince William,	5,479	519		5,998	
Spotsylvania,	4,250	430		4,680	
Culpeper,	4,582	488		5,070	
King William,	1,135	345		1,480	
Stafford,	3,320	440		3,760	
NINTH DISTRICT					
Bristol,	3,719	125		3,844	
Lee,	10,946	60		11,006	
Scott,	8,711	77		8,788	
Wise,	9,325	115		9,440	
Dickenson,	7,528	none		7,528	
Buchanan,	10,650	none		10,650	
Russell,	7,559	47		7,606	
Washington,	7,741	178		7,919	
Smyth,	7,892	86		7,978	
Pulaski,	5,695	256		5,951	
Giles,	4,963	30		4,993	
Bland,	1,939	17		1,956	
Tazewell,	12,280	477		12,757	
Norton 9th. District	655	35		690	
TENTH DISTRICT					
Alexandria,	24,507	1,495		26,002	
Falls Church,	3,704	38		3,742	
Arlington,	48,806	1,307		50,113	
Fairfax,	59,772	1,036		60,808	
City of Fairfax	3,613	46		3,659	
Total	940,115	110,113	71	1,051,415	
Aggregate					

Included in the grand total is a newly formed independent city of Franklin, and I can't learn which District it is in

Franklin	1,518	326		1,844

"Happy" Hedlip Lee; Vd Council on Human Rel.

Rec'd from Va. Commission on Elections

MAY 23 1963

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Estimates Of Voters By Districts

Latest estimates of the number of qualified voters in Virginia are shown in the tables below, by cities, counties and congressional districts. Except for five localities, the figures are those reported as of April 1 to the State Board of Elections by local court clerks or registrars. No reports have reached the state board from Cumberland, Pittsylvania, King William, Giles or Radford. Figures listed for these five localities are approximations. In addition to the white and Negro classifications, Charles City county reported 82 Indians, an increase of 11 over the 1962 figure.

FIRST DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Accomack	5,436	815
Charles City	462-9	759 +56
Essex	1,288+338	381 +66
Gloucester	3,226	707
Hampton	15,561-1123	3,620 +105
James City	1,610-923	340 -270
King and Queen	855-5	305 -105
Mathews	1,380-5	176 -34
Middlesex	525-1035	200 -192
New Kent	958	445
Newport News	20,391+9925	5,955 -45
Northampton	2,315+165	285 +20
Virginia Beach	17,181	1,184
Williamsburg	910	130
York	4,294	1,110
TOTALS	76,392	16,412

SECOND DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Norfolk City	53,828	10,085
Chesapeake	15,168	2,275
Portsmouth	17,440	5,757
TOTALS	86,436	18,117

THIRD DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Chesterfield	19,305	2,060
Colonial Heights	2,748	0
Henrico	35,415	709
Richmond City	52,240	17,335
TOTALS	109,708	20,104

FOURTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Amelia	2,024	693
Appomattox	2,710	205
Brunswick	3,568	815
Buckingham	1,500	360
Cumberland	1,550	300
Dinwiddie	3,727	1,057
Greensville	2,952	870
Hopewell	3,700	70
Isle of Wight	3,687	1,163
Lunenburg	2,654	374
Mecklenburg	3,819	241
Nansemond	4,060	2,075
Nottoway	2,800	840
Petersburg	5,939	2,672
Powhatan	1,469	535
Prince Edward	2,875	735
Prince George	2,092	478
Southampton	4,036	695
Suffolk	2,555	478
Surry	1,045	480
Sussex	2,310	970
TOTALS	61,072	16,106

FIFTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Carroll	6,445	11
Charlotte	4,241	524
Danville	11,115	2,022
Franklin	4,409	370
Galax	1,495	15
Grayson	6,610	105
Halifax	5,270	1,005
Henry	6,700	495
Martinsville	6,582	796
Patrick	4,255	119
Pittsylvania	8,100	700
South Boston	1,500	260
Wythe	11,550	330
TOTALS	78,272	6,752

SIXTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Alleghany	2,430	195
Bedford	6,745	895
Botetourt	4,430	135
Campbell	5,455	807
Clifton Forge	2,550	215
Covington	2,900	485
Craig	1,075	0
Floyd	4,567	108
Lynchburg	13,977	2,057
Montgomery	6,635	324
Radford	4,300	250
Roanoke City	31,979	2,888
Roanoke County	21,039	627
TOTALS	103,782	8,996

SEVENTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Amherst	6,079	752
Augusta	7,971	208
Bath	1,497	73
Buena Vista	1,047	26
Clarke	2,775	229
Frederick	5,975	50
Highland	1,008	8
Harrisonburg	3,400	185
Madison	2,209	233
Nelson	3,600	461
Page	6,465	80
Rappahannock	1,229	144
Rockbridge	4,820	485
Rockingham	7,861	86
Shenandoah	5,748	81
Staunton	5,663	408
Warren	3,995	237
Waynesboro	4,849	177
Winchester	3,774	91
TOTALS	79,965	4,014

EIGHTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Albemarle	4,790	735
Caroline	1,885	785
Charlottesville	7,657	1,318
Culpeper	4,626	476
Fauquier	4,340	656
Fluvanna	1,260	186
Fredericksburg	4,033	613
Goochland	1,632	441
Greene	1,730	82
Hanover	6,717	811
King George	1,380	263
King William	1,140	350
Lancaster	2,076	628
Loudoun	7,984	402
Louisa	2,142	445
Northumberland	3,109	830
Orange	2,695	265
Prince William	5,479	519
Richmond County	1,320	170
Spotsylvania	4,250	395
Stafford	3,350	458
Westmoreland	3,616	403
TOTALS	78,211	11,225

NINTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Bland	1,961	22
Bristol	3,194	72
Buchanan	10,650	0
Dickenson	7,527	15
Giles	4,965	30
Lee	10,935	56
Norton	760	60
Pulaski	7,750	900
Russell	9,043	72
Scott	8,897	84
Smyth	8,052	79
Tazewell	12,156	458
Washington	7,794	166
Wise	7,455	160
TOTALS	101,119	2,174

TENTH DISTRICT

County or City	White	Negro
Alexandria	24,420	1,477
Arlington	48,729	1,184
Fairfax County	63,020	1,126
Fairfax City	3,515	42
Falls Church	3,501	42
TOTALS	143,185	3,871

GRAND TOTAL STATE	918,142	107,861

Rights bill passage could affect half of state's counties

BY MICKEY LOGUE
News staff writer

Passage of the voting rights section in the administration's controversial new civil rights bill could result in appointment of federal voting referees to register Negroes in 33 of Alabama's 67 counties.

These figures emerged from a Congressional Quarterly study of the 261 counties in 11 Southern states in which less than 15 per cent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote.

Under terms of the proposed civil rights legislation, court registration machinery, including the use of referees, could be activated in such counties immediately upon the filing by the U. S. attorney general of a complaint alleging a pattern or practice of discrimination. Registration would then proceed while the voting rights suit was pending in the courts.

Alabama is third among states with the highest ratio of counties with less than 15 per cent of voting age Negroes registered. Others include Mississippi (76 of 82), South Carolina (26 of 46), Louisiana (23 of 64), Georgia 36 of 159), Virginia 13 of 97) and Texas (22 of 254).

Scattered counties with similarly low Negro registration are located in Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and North Carolina.

IN TERMS OF congressional district politics, Congressional Quarterly said the greatest impact might be felt in Mississippi and South Carolina. There are many districts in the two states which are composed completely or principally of counties where less than 15 per cent of eligible Negroes are registered.

The study disclosed that Alabama's nine former congressional districts contained from one to seven such counties.

Passage of the voting rights measure could mean federal voting referees in five of seven First District counties, seven of nine Second District Counties, five of 10 Third District counties, three of eight Fourth District counties, three of eight Fifth District counties, six of eight Sixth District counties, one of nine Seventh District counties and the one-county (Jefferson) Ninth District.

The smallest percentage (10) of registered Negro voters was in the Third District, where only 5,882 of 58,968 voting age non-whites were enrolled, according to 1961 figures. The largest percentage of registered Negro voters was in the Seventh District, where 31.8 per cent, or 3,609 of 11,339 voting age Negroes, were registered.

The largest percentage (81.8) of registered white voters also was found in the Seventh District. The Ninth District had the smallest percentage of registered white voters in 1961, 48.5 per cent. And only 10.2 per cent of the voting age Negroes were registered to vote in the Ninth District in 1961.

NEGROES MADE UP about 30 per cent, or 980,271, of the 3,266,740 Alabama population when the 1960 census was taken. In 1961, 66,009 (13.7 per cent) of the 481,320 voting age non-whites were registered, as compared to 860,073 (63.6 per cent) of the 1,353,058 eligible white persons.

In two Alabama counties, Lowndes and Wilcox, there were no Negro voters when 1961 statistics were compiled.

The number of Negroes more than 21 years old in the same counties were Lowndes, 5.122, and Wilcox, 6,085.

In Lowndes, Wilcox and six other of the 33 Alabama counties in which less than 15 per cent of the voting age Negroes were registered, more than 100 per cent of the number of eligible white persons listed were enrolled to vote.

An authoritative source said the discrepancy existed because certain white persons who had died or moved away had not been stricken from the voting rolls at that time.

GREENE COUNTY of the former Sixth District had the largest percentage (120) of registered white voters. The over-21 white population totaled 1,649 and there were 1,979 white persons listed as registered to vote, according to Congressional Quarterly.

The percentages of registered white voters in the seven other counties in which white registration surpassed eligible white residents were Lowndes, 118.4; Monroe, 111.2; Wilcox, 107.1; Bibb, 102.5; Clarke, 102.5; Hale, 102.2, and Butler, 100.5.

The adult populations of Wilcox, Lowndes, Greene and Hale Counties are predominantly Negro.

White persons are in the majority in Monroe, Bibb, Clarke and Butler Counties.

Of the 33 Alabama counties studied, Madison had the lowest percentage of registered white voters. Only 40 per cent, or 22,000 of 54,516 voting age white persons, were registered.

THE NUMBER and percentage of voting age white and Negro residents registered in the former congressional districts in 1961 were:

First District, 89,321 whites, 57.5 per cent; 10,977 Negroes, 13.4 per cent; Second District, 100,252 whites, 67.7 per cent; 7,554 Negroes, 11.2 per cent; Third District, 72,107 whites, 64.6 per cent; 5,882 Negroes, 10 per cent; Fourth District, 85,089 whites, 67.2 per cent; 6.727 Negroes, 14.4 per cent; Fifth District, 118,360 whites, 77 per cent; 5,115 Negroes, 21.5 per cent.

Sixth District, 61,578 whites, 66.7 per cent; 7,331 Negroes, 16.2 per cent; Seventh District, 102,331 whites, 81.8 per cent; 3,609 Negroes, 31.8 per cent; Eighth District, 106,775 whites, 58 per cent; 6,914 Negroes, 22.8 per cent, and Ninth District, 124,260 whites, 48.5 per cent; 11,900 Negroes, 10.2 per cent.

The Congressional Quarterly said an "ironic byproduct" of the proposed civil rights legislation might be a rush by white voting officials in some counties to enroll enough additional Negroes to bring the figure up to 15 per cent and thus preclude appointment of a federal voting referee who might quickly register a far greater percentage.

THE QUARTERLY said experience under the 1960 act showed that a strong court injunction often has resulted in the registration of substantial numbers of Negroes without the necessity of referees or direct involvement of federal judges.

In Macon County, for instance, Negro registration rose from 1,000 before filing of a voting rights suit to about 3,300 by latest counts. In Bullock County, the number of Negro registrants rose from a pretrial figure of five to about 1,100.

Apparently more than 15 per cent of the voting age Negroes in Macon and Bullock counties are now registered to vote. They are not listed among the 33 counties included in the Congressional Quarterly study.

The following is a complete list of Alabama counties in which Congressional Quarterly figures show less than 15 per cent of voting age Negroes are registered to vote:

County		Populationn over 21	Registered Voters	Per cent
First district				
*Choctaw	White	5,192	5,000	96.3
	Negro	3,982	200	5.0
Clarke	White	7,899	8,100	102.5
	Negro	5,833	422	7.2
Marengo	White	6,104	5,600	91.7
	Negro	7,791	141	1.8
Monroe	White	6,631	7,371	111.2
	Negro	4,894	364	7.4
Wilcox	White	2,624	2,810	107.1
	Negro	6,085	0	0
Second district				
Baldwin	White	22,236	19,276	86.7
	Negro	4,527	350	7.7
Butler	White	8,363	8,402	100.5
	Negro	4,820	371	7.7
Conecuh	White	5,907	4,650	78.7
	Negro	3,635	450	12.4
Crenshaw	White	6,310	4,410	69.9
	Negro	2,207	332	15.0
Lowndes	White	1,900	2,250	118.4
	Negro	5,122	0	0
*Montgomery	White	62,911	33,846	53.8
	Negro	33,056	3,766	11.4
Pike	White	9,126	8,000	87.7
	Negro	5,259	300	5.7
Third district				
Barbour	White	7,338	6,431	87.6
	Negro	5,787	600	10.3
Geneva	White	11,357	7,539	66.4
	Negro	1,606	93	5.8
Henry	White	5,165	4,778	92.5
	Negro	3,168	424	13.3
Houston	White	22,095	13,000	58.8
	Negro	6,899	780	11.3
Russell	White	13,761	7,900	57.4
	Negro	10,531	715	6.8
Fourth district				
Autauga	White	6,353	5,000	78.7
	Negro	3,651	56	1.5
Dallas	White	14,400	8,597	59.7
	Negro	15,115	242	1.6
Elmore	White	12,510	9,942	79.5
	Negro	4,808	278	5.8
Fifth district				
Chambers	White	15,369	9,300	60.5
	Negro	6,497	850	13.1
Marshall	White	26,997	21,055	77.9
	Negro	637	60	9.4
Tallapoosa	White	15,310	14,700	96.0
	Negro	4,999	700	14.0
Sixth district				
Bibb	White	5,807	5,950	102.5
	Negro	1,990	200	10.1
Greene	White	1,649	1,979	120.0
	Negro	5,001	275	5.5
Hale	White	3,594	3,674	102.2
	Negro	5,999	130	2.2
*Perry	White	3,441	3,441	100.0
	Negro	5,202	245	4.7
Shelby	White	14,771	11,700	79.2
	Negro	2,889	400	13.8
Sumter	White	3,061	2,600	84.9
	Negro	6,814	475	6.9
Seventh district				
Pickens	White	7,336	5,581	76.1
	Negro	4,373	528	12.1
Eighth district				
Limestone	White	16,173	10,380	64.2
	Negro	3,579	120	3.4
Madison	White	54,516	22,000	40.4
	Negro	10,666	1,500	14.1
Ninth district				
Jefferson	White	256,319	118,377	46.2
	Negro	116,160	11,191	9.6

*Voting rights suits have been filed in counties marked by asterisks.

Birm News 7/7/63

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

Rec'd 7-26-63

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

July 25, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your letter of July 23, 1963, addressed to The Hon. Martha Bell Conway, State Capitol, has been referred to this office for attention and reply thereto. You ask for our latest compilation of the registered voters in this state, and a breakdown showing the number of white and Negro registered voters.

For your information, the estimated number of registered voters in Virginia as of April, 1963, is 1,032,187, and this figure may be broken down as follows:

White	923,792
Negro	108,313
Indians	82

Trusting this is the information you desire, I remain

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND:a

"Courtesy Makes Driving Safer"

4- Reg. Data - Virginia

10 Richmond News Leader
Wednesday, Nov. 6, 1963

WB ✓
RTD ✓

With the Democrats...

8:52—State Sen. E. E. Willey arrives, at a moment when he's on downswing in see-saw race with Tazewell Carrington. "It's the Negro vote," he tells a reporter. "I can't buy their vote; I don't know what else to do."

8:55 — Sen. Willey, after handshaking tour of bystanders at studio door, goes to the posting board. "Here come the North Side precincts . . . they did a real good job last time . . ."

9:00 — "See what the Crusade is doing to me?" Sen. Willey exclaims as another Negro precinct reports.

Excerpts

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Wed., Nov. 6, 1963

Local Win Is First In Nearly Century

Vote Heavier Than Expected

More than 37,000 city and county voters went to the polls. Registration officials had predicted a total vote of only 29,500.

Traditionally, the November general election attracts fewer voters than the July Democratic primary. But tradition fell yesterday. The election total was at least 5,000 higher than the primary total.

In the city, 23, 913 persons—6,000 more than officials estimated—went to the polls. In the county, the total vote only slightly exceeded pre-election estimates.

Richmond's Negro vote was an important factor in the Smith, Herrink victory. It also helped push Pollard and Bradshaw to the totp of the ticket.

Backed All Republicans

The Crusade for Voters, a powerful Negro organization, backed all Republican candidates and Pollard and Bradshaw.

Crusade officials predicted before the election that 8,000 Negroes would vote. It is too early to tell how many did, but the Negro vote was obviously heavy.

Smith said last night he accepted his victory in "the deepest sense of humility."

Herrink said the Republicans demonstrated that they have "put together a hard-driving group of people who know what they want in politics and how to get it. What they want is competition and two-party system. As of today, we have it."

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Wed., Nov. 6, 1963

Tally Now Official

Negro Vote Held Key In Powhatan Upset

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

POWHATAN, Nov. 8—Solid bloc Negro voting appears to have played a major role in the upset election victory by Roscoe L. Timberlake over Samuel W. Bonifant, incumbent chairman of the Powhatan county board of supervisors.

Powhatan election commissioners have confirmed Timberlake's 12-vote margin over Bonifant, 261-249. The official vote canvass Thursday produced the same tally as unofficial tabulations Tuesday night.

Timberlake has been an outspoken advocate of a strong public school system in Powatan where public school integration occurred this fall for the first time.

There are two voting precincts in Macon district, the seat for which the two men contended.

In Smith's Crossroads precinct, where Timberlake had an official 202-102 margin, about 190 Negroes are reported to have voted. In Ballsville precinct, carried by Bonifant 147-59, there were 30 to 35 Negro votes.

"I think it helped immensely," Mrs. Elizabeth Hobson, Powatan NAACP president, said Friday when asked about the Negro role in Timberlake's victory.

"I think it is the best move we've had since Judge John L. Butzner handed down his decision this year," she added. She referred to a federal court order to desegregate Powhatan's formerly all-white public school.

Timberlake and his wife were leaders in Citizen's for Public Education, a group formed to promote high enrollment in the school. According to latest figures, 439 students—including 60 Negroes—are attending the public school, while about 550 white children are enrolled in Huguenot Academy, a private segregated system.

The Virginian-Pilot

Thursday, November 7, 1963

Victory in 3rd Try

Riddick Promises Work

By PRESTON CHARLES

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

SUFFOLK — Moses A. Riddick, victorious Tuesday in his third general-election try for the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors, promised Wednesday to be a "working supervisor."

The 43-year-old Negro political leader, running as an independent, defeated 65-year-old Democratic incumbent N. T. Poarch in Tuesday's race for supervisor from Cypress Magisterial District.

Riddick defeated Poarch 850 to 579. The result was not known until 2:30 a.m. Wednesday when officials of Pauls Branch Precinct finished tallying a record 1,017 votes.

STUDY OTHERS

"There are going to be some improvements made in the county," Riddick said Wednesday. "I'm going to be a working supervisor and a studious supervisor. First, I think we should look at the things that are being done in other growing counties and try to use some of their ideas in improving our county," he said.

How does the only Negro on a five-man board expect to put over the improvements he campaigned for?

Riddick pointed out that two new supervisors, Joseph A. Savage of Whaleyville and Lester K. Mansfield of Sleepy Hole, will take office along with him Jan. 1. He said Savage and Mansfield got considerable Negro support in their successful Democratic primary races.

"We feel that since we worked in their behalf in the primary, we should get their support in the improvements we seek," Riddick said.

Most of the improvements Riddick advocates are involved with the rapid urbanization of Nansemond County.

"I don't think that we on the just slap our stomachs and make Board of Supervisors should motions and then go away and wait until next month," he said. "Other counties and cities are spilling over into Nansemond, and we ought to realize that and start making plans."

Tuesday's election was a heated affair in Cypress District's three precincts, Eastover, predominantly white; Cypress, mostly white; and Pauls Branch, predominantly Negro.

As usual when there is a heavy vote, Eastover and Cypress results were announced hours before the Pauls Branch court.

BIGGEST EVER

The 1,017-vote total in Pauls Branch is believed to be the largest ever recorded at any Nansemond County precinct. The precinct officials' task was complicated by a mass of write-in votes for the Rev. H. W. Bell, Suffolk-Nansemond NAACP head, for the House of Delegates.

Poarch's defeat came as no surprise to Nansemond County white political leaders. Most of them had been predicting the outcome because of the increase in Negro voter qualification in East Suffolk. It is believed that Negroes who had registered and paid their poll taxes in Cypress district outnumbered whites by about 1,000 to 600.

Moses Riddick

Riddick was defeated by Poarch in elections in 1955 and 1959. Poarch received enough Negro votes from Pauls Branch in those elections to guarantee his victory.

Tuesday's election saw Negroes voting as a block for Riddick.

EARLY RETURNS

Early returns from Eastover and Cypress gave Poarch a substantial early lead. He won by 133 to 3 in Eastover, and by 262 to 32 in Cypress, and went into Pauls Branch with a 360-vote majority.

Riddick is only the second Negro to be elected to the Board of Supervisors in modern times. In 1947 Negro insurance man William A. Lawrence defeated Democratic nominee Frank E. Harrell, 292 to 290. Lawrence's victory came chiefly because of white voter apathy, and because of the work of the Independent Voters League, which Riddick had just organized.

The Independent Voters League was a big factor in Riddick's victory Tuesday. The organization worked chiefly on registering Negro voters, and getting them to pay their poll taxes.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Write-In Startles Politicos

SUFFOLK — "Who's H. W. Bell?" Suffolk-Nansemond County white residents asked Tuesday night when writein votes under that name began to appear in balloting for the House of Delegates.

Negro voters knew the answer. The recipient of these ballots is the Rev. H. W. Bell, middle-aged pastor of Macedonia AME Church at 127 Pine St., Suffolk. He has become better known recently, though, as president of the Suffolk-Nansemond chapter of the NAACP.

When the votes for the Rev. Mr. Bell first began trickling in, no one took the matter seriously. But later in the evening they began piling up. And when it was all over, a Virginian-Pilot count indicated a total of about 700 votes for the minister in Suffolk, Nansemond and Isle of Wight.

★ ★ ★

Haywood Riddick (brother of Moses Riddick, successful candidate for Nansemond Board of Supervisors) said the Bell campaign was largely a protest against Gov. Albertis S. Harrison's recently announced plan to retain the poll tax in state elections.

Haywood Riddick said the votes were for the Rev. Mr. Bell and against Del. Shirley T. Holland of Windsor, who represents the floater district of Suffolk-Nansemond-Isle of Wight in the lower house of the General Assembly.

He said the Negro group has nothing against Del. J. Lewis Rawls Jr. of Suffolk, who represents Suffolk-Nansemond.

There was confusion over the writeins among election officials, and some said they could not tell whether the Rev. Mr. Bell's votes were for the floater House seat or the Suffolk-Nansemond seat.

That question was irrelevant, since both Holland and Rawls had plenty of votes to spare. But the relative success of the campaign shook up many politicians hereabouts and now has them pondering what they are in for, with a large and active Negro bloc vote that can mount such an impressive writein drive without letting the word get out.

The Rev. Mr. Bell is widely known among Negroes here. He is active in the Independent Voters League, Riddick's political organization, as well as the NAACP. He speaks frequently at IVL meetings, in a folksy style of oratory that draws laughter and cheers, especially when he lays into the "Uncle Toms."

Haywood Riddick said the campaign was aimed at Holland because he is known to be a conservative and a follower of the Byrd organization.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*
VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN E. LEARD, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, November 21, 1963

Richmond's Negro Vote

Announcement by B. A. CEPHAS JR., respected Negro businessman, of his candidacy for City Council serves to call attention to the newly demonstrated influence of the Negro voting bloc in Richmond.

MR. CEPHAS announced as an independent, but expressed the hope that he would receive the support "of all groups and individuals."

An interesting question here is whether Richmond Forward, the newly-formed civic organization, will back MR. CEPHAS. It has not made known any slate of candidates, but is expected to announce one in ample time for next June's councilmanic election.

A campaign for poll tax payment by an additional 6,000 Negro voters here was made known over the past week end.

Already there are some 14,000 Negroes here who have paid their poll taxes and are otherwise qualified for the franchise, or nearly one-third of the white total. About 6,000 of them are estimated to have gone to the polls on November 5 when members of the General Assembly were chosen. This is a greater percentage than went to the polls on that date from the white group.

The colored vote had a direct bearing on the selection of the Richmond Assemblymen, just as several members of City Council hold their seats today because they got that vote.

Consider, for example, the fact that LOUIS S. HERRINK JR. and S. STROTHER SMITH JR., the first Republicans elected to the Virginia legislature from Richmond since Reconstruction, received strong Negro backing. By contrast, WILLIAM SHANNON and DELMAR BROWN, Democratic candidates who were running for the same seats, did not get the Negro vote. They lost.

Or take the vote polled by the three candidates for the Virginia Senate from Richmond. SEN. FITZGERALD BEMISS, who polled 15,962 ballots, was supported by most of the colored voters. SEN. E. E. WILLEY, who was by-passed by most of the colored vote — which backed not only BEMISS but also the Republican candidate, TAZEWELL CARRINGTON III— got a total of 12,714. MR. CARRINGTON, a newcomer in politics, came within 1,088 of WILLEY'S figure, with the aid of the colored bloc.

In this month's election, the Negro vote was thrown to all the local Republican candidates and to some of the Democratic candidates.

In recent presidential elections there has been no fixed pattern. In 1956, for example, EISENHOWER got most of Richmond's Negro vote against STEVENSON, but in 1960 KENNEDY got the bulk of it against NIXON.

However, in the past few Congressional elections, the colored vote has gone heavily Republican. In 1958, for instance, RICHARD RYDER got just about the same percentage of the colored vote against REP. J. VAUGHAN GARY that Republican LOUIS WILLIAMS polled against him last year. Ditto for Republican candidate ROY E. CABELL JR. in 1956.

It can readily be seen, then, that the Negro vote is being switched from party to party in accordance with what are considered to be the best interests of Negro voters and Negro citizens. Since the population of Richmond was 42 per cent colored in 1960, and the percentage is rising steadily, the importance of this group in future political campaigns requires no emphasis from us.

file Virginia Voter Registration Data

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1963.

VIRGINIA SETS UP POLL-TAX CHANGE

Governor Offers Residency Qualification Plan

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Nov. 12 — Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr., recommended today a substitute for the poll tax as a qualification for voting in Federal elections.

The heart of his plan is a provision for filing a certificate of Virginia residency to prove voting qualification.

His proposal will be considered by the General Assembly when it convenes in a special session next Tuesday.

The Governor called the extra session in expectation of ratification early next year of the 24th Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The amendment would outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for members of Congress, the President and Vice President.

Virginia, among five states with a poll tax, would retain it as a condition for voting in state and local elections under the Governor's plan.

Its adoption by the administration-oriented Assembly apparently will be little more than a formality.

Foes Plan Challenge

Under the proposal, a person who chooses not to pay the tax and wants to vote in a Federal election must file with his local treasurer a form attesting his residence in the state.

The form must have a notary's seal or the signature of an adult witness. It would have to be filed six months before a Federal election.

To be assured of voting in speical Federal elections, the citizen would have to file a certificate annually. Under normal circumstances, the certificate could be filed every two years.

For the voter who continues to pay the tax, adoption of the legislation would be academic. If he qualifies by a tax payment to vote in local elections, he would qualify automatically for Federal elections.

Opponents of the Governor's plan say it involves a double standard and is unconstitutional. They will challenge it on those grounds if it is enacted.

The chairman of two legislative committees that met today for the formal presentation of the plan endorsed it.

They were State Senator Garland Gray and Delegate John W. Cooke of the Senate and House Committees on Privileges and Elections.

Poll Tax Revised by Virginia; Governor's Substitute Adopted

RICHMOND, Nov. 20 — Virginia's General Assembly passed a law today providing a poll-tax substitute in Federal elections.

The law permits the filing of a certificate of residency in place of the poll tax in Federal elections. It was adopted at the end of a two-day special session.

Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. called the session in expectation that the proposed 24th Amendment to the United States Constitution would be approved next year.

The amendment would prohibit the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in elections for President, Vice President and members of Congress. Thirty-six states have ratified it. Two more are required.

Virginia's Constitution calls for an annual payment of $1.50 as the poll tax. Today's action will have no effect on the poll-tax requirement for voting in state and local elections.

Conservatives in Control

The conservative Democratic forces in control of the legislature had no trouble in passing the Governor's bill for a substitute. The House vote was 78 to 21; the Senate's 28 to 12.

However, 29 speakers attacked the bill at a public hearing before the Senate action. They represented Negro, church, civic and women's organizations, as well as both parties.

The speakers demanded outright repeal of the poll tax at all state election levels. Svee referred to Virginia's record of being 46th among the states in percentage of participation in the last Presidential election.

They contended that the Governor's proposal would further restrict voting in Virginia, one of five poll-tax states.

The new law permits anyone wishing to vote in Federal elections, without paying the poll tax, to file a certificate of residency properly witnessed or notarized. The certificate is due six months before a general election, the same deadline imposed for poll-tax payers.

Several opponents have said they will challenge the act in court. They have charged that it imposes double standards for voting, one system for Federal elections and another for state and local elections.

Legislators who want the poll tax repealed plan to continue their efforts when the Assembly meets in regular session next January.

NYT 11-21-63

file Va. V-R Data

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

DEC 21 1963

December 19, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 5 in which you requested a list of the twenty-three counties which have general registrars and the dates of the elections in 1964.

You are advised that the following counties in Virginia have general registrars: Albemarle, Amelia, Arlington, Buckingham, Culpeper, Essex, Dinwiddie, Fairfax, Greensville, Henrico, Isle of Wight, Lee, Louisa, Nansemond, Powhatan, Prince Edward, Prince George, Roanoke, Russell, Southampton, Sussex, Surry and Warren.

You will find enclosed a chart showing the dates of the regular elections to be held in Virginia in 1964 and a copy of the Supplement containing the changes made in the Election Laws at the recent special session of the General Assembly.

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND/c
Enclosures

"Courtesy Makes Driving Safer"

December 5, 1963

The Honorable Levin Nock Davis
Secretary
State Board of Elections
Room 30
State Capitol
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Sir:

Thank you so much for your letter of December 3 in which you clarified for us the number of cities and counties in Virginia having general registrars.

I wonder if we may impose further on your cooperation by asking that you send us a list of the twenty-three counties which have general registrars.

We would also appreciate it if you could list for us those cities, towns, and counties, if any, which will be nominating and electing officers during 1964, along with the dates of the primaries and general elections for such officers.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

BW
WBV
RTB
JD
JS

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

May 8, 1964

MAY 11 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

In compliance with request contained in your letter of May 6, you will find enclosed a compilation of the number of registered voters in the state of Virginia. This is the latest list we have available for distribution.

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND/c
Enclosure

Leon Nook Davis
Sec., State Board of Elections

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN VIRGINIA AS OF APRIL, 1963

COUNTIES AND CITIES	WHITE	COLORED	INDIANS		
Counties					
Accomack	5,436	815			
Albemarle	4,790	735			
Alleghany	2,430	195			
Amelia	2,024	693			
Amherst	6,079	752			
Appomattox	2,710	205			
Arlington	48,729	1,184			
Augusta	7,971	208			
Bath	1,497	73			
Bedford	6,745	895			
Bland	1,961	22			
Botetourt	4,430	135			
Brunswick	3,568	815			
Buchanan	19,630	NONE			
Buckingham	1,500	360			
Campbell	5,455	807			
Caroline	1,885	785			
Carroll	6,845	11			
Charles City	462	759	82		
Charlotte	4,241	524			
Chesterfield	19,305	2,060			
Clarke	2,775	229			
Craig	1,075	None			
Culpeper	4,626	476			
Cumberland	1,475	425			
Dickenson	7,527	15			
Dinwiddie	3,727	1,057			
Essex	1,288	381			
Fairfax	63,020	1,126			
Fauquier	4,340	650			
Floyd	4,567	108			
Fluvanna	1,260	186			
Franklin	4,409	370			
Frederick	5,975	50			
Giles	5,780	55			
Gloucester	3,226	707			
Goochland	1,632	441			
Grayson	6,610	105			
Greene	1,730	82			
Greensville	2,952	870			
Halifax	5,270	1,005			
Hanover	6,717	811			
Henrico	35,415	709			
Henry	6,700	495			
Highland	1,008	8			
Isle of Wight	3,687	1,163			

James City		
King George	1,610	340
King and Queen	1,380	263
King William	855	305
Lancaster	1,050	400
Lee	2,076	628
Loudoun	10,935	56
Louisa	7,984	402
Lunenburg	2,142	445
Madison	2,654	374
Mathews	2,209	233
Mecklenburg	1,380	176
Middlesex	3,819	241
Montgomery	525	200
Nansemond	6,635	324
Nelson	4,060	2,075
New Kent	3,600	461
~~[illegible]~~ X	958	445
Northampton		
Northumberland	2,315	285
Nottoway	3,109	830
Orange	2,800	840
Page	2,695	265
Patrick	6,465	80
Pittsylvania	4,255	119
Powhatan	8,278	729
Prince Edward	1,469	535
Prince George	2,875	735
~~[illegible]~~	2,092	478
Prince William		
Pulaski	5,479	519
Rappahannock	7,750	900
Richmond	1,229	144
Roanoke	1,320	170
Rockbridge	21,039	637
Rockingham	4,820	485
Russell	7,861	86
Scott	9,043	72
Shenandoah	8,897	84
Smyth	5,748	81
Southampton	8,052	79
Spotsylvania	4,036	695
Stafford	4,250	395
Surry	3,350	458
Sussex	1,045	480
Tazewell	2,310	970
Warren	12,156	458
Washington	3,995	237
Westmoreland	7,794	166
Wise	3,616	403
Wythe	7,435	160
York	11,550	330
	4,294	1,110
Total	572,398	44,940

Cities													
Alexandria	[illegible],420	1,477											
Bristol	3,194	72											
Buena Vista	1,047	26											
Charlottesville	7,657	1,318											
Chesapeake	15,168	2,275											
Clifton Forge	2,550	215											
Colonial Heights	2,748	None											
Covington	2,900	485											
Danville	11,115	2,022											
Fairfax	3,515	42											
Falls Church	3,501	42											
Franklin	1,518	328											
Fredericksburg	4,033	613											
Galax	1,495	15											
Hampton	15,561	3,620											
Harrisonburg	3,400	185											
Hopewell	3,700	70											
Lynchburg	13,977	2,057											
Martinsville	6,582	796											
Newport News	20,391	5,955											
Norfolk	53,828	10,085											
Norton	760	60											
Petersburg	5,939	2,672											
Portsmouth	17,440	5,757											
Radford	4,304	237											
Richmond	52,240	17,335											
Roanoke	31,979	2,888											
South Boston	1,500	260											
[illegible]													
Staunton	5,663	408											
Suffolk	2,555	478											
Virginia Beach	17,181	1,184											
Waynesboro	4,849	177											
Williamsburg	910	130											
Winchester	3,774	91											
Total	351,394	63,373											
Aggregate	925,792	108,313			82								
					82	GRAND TOTAL							
						1,032,187							

OCT 26 1964

JMZ

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

October 21, 1964

Mr. Levin Nock Davis, Secretary
State Board of Electors
Room 30
State Capitol
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Davis:

Sometime ago I wrote and asked you for the latest list of registered voters in Virginia as listed by county and by race. I have received no reply. Will there be a list including all people eligible for the November general election available in the near future? If there is, I would like a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Bond Moore

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

This completed report will not be available until late in November.

Board of Elections

OCT 1964
RECEIVED
State Board of Elections

JBM
WAB

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

DEC 30 1964

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 23219

December 28, 1964

Mrs. Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Moore:

In compliance with your request of September 24, we are enclosing a tabulation which shows the registered voters in the counties and cities of Virginia as of October of this year.

I am very sorry that we could not comply with your request sooner but we have just finished receiving the information from the local authorities.

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS

Levin Nock Davis

Levin Nock Davis, Secretary

LND/c
Enclosure

Va. - Reg. Statistics

"Courtesy Makes Driving Safer"

* April Figures

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN VIRGINIA
AS OF OCTOBER, 1964

COUNTIES AND CITIES	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL
Counties			
Accomack	5698	979	6677
Albemarle	6485	1215	7700
Alleghany	4650	800	5450
Amelia	2447	888	3335
Amherst	6702	1275	7977
Appomattox	4041	505	4546
Arlington	66, 054	2525	68,579
Augusta	10, 163	339	10, 502
Bath	1632	116	1748
Bedford	7788	1343	9131
Bland	1947	7	1954
Botetourt	4596	145	4741
Brunswick	3671	914	4585
Buchanan	11, 221	None	11, 221
Buckingham	1700	825	2525
Campbell	6103	1132	7235
Caroline	2602	1601	4203
Carroll	6627	11	6638
Charles City	490 Indians 77	943	1510
Charlotte	4514	808	5322
Chesterfield	29, 200	1794	30, 994
Clarke	3137	348	3485
Craig	1250	None	1250
Culpeper	5054	807	5861
Cumberland	2000	759	2759
Dickenson	7608	27	7635
Dinwiddie	3241	1284	4525
Essex	1640	667	2307
Fairfax	87, 261	1904	89, 165
Fauquier	6734	1492	8226
Floyd	4483	155	4638
Fluvanna	1366	222	1588
Franklin	5249	452	5701
* Frederick	5975	50	6025
Giles	6020	84	6104
Gloucester	3873	1172	5045
Goochland	1627	514	2141
Grayson	6778	173	6951
Greene	1726	125	1851
Greensville	3467	1890	5357
Halifax	6155	1700	7855
Hanover	8784	1639	10, 423
Henrico	47, 112	1527	48, 639
Henry	9829	1574	11, 403
Highland	1497	10	1507
Isle of Wight	4241	1893	6134

James City	2688	960	3648
King George	1841	513	2354
King and Queen	1156	780	1936
King William	1870	683	2553
Lancaster	3078	1229	4307
Lee	11,931	59	11,990
Loudoun	9423	979	10,402
Louisa	2844	1279	4123
Lunenburg	2821	660	3481
* Madison	2135	247	2382
Mathews	2218	326	2544
Mecklenburg	4670	620	5290
Middlesex	1684	538	2222
Montgomery	9610	- - -	9610
Nansemond	4104	2792	6896
Nelson	4327	704	5031
New Kent	1185	501	1686
~~Norfolk~~			
Northampton	2325	810	3135
Northumberland	3376	1021	4397
Nottoway	4020	1320	5340
Orange	3025	561	3586
Page	7015	85	7100
Patrick	4980	229	5209
* Pittsylvania	8340	1476	9816
Powhatan	1820	867	2687
Prince Edward	3085	1112	4197
Prince George	3343	986	4239
~~Princess Anne~~			
Prince William	9617	438	10,055
* Pulaski	6470	366	6836
Rappahannock	1379	213	1592
Richmond	1644	353	1997
Roanoke	27,474	977	28,451
Rockbridge	6830	950	7780
Rockingham	8630	70	8700
Russell	9535	76	9611
Scott	10,557	84	10,641
Shenandoah	9436	115	9551
Smyth	8578	70	8648
Southampton	4575	2045	6620
Spotsylvania	4465	632	5097
Stafford	3685	712	4397
Surry	1621	1140	2761
Sussex	2536	1354	3890
Tazewell	13,716	768	14,484
Warren	5235	250	5485
Washington	9188	249	9437
Westmoreland	3320	441	3761
Wise	11,232	225	11,457
Wythe	10,030	283	10,313
York	6552	1623	8175
Total	709,657	77 73,404	783,138

Cities	W	N	T	
Alexandria	32, 918	2548	35, 466	
Bristol	4528	192	4720	
Buena Vista	1018	23	1041	
Charlottesville	11, 462	2181	13, 643	
Chesapeake	21, 514	3672	25, 186	
Clifton Forge	2225	435	2660	
Colonial Heights	4337	None	4337	
* Covington	2860	1005	3865	
Danville	13, 879	3246	17, 125	
Fairfax	5822	41	5863	
Falls Church	4386	69	4455	
Franklin	1752	899	2651	
Fredericksburg	3713	621	4334	
Galax	1500	20	1520	
Hampton	21, 433	5789	27, 222	
Harrisonburg	3875	190	4065	
Hopewell	5600	750	6350	
Lynchburg	16, 708	3446	20, 154	
Martinsville	6172	1233	7405	
Newport News	25, 489	8307	33, 796	
Norfolk	58, 893	15, 801	74, 694	
Norton	1220	200	1420	
Petersburg	6353	3919	10, 272	
Portsmouth	17, 986	6725	24, 711	
Radford	4565	296	4861	
* Richmond	58,603	29,388	87,991	
Roanoke	32, 138	3037	35, 175	
~~XXXXXXXX~~ So. Boston	1975	540	2515	
Staunton	7063	645	7708	
Suffolk	2779	817	3596	
Virginia Beach	26, 163	2961	29, 124	
Waynesboro	5963	335	6298	
Williamsburg	1632	384	2016	
Winchester	5135	174	5309	
Total	363, 056	70, 501	433, 557	
Aggregate	1, 072, 713	77 143, 905	1, 216, 695	Less the City of Richmond
	1, 131, 316	173, 293	1, 304, 609	Includes Richmond

CERTIFICATE OF RESIDENCE

I do certify that I am now and have been a resident of Virginia since the date of my registration to vote under the laws of Virginia, that I am now a resident of _____

_____,
(city or county)

residing at _____
(street and number, or

_____,
place or residence therein)

and that it is my intention not to remove from the city or county stated herein prior to the next general election.

_____
(Signature of resident)

Witnessed:

_____

OR

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____ 19____.

_____
Notary Public

YOU DON'T HAVE TO PAY Poll Taxes TO REGISTER AND VOTE In Federal Elections In 1964

QUALIFY TODAY It's Easy

(See Page 2)

Va. Interest

President Kennedy, Medgar Evers and others gave their lives -

WILL YOU GIVE A VOTE FOR YOUR FREEDOM?

YOU CAN VOTE IN THE 1964 FEDERAL ELECTIONS WITHOUT PAYING A POLL TAX

THERE ARE TWO WAYS THIS CAN BE DONE:

I

IF YOU HAVE NEVER REGISTERED,

SIMPLY GO TO YOUR REGISTRAR

AND REGISTER.

IT'S EASY TO REGISTER

(For detailed instructions see page 4)

II

If you are registered and have not paid your poll taxes for (1961-1962-1963) you can qualify and vote in this year's (1964) Federal Elections by:

SIGNING A CERTIFICATE OF RESIDENCE

Certificate of Residence Forms may be secured from your local city / county treasurers office or from your local NAACP office.

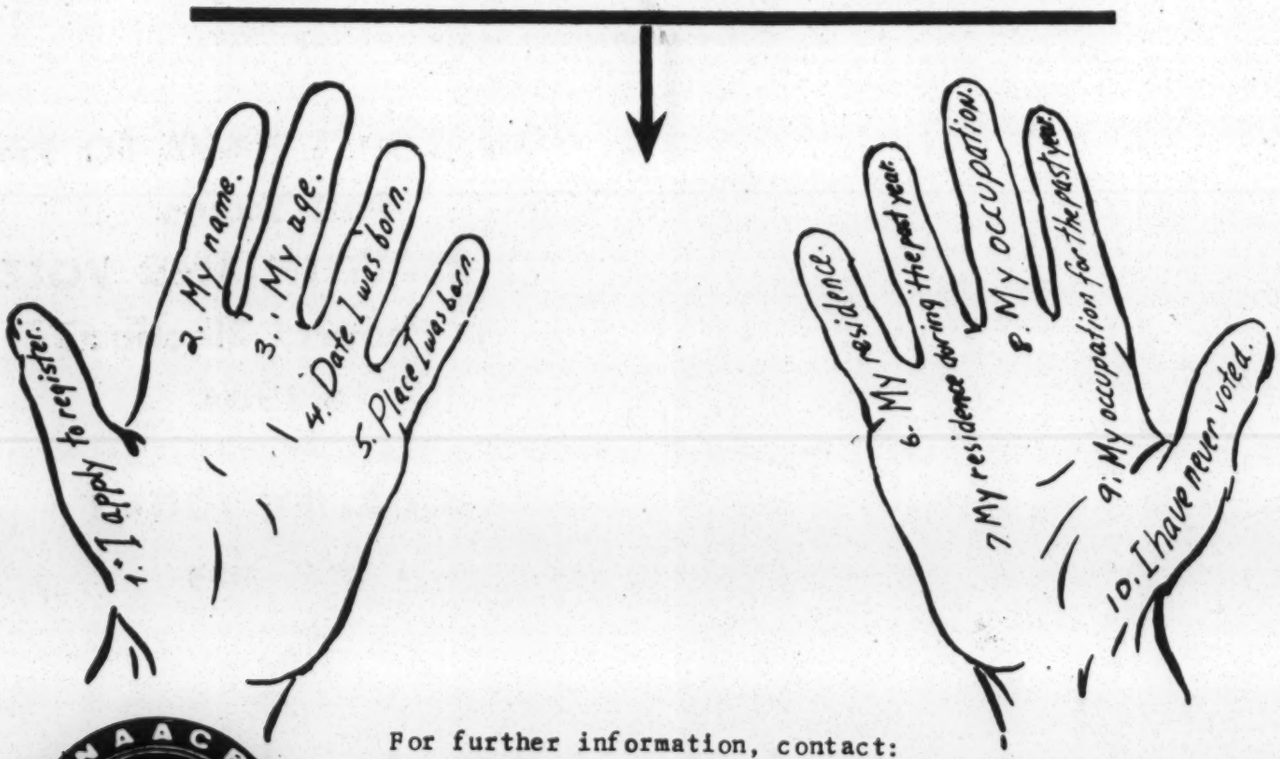
(See sample of certificate of residence on page 5)

Deadline May 2, 1964

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR REGISTRATION AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 20 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA ARE THUSLY NUMBERED:

(1) "...he make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating therein his (2) name (3) age (4) date and (5) place of birth, (6-9) residence and occupation at the time and for one year next preceeding, and (10) whether he has previously voted, and if so the state, county and precinct in which he voted last;...."

TO REGISTER
Is As Easy As Counting On Your Fingers



For further information, contact:

THE VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE-NAACP
VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
301 East Clay Street, Richmond, Va. 23219
Phone: 644-5678 or 648-2435

COMMONWEALTH *of* VIRGINIA

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY HIGHWAY SYSTEMS

January 1, 1961

Department of Highways
Richmond, Virginia

District Engineer, Petersburg, Va.
Resident Engineer, P. O. Box 8887, Richmond, Va.

Price 10 Cents

VIRGINIA ELECTION LAWS

* * * *

1963 ADDITIONAL SUPPLEMENT
(Covering 1963 Extra Session of the General Assembly)

NOTE: Chapter 1 (H 1) becomes effective February 19, 1964—
Chapter 2 (H 2) does not become effective until the
24th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution is ratified.

VA. Statement

Virginia - Washington Post quoting LEVIN P.C.2
NOCK DAVIS, Sec. Electoral Board - Richmond

Cong Dist	W.	N.	Indian	Total	unspecified
1st	78228	18271	71	96570	
2nd	101934	20026		122020	
3rd	115580	20,332		135912	
4th	65808	16736		82544	
5th	75145	6020		81165	
6th	105750	8909		114659	
7th	80948	3854		84,802	
8th	75911	11114		88,141	1116
9th	99603	1503		101,106	
10th	140402	3922		144324	

VIRGINIA NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

1960

by

Tinsley L. Spraggins
Professor of History
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Pg. 1
homogeneity line 30

p. 2
Protest line 34

p. 2
1969 line 56

p. 3
montgomery
line 11

p. 3
which
line 21

p. 3
line 32

p. 3
strike
line 58

~~Young~~

Hal Daniel

Mrs Ann Perkins
Nancy Holt
Wms
Hofholtzer

Dan Bowers

Norfolk
Portsmouth
Princess Anne
Va. Beach
Norfolk County
South Norfolk.

Williamsburg

Dellitt

James City
York

Hampton
Newport News.

Walker & Clemen

NEGRO VOTING AGE POPULATION, NUMBER REGISTERED, AND NUMBER NOT REGISTERED, TEN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF VIRGINIA AND SUBDIVISIONS, 1960

Area	Voting Age Population	Number Registrered	Number Not Registered
First Congressional District	65,319	15,271	50,048
Accomack	6,142	797	5,345
Charles City	2,126	749	1,377
Essex	1,665	280	1,385
Gloucester	1,882	676	1,206
Hampton (a)	10,825	2,941	7,884
James City	2,056	307	1,749
King and Queen	1,617	445	1,172
Mathews	1,062	525	537
Middlesex	1,363	266	1,097
New Kent	1,229	432	797
Newport News	20,974	5,094	15,880
Northampton	4,786	345	4,441
Princess Anne	6,239	1,437	4,802
Virginia Beach	342	125	217
Williamsburg	583	103	480
York	2,428	749	1,679
Second Congressional District	75,859	18,906	56,953
Norfolk City	45,376	11,486	33,890
Norfolk County	6,310	1,385	4,925
Portsmouth	21,055	5,290	15,765
South Norfolk	3,118	745	2,373
Third Congressional District	61,995	17,917	40,078
Chesterfield	4,862	1,320	3,542
Colonial Heights	17	0	17
Henrico	3,397	956	2,441
Richmond	53,719	15,641	38,078

Walker
Gleman
Brown
Young
Aubry Stone

Area	Voting Age Population	Number Registered	Number Not Registered
Fourth Congressional District	84,867	15,749	69,118
Amelia	1,924	638	1,286
Appomattox	1,142	165	977
Brunswick	4,734	765	3,969
Buckingham	2,208	465	1,743
Cumberland	1,647	360	1,287
Dinwiddie	8,587	879	7,708
Greensville	3,885	949	2,936
Hopewell	1,549	210	1,339
Isle of Wight	4,317	1,063	3,254
Lunenburg	2,534	460	2,074
Mecklenburg	6,624	529	6,095
Nansemond	9,806	1,737	8,069
Nottoway	3,458	515	2,943
Petersburg	9,821	2,316	7,505
Powhatan	1,563	505	1,058
Prince Edward	2,896	1,100	1,796
Prince George	2,420	478	1,942
Southampton	7,435	875	6,560
Suffolk	2,769	600	2,169
Surry	1,842	450	1,392
Sussex	3,706	690	3,016
Fifth Congressional District	35,704	5,056	30,648
Carroll	41	11	30
Charlotte	2,500	294	2,206
Danville (a)	6,388	1,781	4,607
Franklin	1,728	511	1,217
Galax (a)	152	15	137
Grayson	329	81	248
Halifax	6,769	477	6,292
South Boston (a)	969	200	769
Henry	4,113	401	3,712
Martinsville (a)	2,972	371	2,601
Patrick	616	98	518
Pittsylvania	8,604	531	8,073
Wythe	523	285	238

McCleary

Newman

Martin

Area	Voting Age Population	Number Registered	Number Not Registered
Sixth Congressional District	28,628	8,152	17,185
Alleghany	256	160	96
Bedford	3,044	858	2,186
Botetourt	778	167	611
Campbell	3,291	(b)	--
Clifton Forge	600	235	365
Covington	751	465	286
Craig	3	0	3
Floyd	308	105	203
Lynchburg	6,574	2,496	4,078
Montgomery	960	300	660
Radford	333	78	255
Roanoke	9,519	2,698	6,821
Roanoke County	2,211	590	1,621
Seventh Congressional District	13,918	3,822	9,864
Amherst	2,693	593	2,100
Augusta	864	207	657
Bath	340	67	273
Buena Vista	156	27	129
Clarke	786	194	592
Frederick	232	(b)	--
Highland	16	10	6
Harrisonburg	436	189	247
Madison	898	135	763
Nelson	1,813	466	1,347
Page	271	110	161
Rappahannock	540	330	210
Rockbridge	1,127	480	647
Rockingham	427	78	349
Shenadoah	188	90	98
Staunton	1,288	377	911
Warren	587	210	377
Waynesboro	548	168	380
Winchester	708	91	617

Brooke
Mr Mathias

Daniel
&
Scott

Area	Voting Age Population	Number Registered	Number Not Registered
Eighth Congressional District	44,406	10,699	31,729
Albemarle	2,576	683	1,893
Caroline	3,210	1,055	2,155
Charlottesville	3,369	1,334	2,035
Culpeper	2,068	421	1,647
Fauquier	3,093	500	2,593
Fluvanna	1,378	127	1,251
Fredericksburg	1,471	570	901
Goochland	2,312	752	1,560
Greene	328	87	241
Hanover	3,302	866	2,436
King George	1,009	280	729
King William	1,864	365	1,499
Lancaster	1,978	(b)	--
Loudoun	2,239	418	1,821
Louisa	2,482	380	2,102
Northumberland	2,123	722	1,401
Orange	1,429	340	1,089
Prince William	2,217	406	1,811
Richmond County	1,132	270	862
Spitsylvania	1,503	400	1,103
Stafford	971	345	626
Westmoreland	2,352	378	1,974
Ninth Congressional District	5,559	1,678	3,881
Bland	146	8	138
Bristol	672	120	552
Buchanan	8	0	8
Dickenson	64	35	29
Giles	232	46	186
Lee	100	52	48
Norton	188	50	138
Pulaski	1,030	380	650
Russell	297	59	238
Scott	193	0	193
Smyth	327	93	234
Tazewell	1,071	492	579
Washington	546	178	368
Wise	685	165	520

June Fox
Hammond

Mrs Agnes Petty
Rev Looney

Area	Voting Age Population	Number Registered	Number Not Registered
Tenth Congressional District	20,463	3,249	17,214
Alexandria	6,025	1,018	5,007
Arlington	5,214	1,195	4,019
Fairfax	9,110	999	8,111
Falls Church	114	37	77

(a) Underscored areas are cities within the District.

(b) Race not designated.

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960; State Board of Elections, 1961.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
ROOM 30, STATE CAPITOL
RICHMOND 19

SCHEDULE OF ELECTIONS 1964

ELECTION	DATE	HOURS POLLS OPEN	LAST DAY FOR PAYMENT OF POLL TAX	LAST DAY TO REGISTER
Primary for June Election of Town and City Officers	Sec. 24-349 Code - First Tuesday in April - April 7, 1964	Sec. 24-182 Code- 6:00 A. M. to 7:00 P. M. See Notes 1 and 2	Must be qualified to vote in June elections Same deadline, Dec. 9, 1963	Books closed March 8 (Sunday) Deadline March 7, 1964
General Election for City and Town Officers	Sec. 24-136 Code- Second Tuesday in June-June 9, 1964	Sec. 24-182 Code-6:00 A. M. to 7:00 P. M. See Notes 1 and 3	Sec. 21 of Constitution - Six months prior to election - Dec. 9, 1963	Books closed May 10 (Sunday) Deadline May 9, 1964
Statewide Primary	Sec. 24-349 Code-Tuesday after second Monday in July July 14, 1964	Sec. 24-182 Code-6:00 A. M. to 7:00 P. M. See Notes 1 and 3	Must be qualified to vote in November election-Same deadline May 2, 1964	Books closed June 14 (Sunday) Deadline June 13, 1964
Statewide Election (General)	Sec. 24-136 Code-Tuesday after first Monday in November, Nov. 3, 1964	Sec. 24-182 Code-6:00 A. M. to 7:00 P. M. See Notes 1 and 2	Sec. 21 of Constitution Six months prior to election - May 3, (Sunday) Deadline May 2, 1964	Books closed Oct. 4 (Sunday) Deadline Oct. 3, 1964

SECOND (Run-off) PRIMARIES - Sec. 24-349 of Code - Any second primary which may be ordered would be held on the fifth Tuesday following first primary. Statewide: August 18, 1964.

Note 1 - All persons in line at polls when polls close are entitled to vote. Sec. 24-182 Code.

Note 2 - Eastern Standard Time.

Note 3 - Daylight Saving Time.

"Courtesy Makes Driving Safer"

State Virginia--8th Cong. Dist.

1960 PRES. ELEC.

County	VAP	WVAP	NVAP	%N	Reg.	WReg	NReg	% VAP Reg	UN VAP [redacted]	% W VAP Reg	% N VAP Reg	[redacted] KENNEDY	NIXON
Charlottsv'le	19273	15904	3369	17.5	11506	10100	1406	59.7	1963	63.5	41.7	2894	3651
Fred'sburg	8188	6717	1471	18.0	4632	4059	573	56.6	898	60.4	38.9	1324	1365
Albemarle	18246	15670	2576	14.1	5655	4875	780	31.0	1796	31.1	30.3	2101	3134
Caroline	7003	3793	3210	45.8	2710	1917	793	38.7	2417	50.5	24.7	1483	858
Fauguier	13819	10726	3093	22.4	4840	4340	500	35.0	2593	40.5	16.2	1958	2123
Fluvanna	4168	2790	1378	33.1	1446	1260	186	34.7	1192	45.2	13.5	614	763
Goochland	5433	3121	2312	42.5	2838	2062	776	52.2	1536	66.1	33.6	862	851
Greene	2659	2331	328	12.3	1320	1228	92	49.6	236	52.7	28.0	314	573
Westmoreland	6188	3836	2352	38.0	4040	3633	407	65.3	1945	94.7	17.3	1034	1176
Lancaster	5591	3613	1978	35.4	3355	2567	788	60.0	1190	71.0	39.8	897	1340
Richmond	3845	2713	1132	29.4	2055	1800	255	53.4	877	66.3	22.5	425	701
Northumberl'd	6088	3965	2123	34.9	3936	3101	835	64.6	1788	78.2	39.3	858	1340
Hanover	15734	12432	3302	21.0	6762	5951	811	43.0	2491	47.9	24.6	2023	3020
King George	4209	3200	1009	24.0	1624	1361	263	38.6	746	42.5	26.1	542	759
Loudoun	14253	12014	2239	15.7	8364	7963	401	58.9	1838	66.3	17.9	2391	2526
Louisa	7399	4917	2482	33.5	2567	2135	432	34.7	2050	28.8	17.4	1244	1170
Orange	7698	6269	1429	18.6	2960	2695	265	38.4	1164	43.0	18.5	1108	1413
Prince Wm.	26694	24477	2217	8.3	5998	5479	519	22.5	1698	22.4	23.4	2988	2624
Spotsylvania	7765	6262	1503	19.3	4680	4250	430	60.3	1073	67.9	28.6	1482	1288
Culpeper	9032	6964	2068	22.9	5070	4582	488	56.1	1580	65.8	23.6	1331	1630
King William	4355	2491	1864	42.8	1480	1135	345	34.0	1519	45.6	18.5	745	793
Stafford	9565	8594	971	10.1	3760	3320	440	39.3	531	38.6	45.3	1493	1447
	207,205	162,779	44,406	21.4	91,598	79,813	11785	44.2	32621	49.0	26.5	30111	34545

KENNEDY IN DIST. 46.4% of Vote Cast

" " STATE 47.3% " " "

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
Office of Public Information

MAP PRICE LIST

Effective June, 1961, with issue of county maps to be used
During 1961 and 1962

TYPE MAP	DESCRIPTION OF MAP		PRICE
AREA MAPS	The Only Area Maps Issued are of the eight highway districts, showing all primary and some secondary roads.		
	Blueline prints: 1"=8 Mi., approx. 15"x24"	ea.	$ .25
	1"=4 Mi., approx. 30"x48"	ea.	.50
CITY MAPS	Not Issued by this Department		
COUNTY MAPS	Showing all Primary and Secondary Roads in the 96 counties in the Secondary System, and primary and county roads in Arlington and Henrico Cos. which are not in the Secondary System. All Include any supplements used. All Counties Individual Except the following which are combined two per sheet at the price of one map: Clarke-Warren; King George-Stafford; Charles City-New Kent; James City-York; King and Queen-King William		
	1) Small Folded Map, approx. size 18"x22". All counties scale ½"=1 Mi. except Mathews 1"= 1 Mi., and Arlington 3½"= 1 Mi.	ea.	.10
	2) Set of Above Small Folded Maps of the 98 counties (93 maps)	set	9.30
	~~3) Bound Book of Above Small Maps, flat, of the 98 Cos., alphabetical~~ SOLD OUT	bk.	~~10.00~~
	4) Enlarged Blueline Print of County Maps, approx. size 36"x48", all counties scale 1"=1 Mi. except Mathews 2"=1 Mi., and Arlington 7"=1 Mi. Made on order only.	ea.	.75
MILEAGE MAP	17"x30" (same as shown on official state map)	ea.	.25
OUTLINE OR BASE STATE MAP	10"x20", county names and boundaries only	per hund.	2.50
	20"x36", with or without county seats; bndrs. and Co. names	ea.	.25
	30"x58", with or without county seats; bndrs. and Co. names	ea.	.75
RESTRICTED STRUCTURES MAP	Showing Lateral and Vertical clearances and load limits of sub-standard structures on primary highways, 36"x100"	ea.	1.50
STATE MAPS	Official State Map, approx. 25"x37", folded approx. 4¼"x8", scale 1"= 13 Mi., showing all primary, some secondary, and interstate under construction or completed.		No charge
	Enlarged Copy, flat, of official state map, black and white only, approx. 36"x66", scale 1"=8 Mi.	ea.	1.00
TRAFFIC FLOW TABULATION WITH MAP	Showing Average Daily Traffic and vehicle miles of travel on rural primary highways.		
	Tabulation with black and white map, 17"x36"	set	1.50
	Tabulation with blueline map, size 33"x72"	set	2.00

PLEASE MAKE CHECK OR M. O. PAYABLE TO Virginia Department of Highways

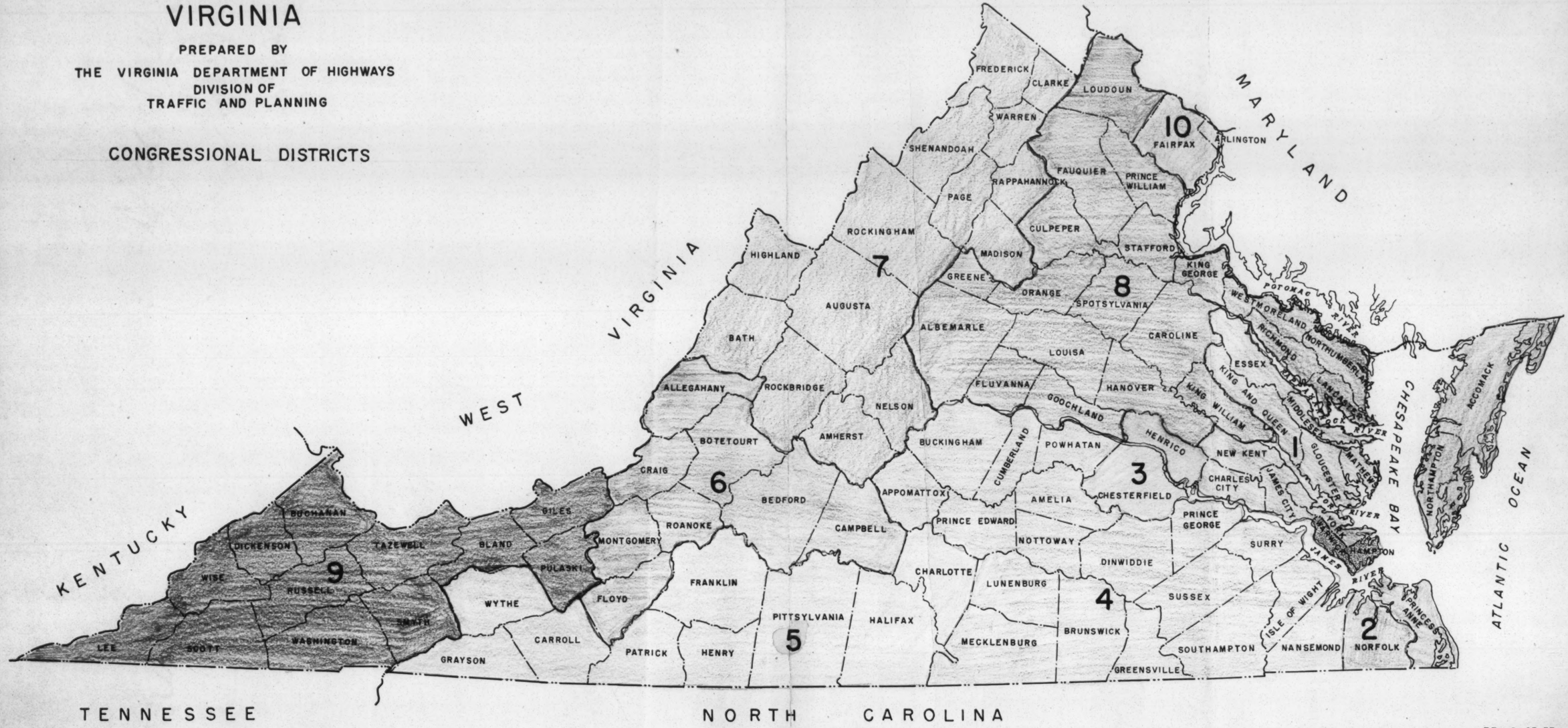
AND MAIL DIRECT TO: 1221 E. Broad Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

2-15-62 OPI

VIRGINIA

PREPARED BY
THE VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
DIVISION OF
TRAFFIC AND PLANNING

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



REV. 9-23-53
DR. NO.: TC-101-E

211782

NUL: Richmond — 413804 — 19.5 — 1833

final

3000.00
3017.40

SCLC: 4th Cong Dist. — 68037 — 32.1 — 2688.40

NAA:

Fredericksburg — 979
~~Norfolk — 4453~~
Lynchburg — 4353
Roanoke — 7128
Portsmouth — 16761
~~4th Dist, Prince Ed Cty. — 57235~~

29221 — 13.7 — 1287.80

Peninsula Coor Comm. Newport News — 16929
Hampton — 8768
Isle of Wight Cty — 3539
York Cty. — 1812

25697 — 12.7 — 1193.80

N.O. Richmond) Virginia Voters League — Statewide — 47453 — 23.5 — 2209.00
Virginia All Citizens Regis. Comm.
Voter Registration Project of Norfolk

TOTAL — 9381.20

SRC Copy checked on Aug 7, 1963 gm

W. L. SNELL

/ 40 Mimeographed Copies

National Printing Company

971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

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Distribution of First Status Report of VEP — Sept. 20, 1962

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	7
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1st Status Report
(40 copies)

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21. Wyatt Walker
22. H. Franklin William
23. Paul Rilling
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27. James Forman
28. Richard Seamon
29. Wiley Branton
30. ~~Wiley Branton~~ Cryl Bernhard *
31. Jan Levine
32. Leland Jinney
33. (Rockefeller Found.) George Barrett
34. Wally's desk
35. Les Dunbar (PA)
36. Connie Curry (JA)
37. WAB to Henry Clark
38.
39. Incomplete (Jacoria)
40. "
41. Max Steinbock Department Store Workers Union

* Civil Rights Commission

LWD took copies

1, 4, 7, 8, 9 of 1st Status Report.

#11 - Helen Hill Miller

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Sent to those listed above.

Jack Minnis has # 14.
Burke Marshall #15
Stacy Blakford #16
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Effective September 9, 1960, our new address is:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

CONFIDENTIAL

FIRST STATUS REPORT
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
September 20, 1962

I.

The Project began April 1, 1962, following receipt of the Treasury Department's favorable decision on our request for an advance ruling regarding tax exemption.

Funds received for the Project as of this date are:

Taconic Foundation -	$250,000	for a	two	year period
Field Foundation -	75,000	"	ONE	" "
Stern Family Fund -	124,000	"	TWO	" "

Since April 1, two program series have been launched:

1. programs ending July 31, 1962 limited to areas where registration of voters eligible for the 1962 primaries was still possible;
2. programs for the period August, 1962 - March, 1963.

II.

It is now possible to appraise the results of the first program, both as to the quantity of increased Negro registration, and as to the information provided about Negro political participation in the South.

As a first step in dealing with the initial program, it seems approgriate to remark upon the criteria used in selecting areas and in allocating funds.

Political scientists and political sciologists, for the past twenty years or so, have increasingly concerned themselves with studies of voting behavior and political participation. There have been community studies of presidential

elections from which inferences could be drawn about the meaning to the voter of the act of voting; there have been studies which attempted to delineate community political power and how it works through its various elements; there have been studies on presidential voting using nation-wide samples in which the attitudes and motivations of the U.S. electorate were, to some extent, clarified; there have been studies of the correlations between the attitudes on various issues of Congressmen and their constituents; there have been studies of community attitudes on various issues and the effect of those attitudes on the electorate's perceptions of and feelings toward politics and political participation; there have been studies of Negro political leadership and Negro political participation; there have been studies, some of them from the Southern Regional Councildescriptive of the patterns of Negro voting in the South and the obstacles placed before it. In short, the literature of political science and political sociology provides a valuable reservoir of hypotheses and data concerning voting behavior and political participation.

This past research gives little assistance, however, in selecting areas in which to carry on work, or in planning actual program. Where to work can be determined only by looking for the places in which problems, opportunities, and personnel combine or can be made to combine. How to work can be determined only by reference to the same factors. VEP was not established to study or to work within ideal situations.

Accordingly, VEP thought that its research interests would best be served by using the initial programs as experiments upon which could be based principles of area selection, fund allocation, and registration methods for the long-term programs which would follow.

The first programs served another purpose than experimentation. Within the proposed life of VEP, there will fall two major elections: the 1962 Congressional and state elections; and the 1964 elections. Thus it is possible to conduct programs under three different set

under three different sets of political circumstances: during a Congressional election year; during an off-election year; and during a presidential election year. However, the primaries of 1962 were the important elections in the southern states, and registration for these closed in the Spring and early Summer. Since VEP did not get underway until April, speed in the approving of programs was necessary, if these test conditions were to be maintained.

Given, then, the timing for the initial projects, the next step was to determine the areas within which programs would be supported. There were only eight states in which registration for the 1962 primaries was feasible after April: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Caroline, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

State-wide programs would have profitlessly diffused resources; common sense dictated that funds and effort be concentrated. The availability of personnel and organization largely decided where, within each state, registration work would be supported. As it turned out, these locations suited well a research interest; i.e., they included areas in which resistance to Negro registration would be relatively slight, areas in which it would be severe, areas in which the elections would be transparently important to Negroes, and areas in which Negroes could have little practical interest in the outcome. VEP assumed that resistance would be maximum in Alabama, rural Georgia, northern Louisiana, Mississippi, and rural South Carolina; and that it would be relatively slight in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Two Congressional districts in Tennessee were being contested by liberals and two Negroes were contesting for Congressional seats in Mississippi.

Total funds allocated for these first programs, ending July 31, 1962, were $63,990. The table below shows distributia of the money.

TABLE I.

Schedule of Initial VEP Grants for Programs Between May 1 and August 31, 1962.

Organization	Location	Grant
ACRC	Atlanta, Georgia	$3,600
DCNA	Durham, North Carolina	2,500
CORE	Baton Rouge, Louisiana Jackson, Mississippi 6th Congressional District, Clarendon, Sumter and York Counties, S.C.	8,625
SCLC	Waycross, Liberty County, Macon, Washington County, Ga; Shreveport, La.; Chowan County, Elizabeth City, N.C.; Charleston, S.C.; Knoxville, Chattanooga, Tenn.; 4th Congressional Dist., Va.	11,500
SNCC	Jackson, Marshall County, 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Orangeburg County, S.C.;	
NAACP	Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, Monroe, La.; Jackson, Miss.; High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, Edenton, N.C.; Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, Charleston, S.C.; Memphis, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Clarkesville, Fayette County, Haywood County, Tenn.	17,500.
NUL	Winston-Salem, N.C.; Richmond, Va.	5,750
DCIPC	Davidson County and three contiguous counties, Tenn.	3,000
NSA	Raleigh, N.C.	1,140
AFSC	Jackson, Tenn.	2,000
FOCUS	Baton Rouge, La.	1,000
ACA	40 Alabama Counties	1,500
		$63,990

Table II shows the quantitative results of the initial series of programs upon which reporting is complete at this time. The number of voters registered was 21,279 and the money actually expended was $33,356.98. The programs have been ranked on the table in the order of their quantitative results. Column three indicates the proportion of unregistered Negro voting age population which was registered during each program. Table II naturally breaks down into three more or less well-defined groups as indicated by the broken horizontal lines. This breakdown suggests that the areas within each of the three groups represent examples of slight, moderate, and heavy resistance.

Table II shows an expenditure of $32,568.98 from grants totaling $63,990. The remainder has been either called back or authorizations for its re-investment have been made.

VEP has not succeeded in obtaining acceptable reports as yet from the following agencies:

Agency	Amount of Grant

No further participation of VEP with these agencies can be undertaken until reports are in and reviewed.

TABLE II.
SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF VEP "CRASH-PROGRAM" GRANTS

Org.[1]	Location	Grant[1]	Expended	Reg'd	Reg'd
DCNA	Durham, N.C.	$2,500	$ 873.46	3,700	28.0
SCLC	Chattanooga, Tenn.		3,495.47	1,800	27.7
SCLC	Knoxville, Tenn.			1,000	25.4
SCLC	4th Cong. Dist., Va.		1,743.77	3,100.77	18.5
NSA[3]	Raleigh, N.C.	1,140	1,140.00	1,641	09.2
CORE	Sumter, S.C.	4,29	4,294.95	1,099	08.5
CORE	Bishopville, S.C.	(3,300		293	06.1
ACRC	Atlanta, Ga.	3,600	3,600.00	5,015	04.6
SCLC	Chowan and Pasquotank Counties, N.C.		1,252.33	250	04.5
SCLC	Charleston, S.C.		441.54	1,135	03.7
FOCUS	Baton Rouge, La., 2nd Ward	1,000	966.56	297	01.0
ACA	40 Alabama Counties	1,500	1,334.05	1,742	00.5
CORE	Baton Route, La., 1st Ward		3,033.20	104	00.4
CORE	Jackson, Miss.		1,159.14	61	00.2
SNCC	Jackson, Miss. and the Delta	5,875	5,865.00	41	00.1
SCLC	Shreveport, La.		1,726.98	0	0
SCLC	Ware, Liberty, Noxubee, and Wilkes Counties, Ga.		1,430.87	0	0
			$32,356.98	21,279	

1-SCLC--Southern Christian Leadership Conference--$11,500
CORE--Congress of Racial Equality--$8,625
SNCC--Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
DCNA--Durham Committee on Negro Affairs
NSA-- National Student Association
ACRA--All Citizens Registration Committee
ACA-- Alabama Coordinating Association
FOCUS

2-Unregistered Negro Voting Age Population

3-This program was financed by $2,380 contributed by Field Foundation in addition to the VEP grant.

Some remarks about these various programs may be of interest.

Durham County, N.C., was in the process or purging its registration rolls in order to eliminate cumulative inaccuracies. (This was the official reason given for the purge and we have no contrary information.) The program in Durham was actually a re-registration drive, in which only those who had been registered prior to the purge were eligible to register. Thus the persons with whom the program was dealing were highly selective, in that the only persons who could register were those who had pseviously had the experience of registering successfully. The results were predictably good because only those with a background of political awareness and involvement were eligible. Moreover, the registration officials were cooperative; so much so that, in one instance, deputy registrars were placed at the disposal of program personnel for instituting a mobile registration office. These factors are reflected in the high proportions of eligibles who were registered druing the program.

Chattanooga and Knoxville had, prior to the VEP sponsored programs, proportions of 79% and 75% of the Negro voting age population registered. Thus it was predictable that the programs in those cities would show good quantitative results. The question that arises, however, is whether or not registration drives alone are likely to bring about increased Negro political participation in such areas. One feels that, as modes of racial discrimination become less gross, less visible, and thus provocative of less direct emotional involvement for Negroes, their political behavior patterns will tend to correlate with patterns characteristic of whites who are in similar socio-economically deprived circumstances. This is a consideration which should weigh heavily in future area selection and fund allocation decisions by VEP.

The only other initial program the quantitative results

of which were comparably high was that in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia. The results there seem due to a combination of a relatively temperate racial climate and efforts over a period of years by NAACP and SCLC to arouse Negroes to interest in politics. However, the proportion of NVAP registered remains far enough below that of the whites that VEP believes further efforts in Virginia would be well worth while, both as a means of increasing our knowledge about Negro political efforts under these particular circumstances and as a means of encouraging further political involvement by Negroes.

Elsewhere in the Carolinas and in Atlanta, discrimination does not usually extend to Negro voting; indeed, registration policies, according to our reports, would easily permit a much greater volume of registration than the programs were able to stimulate in these places.

Registration workers in these areas do report encountering difficulty in convincing prospective registrants that they would meet with fair treatment at the registrar's hands. Apparently Negroes in these areas simply cannot conceive of relatively permissive policies at the courthouse in the face of heavy and intensive social and economic deprivation in other areas of activity.

The All Citizens Registration Committee of Atlanta, which conducted the VEP sponsored program in that city, was able to secure the cooperation of the Fulton County registrar's office to the extent that ACRC was permitted to station workers in the courthouse to solicit registration of individuals who came to the courthouse on other business. This elicited no evidence of resentment from whites. Indeed, a number of persons, both Negro and white, mistook the program workers for county employees who had been stationed there as a convenience for citizens having business in the courthouse. In addition, ACRC was able to place a worker in the registration office in order to enumerate registrations and to observe registration practices. Again, this elicited no evidence of resentment from whites, many of whom apparently took this worker to be a courthouse employee.

This ~~xxx~~ suggests that racial aversion in some areas may not be as spontaneous as surface appearances might indicate.

The results of the Carolina and Atlanta programs suggests that increased and meaningful political participation for Negroes can only be effected through arduous efforts to eliminate social, cultural, and economic disadvantages, as well as hard work on the voting front.

Quantitatively, the lightest results were achieved in the programs in Alabama, rural Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Here, Negro registration confronts, as opponents, the local police officers, county sheriffs, and state policemen, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils. The local and state judiciary frequently play a part by affording judicial process to clearly unjustified prosecution and conviction on such charges as "vagrancy", "loitering", "distributing literature without a permit", and many and varied "traffic offenses."

One municipal judge in a Mississippi delta town warned a young registration worker, brought before him on a charge of "distributing literature without a permit", that if caught doing registration work again in that town he would be sent to the county juvenile farm. This same court, a week or so later, was to try companions of the youngster on the same charge. One of the defendants, director of voter registration work in the area, showed up at the appointed hour, but felt that the white mob which had gathered for the trial made it unsafe for him to appear to receive his modicum of southern justice. The other defendants arrived with their lawyer, but, when he saw the mob which had assembled, the lawyer judged it expedient to plead his clients guilty. This occurred in the home town of Senator Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

These incidents are typical of the reaction of the dominant whites to Negro registration efforts in many areas of hard-core states. Statutes and local ordinances, innocuous on their face, are regularly and systematically used to impose what amounts to political criminality on Negroes seeking to exercise the franchise.

The technically simple process of making bail for registration workers charged with violations of local ordinances becomes a study in the delaying tactics by which constitutional guarantees can be scorned.

State statutes governing voter registration, especially literacy tests, are specifically designed to make registration difficult and are in many cases administered in flagrantly discriminatory fashion.

Daily newspapers in these areas have leveled charges of "communist conspiracy" against VEP's programs. In one industrial city, organized labor will have nothing to do with voter registration programs because of fear of the "red" tag.

Negroes have lost their jobs because whites suspected that they were working in voter registration. Negro churches have been deprived of tax exemption because they were used for voter registration meetings. Three rural Negro churches burned to the ground after having been used on several occasions for registration meetings. Gunfire has seriously wounded registration workers in Georgia and Mississippi.

Most, if not all, of these resistance tactics are vulnerable to attack in the federal courts. Federal injunctive action is possible against political, economic, and "legal" discrimination, intimidation, and harassment. It can likewise provide Negroes with some confidence that their rights under the U.S. Constitution will be enforced. However such injunctive action, as it has been implemented in the past, has been feeble.

The sanction of contempt must be relatively meaningless without adequate supervision of the conduct of those enjoined. Such supervision requires a complement of impartial personnel whose attention will automatically and immediately be drawn to violations of the injunctions, and a vigorous and efficient machinery of contempt enforcement. It is commonplace to observe that these requirements have not been met in the South. Illustrative of the ineffectiveness of past federal injunctive action is the case of Terrell County, Georgia.

On September 13, 1960, a federal district court in Americus, Georgia, enjoined discriminatory operation of the registrar's office in Terrell County. On November 16, 1960, M. E. Mathews was appointed chief registrar of Terrell County. Mathews is the nephew of Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Mathews whose racial attitude was quoted in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report on Justice: "there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line." M. E. Mathews was then and is now serving as dupty sheriff of Terrell County, as well as chief registrar. He was appointed to the registrar's office by Superior Court Judge W. I. Geer--known to Terrell County Negroes as "W. I.-don't-want-a-nigger-vote Geer." Judge Geer is the uncle of a state political leader who is widely regarded as one of Georgia's champion segregationists, a man who openly and strongly commended the student rioters at the University of Georgia in January, 1961. Under circumstances such as these injunctions against discrimination are probably meaningless without effective contempt enforcement procedures.

Abundant evidence exists that the registrar's office in Terrell County has practiced discrimination regularly and systematically during the past two years. There has been, so far as is known, no attempt to bring Terrell County officials to account under the two-year-old injunction. The Justice Department has recently asked in federal court that the same individuals and others be enjoined from various kinds of intimidation in connection with Negro registration activity. Assuming that such an injunction may be granted, it may well be as meaningless as the first without the necessary enforcement machinery.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is the principal enforcement and investigatory arm of the U.S. Government in the civil rights field. FBI agents work in close harmony with local law enforcement officers as a necessary part of the FBI's criminal enforcement responsibilities. Experience has been that these FBI agents are extremely reluctant to act in civil rights cases in ways that will estrange local police.

An example of the close felationship which exists between local police and the FBI is a letter displayed on the bulletin board of the City Police Department in Clarksdale, Mississippi. The letter is addressed to Clarksdale police chief, Ben C. Collins. It is signed by K. W. Dissly, special-agent-in-charge of the FBI's Memphis office. The letter is dated August 16, 1962. It compliments Collins on his apprehension of individuals charged with a recent bank robbery. In closing the letter, Dissly writes, "It is a pleasure to be associated with such fine law enforcement officers." This letter was observed by VEP staff-members who were in the Clarksdale Police Department helping to arrange bail for six registration workers who had been arrested in Clarksdale for "litering" in a moving automobile as they made their way out of town after a voter registration meeting on August 22nd, 1962.

The results of VEP's initial programs in Alabama, rural Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi are quantitatively disappointing. However, if measured by the amount of resistance these programs have faced, and by the light the programs have shed on the measures which must be taken to alleviate political discrimination against Negroes in the South, VEP believes these programs have been successful.

III.

Programs running through March 1962 are now being authorized and are underway. To ~~day~~ date, grants have been made as follows: (Table 3.)

These programs were selected in the following manner:

Table 4 shows the present status of voter participation in the South, according to best estimates. Column of that Table shows the unregistered Negroes of voting age in each state as a percent of the same category for the whole South. <u>This is the factor which principally determined allocation of resources</u>. On the basis of it, funds were divided

among the states. Within each state, areas were selected on the basis of a similar determination and on the basis of availability of organizations and personnel. After allocating resources on this formula, a discietionary supplement has, in some cases, been added either because of (1) known intensity of resistance; or (2) known opportunities for high results.

In addition to the above grants, which total $66,882, VEP has set aside approximately $ for other programs proposed or prospective for this period. This will exhause the funds available for operations during VEP's first year of April 1962 through March 1963.

September 24, 1962

Hon. Richard M. Scammon
Director
Bureau of the Census
Suitland, Maryland

Dear Mr. Scammon:

I thought you would be interested in seeing a copy of the First Status Report of VEP.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Enclosure: copy no. 28

WAB/mr

(Sent copy #28)

1st Status Report Copy #15

September 24, 1962

PERSONAL

Hon. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Burke:

I am enclosing a confidential copy of the First Status Report of the Voter Education Project, which I hope you will find of interest.

I am also enclosing a photostat of a letter which I have just received from Derrick Bell of Jack Greenberg's staff regarding a legal opinion on the Indianola, Mississippi ordinance.

With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Enclosures

WAB/mr

P. S. Also enclosed is a copy of a letter to Carsie Hall.

October 4, 1962

Mr. George E. Barrett
Suite 927
Stahlman Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear George:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the first status report of VEP. Wiley knew you would be interested in seeing this and that you would treat it with discretion.

Come see us.

Sincerely,

Jean Lefine
Administrative Secretary

#33
sent

10-26-62

This copy is incomplete because statistical tables were removed and given to Leslie.

Copy No. 40

CONFIDENTIAL

FIRST STATUS REPORT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

September 20, 1962

I.

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Field Foundation -	75,000	"	one	" "
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Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America -	200			
	$449,200			

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Political scientists and political sociologists, for the past 20 years or so, have increasingly concerned them-

*VEP was instrumental in persuading the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education to commit $5,000 to registration work in New Orleans, through the Coordinating Council.

selves with studies of voting behavior and political participation. There have been community studies of presidential elections from which inferences could be drawn about the meaning to the voter of the act of voting; there have been studies which attempted to delineate community political power and how it works through its various elements; there have been studies of presidential voting using nation-wide samples in which the attitudes and motivations of the U.S. electorate were, to some extent, clarified; there have been studies of the correlations between the attitudes on various issues of Congressmen and their constituents; there have been studies of community attitudes on various issues and the effect of those attitudes on the electorate's perception of and feelings toward politics and political participation; there have been studies of Negro political leadership and Negro political participation; there have studies, some of them from the Southern Regional Council, descriptive of the patterns of Negro voting in the South and the obstacles placed before it. In short, the literature of political science and political sociology provides a valuable reservoir of hypotheses and data concerning voting behavior and political participation.

This past research gave some guidance to VEP. Given, however, the need to move quickly, dictated both by the exigencies of the election calendar for 1962 and the pent-up eagerness of the agencies interested in going to work, there was little time for full analysis of the area selection. Moreover, political science research is, it was determined,

of least practical value precisely at this point of choosing target areas. Where to work can be determined only by looking for the places in which problems, opportunities, and personnel combine or can be made to combine. How to work can be determined only by reference to the same factors. VEP was not established to study or to work within ideal situations.

Accordingly, VEP thought that its research interests would best be served by using the initial programs as experiments upon which could be based principles of area selection, fund allocation, and registration methods for the long-term programs which would follow.

The first programs served another purpose than experimentation. Within the proposed life of VEP, there will fall two major elections: the 1962 Congressional and state elections; and the 1964 elections. Thus it is possible to conduct programs under three different sets of political circumstances: during a Congressional election year; during an off-election year; and during a presidential election year. However, the primaries of 1962 were the important elections in the southern states, and registration or poll tax payment for these closed in the spring and early summer, and in Arkansas and Texas even earlier. Since VEP did not get under way until April, speed in the approving of programs was necessary, if these test conditions were to be maintained.

Given, then, the timing for the initial projects, the next step was to determine the areas within which programs would be supported. There were only eight states in which

registration for the 1962 primaries was feasible after April: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Statewide programs would have profitlessly diffused resources; common sense dictated that funds and effort be concentrated. The availability of personnel and organization largely decided where, within each state, registration work would be supported. As it turned out, these locations suited well a research interest; i.e., they included areas in which resistance to Negro registration would be relatively slight, and areas in which it would be severe; areas in which the elections would be transparently important to Negroes, and areas in which Negroes had little practical interest in the outcome. VEP assumed that resistance would be maximum in Alabama, rural Georgia, northern Louisiana, Mississippi, and rural South Carolina; and that it would be relatively slight in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Two Congressional districts in Tennessee were being contested by liberals and two Negroes were contesting for Congressional seats in Mississippi.

Total funds allocated for these first programs, ending July 31, 1962, were $64,240. Table 1 below shows distribution of the money.

TABLE 1.

Schedule of Initial VEP Grants for Programs Between May 1 and July 31, 1962.

All Citizens Registration Committee Atlanta, Ga.	$ 3,600
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs Durham, N.C.	2,500
Congress of Racial Equality Baton Rouge, La. Jackson, Miss. 6th Congressional District, Clarendon, Sumter and York Counties, S.C.	8,625
Southern Christian Leadership Conference Waycross, Liberty County, Macon, Washington County, Ga. Shreveport, La. Chowan County, Elizabeth City, N.C. Charleston, S.C. Knoxville, Chattanooga, Tenn. 4th Congressional District, Va.	11,500
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Jackson, Marshall County, 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts, Hattiesburg, Miss. Orangeburg County, S.C.	6,375
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, Monroe, La. Jackson, Miss. High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, Edenton, N.C. Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, Charleston, S.C. Memphis, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Clarkesville, Fayette County, Haywood County, Tenn.	17,250
National Urban League Winston-Salem, N.C. Richmond, Va.	5,750
Davidson County Independent Political Council Davidson County and 3 contiguous counties, Tenn.	3,000
National Student Association Raleigh, N.C.	1,140
American Friends Service Committee Jackson, Tenn.	2,000

TABLE 1. (Cont'd)

Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development Baton Rouge, La.	1,000
Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting	1,500
Total	$64,240

Table 2 shows the quantitative results of the initial series of programs upon which reporting is complete at this time. The number of voters registered was 27,839 and the money actually expended was $41,149.79. The programs have been ranked on the table in the order of their quantitative results. The last column indicates the proportion of unregistered Negro voting age population which was registered during each program. Table 2 naturally breaks down into three more or less well-defined groups as indicated by the broken horizontal lines. This breakdown suggests that the areas within each of the three groups represent examples of slight, moderate, and heavy resistance.

Table 2 shows an expenditure of $41,149.79 from grants totaling $53,490. The remainder has been either called back or authorizations for its re-investment have been made.

VEP has not succeeded in obtaining acceptable reports as yet from the following agencies:

Agency	Amount of Grant
National Urban League	$ 5,750
American Friends Service Committee	2,000
Davidson County Independent Political Council	3,000

No further participation of VEP with these agencies can be undertaken until reports are in and reviewed. (This does

not, however, apply to the National Urban League, whose programs in Winston-Salem and Richmond were, with permission, deferred.)

TABLE 2.

Summary of results of VEP Crash Programs

Organization	Location	Expended	Req'd.	%UNVAP[1] Req'd.
NAACP	Clarksville, Tenn.	$1,406.88	1,162	29.9
NAACP-SCLC	Knoxville, Tenn.	(	1,123	28.5
NAACP-SCLC	Chattanooga, Tenn.	(4,923.66 (	1,800	28.1
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs	Durham, N.C.	873.46	3,700	28.0
SCLC	4th Cong. Dist., Va.	1,743.77	3,100	18.5
Nat'l Student Ass'n[2]	Raleigh, N.C.	1,140.00	1,641	09.2
NAACP	Memphis, Tenn.	1,669.89	4,154	08.9
CORE	Sumter, S.C.	4,294.95[3]	1,099	08.5
NAACP	Beaufort, S.C.	378.26	423	08.3
All Citizens Registration Committee	Atlanta, Ga.	3,600.00	5,015	06.7
CORE	Bishopville, S.C.	(see note)[3]	293	06.1
SCLC	Chowan & Pasquotank Counties, N.C.	1,252.33	250	04.5
NAACP-SCLC	Charleston, S.C.	1,448.43	1,135	03.7
NAACP	Columbia, S.C.	824.38	349	01.3
NAACP	Greenville, S.C.	569.25	150	01.1
Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development	Baton Rouge, La., 2nd Ward	966.56	297	01.0
NAACP	Fayette/Haywood Counties, Tenn.	648.23	63	00.5
Alabama Coordinating Association	40 Alabama counties	1,334.05	1,742	00.5

TABLE 2. (Cont'd.)

Organization	Location	Expended	Req'd.	%UNVAP[1] Req'd.
CORE-NAACP	Baton Rouge, La., 1st Ward	3,893.70	104	00.4
SCLC	Shreveport, La.	1,726.98	137	00.3
CORE-NAACP	Jackson, Miss.	1,159.14	61	00.2
SNCC	Jackson, Miss., and the Delta	5,865.00	41	00.1
SCLC	Ware, Liberty, Noxubee and Wilkes Counties, Ga.	1,430.87	0	0
		$41,149.79	27,839	

[1]Unregistered Negro Voting Age Population

[2]This program also received $2,731.17 from Field Foundation.

[3]This figure represents CORE expenditures in both Sumter and Bishopville.

Some remarks about these various programs may be of interest.

Clarksville, Knoxville, and Chattanooga had, prior to the VEP sponsored programs, proportions of 44%, 75% and 79% of the Negro voting age population registered. Thus it was predictable that the programs in those cities would show good quantitative results. The question that arises, however, is whether or not registration drives alone are likely to bring about increased Negro political participation in such areas. One supposes that, as modes of racial discrimination become less gross, less visible, and thus provocative of less direct emotional involvement for Negroes, their political behavior patterns will tend to

correlate with patterns characteristic of whites who are in similar socio-economically deprived circumstances. This is a consideration which should weigh heavily in future area selection and fund allocation decisions by VEP.

Durham County, N. C., was in the process of purging its registration rolls in order to eliminate cumulative inaccuracies. (This was the official reason given for the purge and we have no contrary information.) The program in Durham was actually a re-registration drive, in which only those who had been registered prior to the purge were eligible to register. Thus, the persons with whom the program was dealing were highly selected, in that the only persons who could register were those who had previously had the experience of registering successfully.

The only other initial program the quantitative results of which were comparably high was that in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia. The results there seem due to a combination of a relatively temperate racial climate and efforts over a period of years by NAACP and SCLC to arouse Negroes to interest in politics. However, the proportion of NVAP registered remains far enough below that of the whites that VEP believes further efforts in Virginia would be well worth while, both as a means of increasing our knowledge about Negro political efforts under these particular circumstances and as a means of encouraging further political involvement by Negroes.

Elsewhere in the Carolinas and in Atlanta, discrimination does not usually extend to Negro voting; indeed, registration policies, according to our reports, would easily permit a much greater volume of registration than the programs were able to stimulate in these places. Registration workers in these areas do report encountering difficulty in convincing prospective registrants that they would meet with fair treatment at the registrar's hands. Apparently Negroes in these areas simply cannot conceive of relatively permissive policies at the courthouse in the face of heavy and intensive social and economic deprivation in other areas of activity.

The All Citizens Registration Committee of Atlanta, which conducted the VEP sponsored program in that city, was able to secure the cooperation of the Fulton County registrar's office to the extent that ACRC was permitted to station workers in the courthouse to solicit registration of individuals who came to the courthouse on other business. This elicited no evidence of resentment from whites. Indeed, a number of persons, both Negro and white, mistook the program workers for county employees who had been stationed there as a convenience for citizens having business in the courthouse. In addition, ACRC was able to place a worker in the registration office in order to enumerate registrations and to observe registration practices. Again, this elicited no evidence of resentment from whites, many of whom apparently took this worker to be a courthouse employee.

This suggests that racial aversion in some areas may not be as spontaneous as surface appearances might indicate.

The results of the Carolina and Atlanta programs suggest that increased and meaningful political participation for Negroes can only be effected through arduous efforts to eliminate social, cultural, and economic disadvantages, as well as hard work on the voting front.

Though there is no sharp differentiation between the quantitative results of the last areas in group two and the first in group three, reports indicate that low registration in the two South Carolina cities is due more to Negro apathy than to white resistance.

Quantitatively, the lightest results were achieved in the programs in Alabama, rural Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Here, Negro registration confronts, as opponents, the local police officers, county sheriffs and state policement, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils. The local and state judiciary frequently play a part by affording judicial process to clearly unjustified prosecution and conviction on such charges as "vagrancy," "loitering," "distributing literature without a permit," and many and varied "traffic offenses."

One municipal judge in a Mississippi delta town warned a young registration worker, brought before him on a charge of "distributing literature without a permit," that if caught doing registration work again in that town he would be sent to the county juvenile farm. This court, a week or so later, was to try companions of

the youngster on the same charge. One of the defendants, director of voter registration work in the area, showed up at the appointed hour, but felt that the white mob which had gathered for the trial made it unsafe for him to appear to receive his modicum of justice. The other defendants arrived with their lawyer, but when he saw the mob which had assembled the lawyer judged it expedient to plead his clients guilty. This occurred in the home town of Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

These incidents are typical of the reaction of the dominant whites to Negro registration efforts in many areas of hard-core states. Statutes and local ordinances, innocuous on their face, are regularly and systematically used to impose what amounts to political criminality on Negroes seeking to exercise the franchise.

The technically simple process of making bail for registration workers charged with violations of local ordinances becomes a study in the delaying tactics by which constitutional guarantees can be scorned. State statutes governing voter registration, especially literacy tests, are specifically designed to make registration difficult and are in many cases administered in flagrantly discriminatory fashion. Daily newspapers in these areas have leveled charges of "communist conspiracy" against VEP's programs. In one industrial city, organized labor will have nothing to do with voter registration programs because of fear of the "red" tag. Negroes have lost their jobs because whites suspected that they were working in voter registration.

Negro churches have been deprived of tax exemption because they were used for voter registration meetings. Rural Negro churches have burned to the ground after having been used on several occasions for registration meetings, and arsonists have unsuccessfully attacked others. Gunfire has seriously wounded registration workers in Georgia and Mississippi.

Most, if not all, of these resistance tactics are vulnerable to attack in the federal courts. Federal injunctive action is possible against political, economic, and "legal" discrimination, intimidation, and harassment. It can likewise provide Negroes with some confidence that their rights under the U.S. Constitution will be enforced. However, such injunctive action, as it has been implemented in the past, has been feeble; and evidence is growing that throughout the Black Belt Negro confidence in the federal government's protective arm has become critically thin.

The sanction of contempt must be relatively meaningless without adequate supervision of the conduct of those enjoined. Such supervision requires a complement of impartial personnel whose attention will automatically and immediately be drawn to violations of the injunctions, and a vigorous and efficient machinery of contempt enforcement. It is commonplace to observe that these requirements have not been met in the South. Illustrative of the ineffectiveness of past federal injunctive action is the case of Terrell County, Georgia.

On September 13, 1960, a federal district court in Americus, Georgia, enjoined discriminatory operation of the registrar's office in Terrell County. On November 16, 1960, M. E. Mathews was appointed chief registrar of Terrell County. He is the nephew of Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Mathews, whose racial attitude was quoted in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report on Justice: "there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line." M. E. Mathews was then and is now serving as deputy sheriff of Terrell County, as well as chief registrar. He was appointed to the registrar's office by Superior Court Judge W. I. Geer--known to Terrell County Negroes as "W. I.-don't-want-a-nigger-vote Geer." Judge Geer is the uncle of a state political leader who is widely regarded as one of Georgia's champion segregationists, a man who openly and strongly commended the student rioters at the University of Georgia in January, 1961. Under circumstances such as these, injunctions against discrimination are probably meaningless without effective contempt or other enforcement procedures.

Abundant evidence exists that the registrar's office in Terrell County has practiced discrimination regularly and systematically during the past two years. There has been no attempt to bring Terrell County officials to account under the two-year-old injunction. The Justice Department has recently asked in federal court that the same individuals and others be enjoined from various kinds of intimidation in connection with Negro registration activity. Assuming that such an injunction may be granted,

it may well be as meaningless as the first without the necessary enforcement machinery.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is the principal enforcement and investigatory arm of the U.S. Government in the civil rights field. FBI agents work in close harmony with local law enforcement officers as a necessary part of the FBI's criminal enforcement responsibilities. Experience has been that these FBI agents are extremely reluctant to act in civil rights cases in ways that will estrange local police. An example of the close relationship which exists between local police and the FBI is a letter displayed on the bulletin board of the City Police Department in Clarksdale, Mississippi. The letter is addressed to Clarksdale police chief, Ben C. Collins. It is signed by K. W. Dissly, special-agent-in-charge of the FBI's Memphis office. The letter is dated August 16, 1962. It compliments Collins on his apprehension of individuals charged with a recent bank robbery. In closing the letter, Dissly writes, "It is a pleasure to be associated with such fine law enforcement officers." This letter was observed by VEP staff members who were in the Clarksdale Police Department helping to arrange bail for six registration workers who had been arrested in Clarksdale for "loitering" in a moving automobile as they made their way out of town after a voter registration meeting on August 22, 1962.

The results of VEP's initial programs in Alabama, rural Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi are quantitatively disappointing. However, if measured by the amount of resistance these programs have faced, and by the light the programs have shed on the measures which must be taken to alleviate

political discrimination against Negroes in the South, VEP believes these programs have been successful.

III.

Programs running through March 1962 are now being authorized and are under way. To date, grants have been made as follows:

TABLE 3.

Schedule of VEP Grants for the period August 1, 1962 through March 1, 1963.

Organization	Location		
Congress of Racial Equality	Miami and Dade County, Fla.	$2,800	
	Pointe Coupee, Iberville, W. Baton Rouge, Washington, W. Feliciana, E. Feliciana, St. Helena, Tangipahoa, E. Baton Rouge (1st Ward Only) Parishes, La.	4,000	
	6th Cong. Dist., York, Sumter, Spartanburg, Clarendon, Fairfield Counties, S.C.	6,000	
			$12,800
Woman Power Unlimited	Miss.		1,000
Dougherty County Voter Education League	Albany, Ga.		4,000
Council of Federated Organizations	Miss. - primarily the Delta		14,000
Greater Little Rock* Voter Registration Campaign	Little Rock, Ark.		2,000
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Caddo, Claiborne, DeSoto, Bienville, Webster Parishes, La.	3,400	
	Etowah, Calhoun, Montgomery Counties, Ala.	2,000	
	Tallahassee, Fla.	600	
	Chattanooga, Tenn.	700	
	Chowan, Pasquotank, Northampton, Bertie, Hertford Counties, N.C.	2,000	

* This program is a joint effort of National Urban League and Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

TABLE 3. (Cont'd.)

Organization	Location		
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (cont'd.)	Amelia, Appomattox, Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nottoway, Powhatan, Prince George, Southampton Counties and Petersburg and Hopewell, Va.	$3,000	
	Liberty, Screven, Tatnall, Bulloch, Emanuel, Bryan, Mitchell, Sumter, Spaulding, DeKalb, Rockdale, Telfair, Hall, Greene, Morgan, Wilkes Counties and Columbus, Rome, and Waycross, Ga.	4,000	
			$15,700
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	Terrell, Peach, Marion, Lee, Early, Baker, Worth, Randolph, Calhoun Counties, Ga.		4,000
National Urban League	Fort Worth, Tex.		4,382
Alabama Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting (9th Cong. Dist. Committee)	Birmingham and Jefferson Counties, Ala.		9,000
			$66,882

These programs were selected in the following manner:

Tables 4a. and 4b. show the present status of voter participation in the South, according to best estimates. The last column of Table 4a. shows the unregistered Negroes of voting age in each state as a percent of the same category for the whole South. This is the factor which principally determined allocation of resources. On the basis of it, funds were divided among the states. Within each state, areas were selected on the basis of a similar determination and on the basis of availability of organizations and personnel. After allocating resources on this formula, a discretionary supplement has, in some cases, been added either because of (1) known intensity of resistance; or (2) known opportunities for high results.

In addition to the above grants, which total $66,882, VEP has set aside approximately $66,503 for other programs proposed or prospective for this period. This will exhaust the funds available for operations during VEP's first year of April 1962 through March 1963.

IV.

Research data has come to VEP from the field. Some agencies (e.g. SNCC) have provided excellent cooperation and have furnished extremely valuable data; in some other cases, the task of data gathering has not yet been wholly licked, though experience gained from the initial programs will insure that data will be flowing consistently.

VEP is completing a research project in certain agricultural counties of South Carolina.

update april 1? 1963

make certain Colvin receives all up-datings

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Participating Programs
As of November 1, 1962

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	WReg*	NReg*	UN VAP*	%W VAP Reg*	%N VAP Reg*	Source**
Jefferson County Voters Campaign 1630 4th Ave., Room 622 Birmingham, Alabama (Mrs. Louphenia Thomas)	ALABAMA***	Birmingham	Jefferson	113,500	13,500	110,425	44.0	11.6	CR
Madison County Committee for Reg. & Voting 234 Church St., N.W. Huntsville, Alabama (Rev. H. P. Snodgrass)	"	Huntsville	Madison	22,000	1,500	9,166	40.3	14.1	BN
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia (Rev. Andrew Young)	"	Anniston	Calhoun	27,423	2,209	6,827	61.3	24.4	BN
		Gadsden	Etowah	34,219	2,126	5,535	70.5	27.7	CR
		Montgomery	Montgomery	29,515	3,182	29,874	46.9	9.6	BN

*Code for Statistics: (These figures are county-wide.)
- WReg - white registered voters
- NReg - Negro registered voters
- UNVAP - Unregistered Negro voting age population
- %WVAPReg - Percent of white voting age population registered
- %NVAPReg - Percent of Negro voting age population registered

***These are poll tax states. In these states prospective voters must first qualify under the registration statutes and then pay poll tax in order to vote. The figures above represent registered voters.

**Code for Sources:
- CR - County Registrar's Office
- BN - Birmingham News
- SA - State Auditor
- SS - Secretary of State
- CRC - Civil Rights Commission
- BR - Board of Registration
- SCPD - South Carolina Progressive Democrats reported 1962 Negro registration. These were subtracted from Secretary of State's total registration figures.
- CHR - Local Councils on Human Relations
- SRC - Southern Regional Council estimate

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	WReg	NReg	UN VAP	%W VAP Reg	%N VAP Reg	Source
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 38 Park Row New York 38, N.Y. (Mr. James T. McCain)	FLORIDA	Miami	Dade	363,608	30,519	45,054	67.6	40.4	SS,'62
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 20 West 40th St. New York 18, N.Y. (Dr. John Morsell)	"	Daytona Beach	Volusia	52,910	5,395	6,220	71.3	46.4	SS, 62
		Fort Lauderdale	Broward	136,073	11,461	15,548	71.8	42.4	"
		Gainesville	Alachua	22,693	3,289	6,609	74.3	33.2	"
		Haines City	Polk	65,205	6,113	13,111	67.0	31.8	"
		Jacksonville	Duval	113,616	26,874	31,556	55.7	46.0	"
		Lake City	Columbia	7,435	1,739	1,383	91.9	55.7	"
		Orlando	Orange	79,394	4,328	17,443	57.6	19.9	"
		Panama City	Bay	22,681	3,177	1,787	71.0	36.0	"
		Pensacola	Escambia	53,044	9,201	8,840	69.2	51.0	"
		Tampa-	Hillsborough-	(127,967-	16,175-	14,939-	59.8-	52.0-)	"
		St. Petersburg	Pinellas	(182,140	6,009	12,112	71.3	33.2)	"
		Winterhaven	Polk	65,205	6,113	13,111	67.0	31.8	"
SCLC (See above)	"	Tallahassee	Leon	18,573	4,906	7,416	65.8	39.8	"
"	GEORGIA	Americus	Sumter	5,534	501	6,209	71.6	07.5	CR,'60
		Camilla	Mitchell	7,928	375	4,596	130.9	07.5	SS,'58
		Columbus	Muscogee	22,859	3,729	18,820	30.6	16.5	"
		Conyers	Rockdale	4,641	731	781	98.6	48.3	SS,'60
		Decatur	DeKalb	64,450	2,153	10,254	43.5	17.3	SS,'58
		Gainesville	Hall	13,772	811	1,978	49.8	29.1	CR,'62
		Greensboro	Greene	2,665	1,538	1,460	74.7	51.3	SS,'62
		Griffin	Spalding	9,370	1,391	3,861	56.2	26.5	"
		Hinesville	Liberty	2,346	2,448	728	44.2	77.1	SS,'58
		Madison	Morgan	4,588	55	934	76.9	05.6	"
		McRae	Telfair	3,959	325	1,762	80.2	15.6	CR,'62
		Pembroke	Bryan	2,523	1,105	6	110.2	99.4	CR,'62

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	Wreg	NReg	UN VAP	%W VAP Reg	%N VAP Reg	Source
SCLC (cont'd)	GEORGIA (cont'd)	Reidsville	Tattnall	6,630	1,310	1,825	89.9	41.8	CR,'62
		Statesboro	Bulloch	8,318	1,045	3,292	82.3	24.1	"
		Swainsboro	Emanuel	7,864	2,098	907	103.1	69.8	SS,'62
		Sylvania	Screven	3,530	863	2,866	77.5	23.1	SS,'62
		Washington	Wilkes	3,529	493	2,608	97.4	15.9	"
Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC)	"	Blakely	Early	3,729	261	3,016	92.9	08.0	SS,'62
		Buena Vista	Marion	1,508	55	1,554	111.4	03.4	CR,'60
		Cuthbert	Randolph	2,495	423	3,240	86.7	11.5	SS,'62
6 Raymond St., N.W.		Dawson	Terrell	2,894	51	4,006	95.3	1.2	CR,'60
Atlanta, Georgia		Fort Valley	Peach	2,539	679	3,883	69.6	14.9	SS,'58
(Mr. James Forman)		Leesburg	Lee	1,210	29	1,766	84.8	1.6	CRC,'61
		Morgan	Calhoun	1,685	145	2,248	101.9	6.0	SS,'62
		Newton	Baker	1,649	6	1,279	144.8	0.5	SRC,'62
		Sylvester	Worth	5,855	296	3,480	110.0	7.8	SS,'58
CORE (See above)	LOUISIANA	Amite	Tangipahoa parish	18,787	3,141	6,260	84.2	33.4	BR,'62
		Baton Rouge	East Baton Rouge"	63,932	10,200	26,708	72.6	27.6	"
		Clinton	East Feliciana "	2,481	82	4,020	59.0	1.0	"
		Covington	St. Tammany "	14,182	2,543	2,495	88.4	50.4	"
		Donaldsonville	Ascension "	8,574	2,460	1,711	84.8	58.7	"
		Franklinton	Washington "	15,316	1,711	5,110	91.1	25.0	"
		Greensburg	St. Helena "	1,461	111	1,971	61.8	5.3	"
		Livingston	Livingston "	11,831	1,203	615	96.1	66.2	"
		New Roads	Pointe Coupee "	2,522	821	4,452	41.4	11.7	"
		Plaquemine	Iberville "	7,237	2,484	4,576	82.8	35.1	"
		Port Allen	West Baton Rouge"	3,362	1,203	2,299	84.6	34.3	"
		Saint Francisville	West Feliciana "	876	0	2,235	53.6	0.0	"
NAACP (See above)	"	Lake Providence	East Carroll "	423	0	4,183	14.1	0.0	"
		Monroe	Ouachita "	24,068	725	15,652	59.8	4.4	"
		Ruston	Lincoln "	1,642	476	5,247	17.1	8.3	"
		Saint Joseph	Tensas "	792	0	3,533	34.6	0.0	"

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	Wreg	NReg	UN VAP	%W VAP Reg	%N VAP Reg	Source
NAACP (cont'd)	LOUISIANA (cont'd)	Tallulah	Madison	500	0	5,181	15.0	0.0	BR,'62
SCLC (See above)	"	Acadia	Bienville parish	5,154	25	4,052	91.8	0.6	"
		Benton	Bossier "	12,754	548	6,299	53.8	8.0	"
		Coushatta	Red River "	3,416	30	2,151	103.7	1.4	"
		Homer	Claiborne "	5,492	31	5,001	85.6	0.6	"
		Mansfield	DeSoto "	5,780	594	6,159	88.3	8.8	"
		Minden	Webster "	5,083	80	6,965	32.3	1.1	"
		Shreveport	Caddo "	58,324	4,692	37,057	66.4	11.2	"
Council of Federated Organizations#	MISSISSIPPI***	Clarksdale	Coahoma	Unavail-able	1,960	13,505	Unavail-able	12.7	CRC,'61
213 Fourth Street Clarksdale, Mississippi (Dr. Aaron Henry)		Greenwood	Leflore	"	472	14,050	"	3.2	"
		Hattiesburg	Forrest	"	12	7,848	"	.1	"
		Holly Springs	Marshall	"	17	7,853	"	.2	"
		Indianola	Sunflower	"	161	14,280	"	1.1	"
Womanpower Unlimited 1072 Lynch Street Jackson, Mississippi (Mrs. C. Collins Harvey)	"	Jackson	Hinds	28,715	5,000	31,138	42.3	13.8	"
NAACP (See above)	NORTH CAROLINA	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	96,074	14,729	19,421	77.6	43.1	CRC,'60
		Rocky Mount	Edgecombe-	(11,129-	1,787-	10,543-	71.7-	14.5-)	"
			Nash	(25,914	2,015	8,558	119.0	19.1)	"
		Wilmington	New Hanover	31,421	7,353	3,216	99.3	69.6	"
SCLC (See above)	"	Edenton	Chowan	3,465	550	1,957	90.1	22.0	CRC,'60
		Elizabeth City	Pasquotank	7,527	1,894	3,042	80.0	38.4	"
		Jackson	Northampton	6,700	1,300	6,004	108.44	17.8	"
		Windsor	Bertie	6,242	713	5,548	101.4	11.4	"
		Winton	Hertford	6,415	537	5,565	114.43	8.8	"

#This agency will eventually work in the entire Delta region.

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	WReg	NReg	UN VAP	%W VAP Reg	%N VAP Reg	Source
CORE (See above)	SOUTH CAROLINA	Bennettsville	Marlboro	7,167	1,450	4,482	87.1	24.4	SCPD,'62
		Bishopville	Lee	4,168	1,160	4,286	94.8	21.3	"
		Conway	Horry	15,127	1,890	5,539	55.0	25.4	"
		Darlington	Darlington	11,099	3,318	6,582	66.4	33.5	"
		Dillon	Dillon	6,496	1,031	4,498	74.4	18.6	"
		Florence	Florence	20,051	3,181	12,770	74.5	19.9	"
		Georgetown	Georgetown	6,745	3,621	3,552	76.2	50.5	"
		Kingstree	Williamsburg	7,347	480	10,055	97.2	4.5	"
		Manning	Clarendon	4,211	525	7,210	80.6	6.8	"
		Marion	Marion	5,166	2,550	5,134	63.7	33.2	"
		Spartanburg	Spartanburg	47,638	4,419	12,628	65.0	25.9	
		Sumter	Sumter	7,773	3,690	11,690	35.3	24.0	"
		Winnsboro	Fairfield	4,422	900	4,636	88.9	16.2	"
		York	York	19,191	3,500	6,696	60.3	34.3	"
NAACP (See above)	"	Columbia	Richland	41,884	8,850	23,820	53.0	27.1	"
NAACP (See above)	TENNESSEE	Bolivar	Hardeman	No breakdown available - Total Population 7,298					
		Brownsville	Haywood	5,619	2,000	4,295	97.8	31.8	CHR,'62
		Clarksville	Montgomery	No breakdown available - Total Population 15,909					
		Covington	Tipton	No breakdown available - Total Population 11,983					
		Knoxville	Knox	115,000	10,000	3,275	82.9	75.3	CR,'62
		Memphis	Shelby	163,388	76,129	42,904	67.9	63.9	"
		Ripley	Lauderdale	No breakdown available - Total Population 12,000					
		Somerville	Fayette	3,200	2,800	4,415	72.1	38.8	CHR,'62
SCLC (See above)	"	Chattanooga	Hamilton	No breakdown available - Total Population, 104,441					
National Urban League 14 East 48th Street New York 17, N.Y. (Mr. Whitney Young)	TEXAS***	Fort Worth	Tarrant	145,447	9,940	23,055	50.6	30.1	CRC,'61

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	WReg	NReg	UN VAP	%W VAP Reg	%N VAP Reg	Source
All Citizens Registration Committee	VIRGINIA***	Alexandria	(Independent city)	24,507	1,495	4,530	48.5	24.8	SS,'62
307 W. Fairfax St.		Arlington	Arlington	48,806	1,307	3,907	47.7	25.1	SS,'62
Falls Church, Va.		Berryville	Clarke	2,722	221	565	67.8	28.1	"
(Mr. E. B. Henderson)		Fairfax	Fairfax	59,772	1,036	8,074	42.5	11.4	"
		Front Royal	Warren	3,722	132	455	45.3	22.5	"
		Leesburg	Loudon	7,963	401	1,838	66.3	17.9	"
		Manassas	Prince William	5,479	519	1,698	22.4	23.4	"
		Warrenton	Fauquier	4,340	500	2,593	40.5	16.2	"
NAACP (See above)	"	Buckingham	Buckingham	1,500	355	1,853	39.7	16.1	"
		Cumberland	Cumberland	1,540	300	1,347	84.7	18.2	"
		Emporia	Greensville	3,290	1,034	2,851	73.1	26.6	"
		Farmville	Prince Edward	2,765	665	2,231	53.9	23.0	"
		Fredericksburg	(Independent city)	4,059	573	898	60.4	38.9	CR,'62
		Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight	3,647	1,164	3,153	73.1	27.0	"
		Lynchburg	(Independent city)	13,779	2,042	4,532	49.7	31.1	"
		Portsmouth	(Independent city)	23,109	5,623	15,432	52.2	26.7	"
		Roanoke	(Independent city)	31,939	2,860	6,659	60.8	30.0	SS,'62
		Suffolk	Nansemond	4,063	2,090	7,716	58.3	21.3	"
		Suffolk City	(Independent city)	4,112	851	1,918	78.0	30.7	CR,'62
		Surry	Surry	1,045	445	1,397	70.6	24.1	SS,'62
		Sussex	Sussex	2,285	920	2,786	85.8	24.8	"
National Urban League (See above)	"	Richmond	(Independent city)	52,903	17,355	36,364	58.4	32.3	SS,'62
SCLC (See above)	"	Amelia	Amelia	1,977	672	1,252	87.4	34.9	SS,'62
		Appomattox	Appomattox	2,575	262	880	60.6	22.9	"
		Boydton & Radcliffe	Mecklenburg	5,700	408	6,216	54.4	6.1	"
		Courtland	Southampton	4,036	677	6,758	55.7	9.1	"
		Dinwiddie	Dinwiddie	3,706	1,013	7,574	71.1	11.8	"
		Hopewell	(Independent city)	5,000	250	1,299	56.5	16.1	CR,'62

Agencies working with VEP support	State	City	County	WReg	NReg	UN VAP	%W VAP Reg	%N VAP Reg	Source
SCLC (cont'd)	VIRGINIA (cont'd)	Lawrenceville	Brunswick	3,575	813	3,921	77.1	17.2	SS,'62
		Lunenburg	Lunenburg	2,650	340	2,194	57.5	13.4	"
		Nottoway	Nottoway	3,060	635	2,823	55.0	18.4	"
		Petersburg	(Independent city)	6,015	2,643	7,178	48.0	26.9	"
		Powhatan	Powhatan	1,480	522	1,041	62.3	33.4	CR,'62
		Prince George	Prince George	2,139	510	1,910	24.1	21.1	SS,'62

Memo sent to all State Councils on Human Relations.
Schedule sent to participating agencies.

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

November 8, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All cooperating agencies and organizations

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

At the suggestion of Mr. Paul Rilling, Director of Field Activities for the Southern Regional Council, I am sending you a list of the voter registration projects which are currently being supported by the Voter Education Project.

VEP invites you to support any registration efforts being conducted in your state actively, and also to write us giving your comments concerning these programs. Although all of the programs listed on the attached schedule have been approved, this does not necessarily mean that all of the programs are under way at this time. However, they should all be started prior to March 31, 1963.

WAB:jl
attach.

November 12, 1962

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Participating Agencies

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

Enclosed is a schedule of all voter education projects which were being supported by VEP as of November 1, 1962. Some of these projects have not yet started, but should begin prior to March 31, 1963, the end of our first fiscal year.

In addition to these projects, VEP will work very closely with a Greater New Orleans project which is under the sponsorship of the Coordinating Council and which is to receive some continued financial support from the AFL-CIO's COPE.

We also have an unfinished program in Davidson, Giles, Maury, and Williamson counties in Tennessee, under the sponsorship of the Nashville branch NAACP and the Davidson County Independent Political Council in cooperation with the Social Science Department at Fisk University. This latter program was delayed because of the departure of Dr. Vivian Henderson from Nashville, but is now getting under way again under a new director.

We welcome, at all times, any comments which you might have regarding these projects.

WAB:jl
attach.

WB
JM
d

November 9, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne St.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

In correspondence from you in August and September, requests were made for names of people and organizations in voter projects in the South. Enclosed is a schedule of the various voter education programs which VEP is supporting as of November 1, 1962. All of these programs, if not already started, will soon be under way and will run through March 31, 1963. This latter date is the end of the first fiscal year of the Voter Education Project.

There will, in all probability, be other programs approved during the remainder of this first fiscal year, probably on the Virginia coast and in Alabama, and Georgia.

If we can furnish you with any other information relevant to these programs please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

enc.

WB ✓
JM
File

November 9, 1962

Mr. Sterling Slappey
U.S. News and World Report
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Slappey:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has suggested that we send you the enclosed schedule of voter registration projects currently being supported by the Voter EducationProject. Mr. Branton agreedsince they both thought this might be helpful background material for you.

If you have any questions or comments we would be happy to have them.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary

enc.

WB
JM
File

November 9, 1962

Mr. Claude Sitton
New York Times
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Sitton:

Mr. Branton, who is out of the city, has asked me to send you a copy of the enclosed schedule of voter education projects currently being supported by VEP. He thought, perhaps, this might be helpful to youas background information.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

enc.

WB ✓
JM
2

November 9, 1962

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Mr. Branton, who is out of the city, has asked me to send you this schedule of the various voter education programs which VEP is supporting as of November 1, 1962. All of these programs, if not already started, will soon be under way and will run through March 31, 1963. This latter date is the end of the first fiscal year of the Voter Education Project.

There will, in all probability, be other programs approved during the remainder of this first fiscal year, but they will probably be on the Virginia coast and in Alabama, and Georgia.

I know Mr. Branton would welcome your comments and suggestions.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

JL
enc.

WBV
JM
2

November 2, 1962

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

Mr. Branton, who is out of the city, has asked me to send you this schedule of the various voter education programs which VEP is supporting as of November 1, 1962. All of these programs, if not already started, will soon be under way and will run through March 31, 1962. This latter date is the end of the first fiscal year of the Voter Education Project.

There will, in all probability, be other programs approved during the remainder of this first fiscal year; probably on the Virginia coast and in Alabama, and Georgia.

I know Mr. Branton would welcome any comments and suggestions you may have.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary to Mr. Branton

enc.

November 9, 1962

Mr. Louis Martin
Vice Chairman
Democratic National Committee
Washington, D.C.

Dear Louis:

I am enclosing for your files a schedule of the various voter registration projects which we are supporting as of November 1, 1962. All of these projects have not yet been actually started, but they should be all under way or completed by March 31, 1963. This date will mark the end of the first fiscal year of the Voter Education Project.

We still have a few more projects to approve for the remainder of this first fiscal year, but most of them will probably be on the Virginia coast and in Alabama and Georgia.

Any suggestions which you might have regarding voter registration in the South, or the conduct of our project generally will be welcomed at all times.

Let me take this opportunity to commend you for the very fine job which I am aware that you are doing in helping to get the many appointments of Negroes to high public positions. I know that many of the gains which we have made in this regard under the new Administration could not have been possible except for the fact that you are where you are, with the sincerity you possess.

Warm personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

November 9, 1962

Mr. Herbert E. Tuckers, Jr.
Cardozo & Tucker
20 Pemberton Square
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Herb:

I am enclosing a list of the various voter education projects which we are supporting throughout the South as of November 1, 1962. Most of these programs have already begun and willrun through March 31, 1963. Some of the programs have not yet been started but will be by that time.

It would be of tremendous help to our program if you would alert the various Omega chapters in those states or areas where programs have been planned and encourage the brothers to support actively whatever agency is responsible for the voter educationproject in their respective areas.

It may be that you have formulated some opinions as to how you can best help or how the fraternity can best help in the over-all objectives of our project since you last talked with me and if so, then I would certainly welcome your comments.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

JUL 18 1962

CARDOZO & TUCKER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

ANTONIO DE J. CARDOZO
HERBERT E. TUCKER, JR.

MATTHEW W. BULLOCK
RICHARD L. BANKS

20 PEMBERTON SQUARE
BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS
LAFAYETTE 3-7400

July 17, 1962

Wiley A. Branton, Esq.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Please extend my deepest thanks to Lucille for the lovely dinner we had at your home during my stay in Atlanta. I have fond memories of the lovely visit with your family and am grateful for the opportunity to have met new friends and renew old acquaintances.

At your earliest opportunity, I would appreciate your sending me the information about which we talked concerning the Voter Education Project with any suggestions you might have in how the Fraternity may involve itself. You are to be commended for a great start on this project and I hope that the good work will continue.

With kind personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Herb

Herbert E. Tucker, Jr.

HET/on

10/14/63

CORE

STATE	COUNTY TOTALS	MONTHS COVERED
FLORIDA - 6,253		
Dade	5,593	Sept.-Aug.-Jul-Jun.-May
	194	
	335	
	69	
	62	
LOUSIANA - 886		
East Baton Rouge	85	Aug.-Jun.-May
East Feliciana	37	Sept.-Aug.-Jun.
Iberville	363	Sept. Aug.-Jun.-May
Pointe Coupee	95	Sept.-Aug.-Jun.-May
St. Helena	66	Sept.-Aug.-May
Tangipahoa	87	Sept.-Aug.
West Baton Rouge	153	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.
West Feliciana	0	Sept.-Aug.
SOUTH CAROLINA - 3,085		
Bennetsville	14	Jul.-Jun.
Cherokee	22	Sept.-Aug.
Chester	29	Sept.-Aug.
Chesterfield	34	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.
Clarendon	217	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Darlington	299	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Dillon	42	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Fairfield	125	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Florence	399	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
George Town	92	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Horry	74	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-May
Kershaw	54	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.
Lancaster	22	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.
Lee	135	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Marion	144	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Marlboro	51	Sept.-Aug.-May
Spartenburg	448	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
Sumter	159	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May-Aprl.
Union	49	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.
Williamsburg	208	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May
York	468	Sept.-Aug.-Jul.-Jun.-May

10/15/63

NAACP

STATE	AMOUNT REG'D	BEGINNING TO PRESENT MONTH
FLORIDA - 3,524		
St. Petersburg	902	4/22-5/31
Lake Wales	626	3/10-3/30
Orlanda	893	4/22-10/1
Ocala	258	9/13-9/27
Tampa	359	4/15-7/19
Mariana	486	8/19-9/28
GEORGIA - 3,562		
Augusta	195	3/30-5/3
Brunswick	3,052	4/28-6/15
Decatur	315	8/5-9/27
LOUSIANA - 83		
Baton Rouge	83	8/5-9/12
TENNESSEE - 6,707		
Memphis	6,707	6/3-10/4
MISSISSIPPI - 877		
Jackson	594	4/15-19-9/2-6
Laurel	283	8/12-10/4

10/17/63

GRANTS AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS OF T HE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT PROGRAMS DURING THE 1ST HALF OF FISCAL YEAR 1963

STATE	COUNTY	ORGANIZATION	AMOUNT	PERIOD	COUNTY TOTAL	REG.	TOTAL STATE REG.
ALABAMA	Madison	Madison Cty.Coord.Com.	$1500.00	4/11-6/18		67	
$16,456.85	Dallas	SNCC	1000.00	cont'd-7/1*		5	
	33 cties.	ASCARV	2279.05	5/22-7/5		1084	
	Macon	Tuskegee Civic Assoc.	3000.00	5/30-11/30		267	— 477
	Jefferson	Jefferson Cty.VEP	4142.80	cont'd-9/30*		1338	
	Mobile	Mobile Cty. VEP	2250.00	8/2-11/2		346	
	Colbert	Colbert Cty.	500.00	8/19/63-1/19/64		255	
	Montgomery	Montgomery VEP	1785.00	8/21-cont'd*		400	3762 - 465
ARKANSAS	Jefferson	SNCC	(1200.00	9/4-10/1		2304)	
$1,200.00	Lincoln	"	(			)	2304
FLORIDA	St. Peters.	NAACP**		4/22-5/31	902		
	Lake Wales	"		3/10-3/30	626		
	Orlando	"		4/22-10/1	893		
	Ocala	"		9/13-9/27	258		
	Tampa	"		4/15-7/19	359		
	Marianna	"		8/19-9/28	486	3524	
	Dade	CORE**		4/1-9/30		6253	9777

*Designation "cont'd" indicates a continuing grant which cannot usefully be dated as falling wholly within the fiscal year. The registration figure for such a grant either applies to the second fiscal year or was not compiled for the report of the first fiscal year. Where termination date is later than Sept. 30/63, number registered is as of September 30, 1963.

**Amount for NAACP and CORE will be totaled in the grand amount.

STATE	COUNTY	ORGANIZATION	AMOUNT	PERIOD	CTY. TOTAL	10/17/63 -2- REG.	TOTAL STATE REG.
GEORGIA							
$12,132.35	Lee	SNCC	(			)	
	Sumter	"	(			)	
	Terrell	"	($2000.00	cont'd-cont'd*		55)	
	Dougherty	"	(			)	
	Chatham	SGCV	(			)	
	1st Con.Dis.	"	(577.35	cont'd-6/23*		458)	
	Bibb	Bibb Cty. Coord.Com.	3000.00	3/27-10/30		1214	
	Fulton	All Cit. Reg. Com.	6555.00	4/1-cont'd*		4634	
	Augusta	NAACP**		3/30-5/3	195		
	Brunswick	"		4/28-6/15	3052		
	Decatur	"		8/5-9/27	315	3562	9923
LOUISIANA	Baton Rouge	NAACP**		8/5-9/12	83	83	
	E. Baton Rouge	CORE**		5/1-8/31	85		
	E. Feliciana	"		6/1-9/30	37		
	Iberville	"		5/1-9/30	363		
	Pointe Coupee	"		5/1-9/30	95		
	St. Helena	"		5/1-9/30	66		
	W. Baton Rouge	"		5/1-9/30	153		
	W. Feliciana	"		8/1-9/30	-		
	Tangipahoa	"		8/1-9/30	87	886	969
MISSISSIPPI	LeFlore	Mississippi Vot. Proj.	(17875.00	cont'd-10/6)*			
$20,375.00	Washington	"	(	)			
	Bolivar	"	(	)			
	Coahoma	"	(	)			
	Humphreys	"	(	)			
	Sunflower	"	(	)			

*Designation "cont'd" indicates a continuing grant which cannot usefully be dated as falling wholly within the fiscal year. The registration figure for such a grant either applies to the second fiscal year or was not compiled for the report of the first fiscal year. Where termination date is later than 9/30/63, number registered is as of 9/30/63.

**Amount for NAACP and CORE will be totaled in the grand amount.

STATE	COUNTY	ORGANIZATION	AMOUNT	PERIOD	CTY. TOTAL	REG.	TOTAL STATE REG.
MISSISSIPPI (cont'd)		Mississippi Human Rts.	$2500.00	6/20-8/31			
	Laurel	NAACP*		8/12-10/4	283		
	Jackson	"		4/19-9/6	594	877	877
NORTH CAROLINA	Forsyth	NUL (Winston-Salem)	4848.83	5/23-8/31			
$6,803.83	Guilford	Amer.Friends Ser.Com.	955.00	8/5-8/30		803	
	Mecklenberg	Non Partisan Vot. Proj.	1000.00	9/6-10/6		1075	1878
SOUTH CAROLINA	Orangeburg	SNCC	555.00	5/10-7/10			
$8,357.00	Charleston	VEP of Charleston County	2802.00	7/9-11/15			
	2nd Con.Dist.: Aiken, Lexington, Richland, Sumter, Calhoun, Orangeburg, Bamberg, Barwell	So. Carolina Vot. Proj	5000.00	8/19-11/19		261	
	Bennetville	CORE*		6/1-7/31	14		
	Cherokee	"		8/5-9/30	22		
	Chesterfield	"		7/1-9/30	34		
	Clarendon	"		5/5-9/30	217		
	Chester	"		8/5-9/30	29		
	Darlington	"		5/5-9/30	299		
	Dillon	"		5/5-9/30	42		
	Fairfield	"		5/5-9/30	125		
	Florence	"		5/5-9/30	399		
	Georgetown	"		5/5-9/30	92		

* Same as previous pages

STATE	COUNTY	ORGANIZATION	AMOUNT	PERIOD	CTY. TOTAL	REG.	TOTAL STATE REG.
South Carolina (cont'd)	Horry	CORE*		5/5-9/30	74		
	Kershaw	"		7/1-9/30	54		
	Lancaster	"		7/1-9/30	22		
	Lee	"		5/5-9/30	135		
	Marion	"		5/5-9/30	144		
	Marlboro	"		5/5-9/30	51		
	Spartanburg	"		5/5-9/30	448		
	Sumter	"		4/1-9/30	159		
	Union	"		7/1-9/30	49		
	Williamsburg	"		5/5-9/30	208		
	York	"		5/5-9/30	468	3085	3346
TENNESSEE	Nashville	YWCA-NSCAF-VEP	$ 1695.00	5/30-8/17		200	
$1,695.00	Memphis	NAACP*		6/3-10/4		6707	6907
VIRGINIA		All Citiz. Reg. Com./N.Va.	200.00	5/3-7/3			
$5,280.00	Newport News	Peninsula Coord. Comm.	1800.00	5/10-11/1		179	
	Norfolk	Tidewater Voter Reg.Proj.	3280.00	4/19-'63/'64			179
		CORE:	15,000.00				
		NAACP:	29,520.00				
GRAND TOTAL:			$116,820.03				39,922
			122,820.03				40,473

*Amount for NAACP and CORE will be totaled in the grand amount.
CORE and NAACP reporting does not indicate accurately how much has been spent in each state, during first half of fiscal year.

? 5 VEP ?

where blank [illegible] Source ~~(See Footnote)~~

State	City	County	Agency	WReg*	NReg*	UN VAP†	%W VAP Reg*†	%N VAP Reg*
ALABAMA	Birmingham	Jefferson	Eugenia Thomas - ? Title Jefferson County Voters Campaign Mr. W. C. Patton, 1630 N~~XXX~~ 4th Avenue, Room 622 Birmingham, Alabama	113,500 ~~110,977~~	13,500 ~~1,491~~	110,425	44	11.6 ~~09~~
	Huntsville	Madison	Madison County Committee for Registration and Voting 234 Church St., N.W. Huntsville, Alabama ~~MXX~~ Rev. H. P. Snodgrass, Chmn.	27,780	1,424	10,380	48.7	12.1
B'HAM NEWS	Anniston	Calhoun	Southern Christian Leadership Conference Mr. Andrew Young, Dir. VR 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia	27,423	2,209	7,436	58	23
COUNTY REG	Gadsden	Etowah		34,219	2,126	5,884	68	24
B'HAM NEWS	Montgomery	Montgomery		29,515	3,182	32,000	45	09
ARKANSAS**	Little Rock (The total population here is 150,350 state auditor, 1961)	Pulaski	Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Campaign 914 Gaines St. Little lRock, Arkansas Mr. Ozell Sutton) Co- Mr. Geo. I. Henry) Directors	60,021	10,643	3719	86.0 ~~99.9~~	74.1 ~~9.1%~~
FLORIDA	Miami	Dade	Congress of Racial Equality 38 Park Row New York 38, N.Y. Mr. James T. McCain	363,608	30,519	45,054	67.6	40.4
	~~XXXXXXX~~		National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 20 West 40th Street New York 18, N.Y. Who?					
	Daytona Beach	Volusia		52,910	5,395	6,220	71.3	46.4
	Fort Lauderdale	Broward		136,073	11,461	15,548	71.8	42.4
	Gainesville	Alachua		22,693	3289	6609	74.3	33.2
	Jacksonville	Duval		113616	26874	31556	55.7	46.0
	Lake lCity	Columbia		7435	1739	1383	91.9	55.7
	Haines City	Polk		65205	6113	13111	67.0	31.8
	Orlando	Orange		79394	4328	17443	57.6	19.9
	Panama City	~~XXXXXXX~~ Bay		22681	3177	1787	71.0	36.0
	Pensacola	Escambia		53044	9201	8840	69.2	51.0
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Hillsborough-Pinellas)			(127967 182140)	(16175 6009)	(14939 12112)	(59.5 71.3)	(52.0 33.2)
				65205	6113	13111	67.0	31.8

* County-wide figures
** Poll Tax State

See Q State 1962

~~Footnote~~ ~~These figures are~~

				W Reg.	N Reg.	N VAP	% W VAP Reg.	% N VAP Reg.
FLORIDA (bont'd)	Tallahassee	Leon	Southern Christian Leadership Conference 334 Auburn Ava., N.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia Mr. Andrew Young, Dir. V.R.	18573	4906	7416	65.8	39.8
			Sect of State 1962					
GEORGIA	Albany	Dougherty	Dougherty CountyVoter Education League 602 Cherry Avenue Albany, Ga. Mr. John Calhoun	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~			
			~~County~~ figures ~~[illegible]~~ for Albany only - City registrar 8-31-62					
				14325	4211	6984	67.2	37.6
	~~XXXXXXXX~~	~~XXXXXXXX~~	Southern Christians Leadership Conference 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta 3, Ga. Mr. Andrew Young, Dir. V.R.					
SS-1958	~~XXXXXX~~	~~XXXXX~~						
	Camilla	~~XXXXXX~~ Mitchell		7928	395	4526	130.9	07.5
C.R-1960	Americus	Sumter		5534	501	6209	71.6	07.5
	Conyers	Rockdale		4641	731	781	98.6	48.3
	Gainesville	Hall		13772	811	1978	49.8	29.1
	Greensboro	Greene		2665	1538	1460	74.7	51.3
	Griffin	Spalding		9370	1391	3861	56.2	26.5
SS-1958	Decatur	DeKalb		64450	2153	10254	43.5	17.3
	Hinesville	Liberty		2346	2448	728	44.2	77.1
SS-1958	Columbus	Muscogee		22859	3729	12820	30.6	16.5
SS-1958	Madison	Morgan		4588	55	934	76.9	05.6
	McRae	Telfair		3959	325	1762	80.2	15.6
CR-1962	Pembroke	Bryan		2523	1105	6	110.2	99.4
	Reidsville	~~XXXXXX~~ Tatnall		6630	1310	1825	89.9	41.8
	Statesboro	~~XXXXXX~~ Bulloch		8318	1045	3292	82.3	24.1
	Swainsboro	Emanuel		7864	2098	907	103.1	69.8
	Sylvania	Screven		3530	863	2866	77.5	23.1
	Washington	Wilkes		3529	493	2608	97.4	15.9
	~~XXXXXXX~~							
	Blakely	Early	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee 6 Raymond St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. Mr. James Forman	3729	261	3016	92.9	08.0
CR-1960	Buena Vista	Marion		1508	55	1554	111.4	03.4
	Cuthbert	Randolph		2495	423	3240	86.7	11.5
CR-1960	Dawson	Terrell		2894	51	4006	95.3	01.2
SS-1958	Fort Valley	Peach		2539	679	3883	69.6	14.9
	Morgan	Calhoun		1685	145	2248	101.9	06.0
CRC-1961	Leesburg	Lee		1210	29	1766	84.8	01.6
SRC EST. 19[illegible]	Newton	Baker		1649	6	1279	144.8	0.5
SS-1958	Sylvester	Worth		5855	296	3480	110.0	07.8

				w Reg.	N Reg	NON VAP	% W Reg.	% N Reg.
LOUISIANA	Amite	Tangipahoa	CORE	18787	3141	6260	84.2	33.4
	Baton Rouge	East Baton Rouge	?	63932	10200	26708	72.6	27.6
	Clinton	East Feliciana		2481	82	4020	59.0	1.0
	Covington	St. Tammany		14182	2543	2495	88.4	50.4
	Donaldsonville	Ascension		8574	2460	1711	84.8	58.7
	Greensburg	St. Helena		1461	111	1971	61.8	5.3
	Livingston	Livingston		11831	1203	615	96.1	66.2
	Franklinton	Washington		15316	1711	5110	91.1	25.0
	New Roads	Pointe Coupee		2522	821	4452	41.4	11.7
	Plaquemine	Iberville		7237	2484	4576	82.8	35.1
	Port Allen	West Baton Rouge		3362	1203	2299	84.6	34.3
	St. Francisville	West Feliciana		876	0	2235	53.6	0
	Lake Providence	East Carroll	NAACP	423	0	4183	14.1	0
	Monroe	Ouachita	?	24068	725	15652	59.8	4.4
	Ruston	Lincoln		1642	476	5247	17.1	8.3
	Saint Joseph	Tensas		792	0	3533	34.6	0
	Tallulah	Madison		500	0	5181	15.0	0
	Arcadia	Bienville	SCLC	5154	25	4052	91.8	0.61
	Benton	Bossier	Mr. Andrew Young	12754	548	6299	53.8	8.0
	Homer	Claiborne	?	5492	31	5001	85.6	0.61
	Mansfield	DeSoto		5780	594	6159	88.3	8.8
	Minden	Webster		5083	80	6965	32.3	1.1
	Shreveport	Caddo		58324	4692	37057	66.4	11.2
	? Coushatta	Red River		3416	30	2151	103.7	1.4
MISSISSIPPI	DELTA REGION		Council of Federated Organizations					
	~~Coh~~ Coahoma		Dr. Aaron Henry					
	Forrest		213 Fourth St.	?	?	?	?	?
	Leflore		Clarksdale, Mississippi					
	Marshall							
	Sunflower							
	Jackson	Hinds	Womanpower Unlimited	?				
			Mrs. C. lCollins Harvey	28715	5,000	31,138	42.3	13.8
			1072 Lynch St.					
			Jackson, Mississippi					

spell out St.

				w Reg.	N Reg	N VAP	o/o W	o/o N
NORTH CAROLINA	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	NAACP	96074	~~46074~~	19421	77.6	43.1
	Rocky Mount	Edgecombe & Nash		?	14729			
	Wilmington	New Hanover		(11129) 25914	(1787) 2015	(10543) 8558	(71.7) 11.8	(14.5) 19.1
				31421	7353	3216	99.3	69.6
Edenton	Chowan		SCLC	3465	550	1957	90.1	22.0
Elizabeth City	Pasquotank		Mr. Andrew Young	7527	1894	3042	80.0	38.4
Jackson	Northampton			? 6700	1300	6004	108.44	17.8
Windsor	Bertie			6242	713	5548	101.4	11.4
Winton	Hertford			6415	537	5565	114.43	8.8
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Bennettsville	Marlboro		CORE	7167	1450	4482	87.1	24.4
Bishopville	Lee			4168	1160	4286	94.8	21.3
Conway	Horry			15127	1890	5539	55.0	25.4
Dillon	Dillon			6496	1031	4498	74.4	18.6
Florence	Florence			20151	3181	12770	74.5	19.9
Georgetown	Georgetown			6745	3621	3552	76.2	50.5
Marion	Marion			6166	2550	5134	63.7	33.2
Clarendon	Manning			4211	525	7210	80.6	06.8
Fairfield	Winnsboro			4422	900	4636	88.9	16.2
Spartanburg	Spartanburg			47638	4419	12628	65.0	25.9
Sumter	Sumter			~~11463~~ 7773	~~7773~~ 3690	~~3690~~ 11690	35.3	24.0
Williamsburg	Kingstree			7347	480	10055	97.2	04.5
Darlington	Darlington			11099	3318	6582	66.4	33.5
York	York			19191	3500	6696	60.3	34.3
Columbia	Richland		NAACP	41884	8850	23820	53.0	27.1

					W Reg	N Reg	Women	%W	%N
TENNESSEE	SS-1962 Bolivar	Hardeman	TOTAL 7298	NAACP					
	CHR-1962 Brownsville	Haywood			5619	2000	4295 ~~5198~~	97.8	31.8
	SS-1962 Clarksville	Montgomery	15909 TOTAL						
	SS-1962 Covington	Tipton	11,983 Total						
	CR 1962 Memphis	Shelby			163388	76129	42904	67.9	63.9
	CR 1962 Knoxville	Knox			115,000	10,000	~~3225~~ 3225	82.9	75.3
	SS-1962 Ripley	Lauderdale	TOTAL - 12,000 reg. voters						
	CHR-1962 Somerville	Fayette			3200	2800	4415	72.1	38.8
	SS-1962 Chattanooga	Hamilton	TOTAL 104,44	SCLC					
TEXAS**	CRC-1961 Fort Worth	Tarrant		National Urban League - N.Y.C.	145447	9940	23,055	50.6	30.1
VIRGINIA	Alexandria	An independent city		All Citizens Registration Committee of Norther Va.	24507	1495	4530	48.5	24.8
	Arlington	arlington		Mr. E. B. Henderson	48806	1307	3907	47.7	25.1
	Fairfax	Fairfax		307 W. Fairfax St.	59772	1036	8074	42.5	11.4
	Leesburg	Loudon		Falls Church, Va.	7963	401	1838	66.3	17.9
	Berryville	Clarke			2722	221	565	67.8	28.1
	Manassas	Prince William			5479	519	1698	72.4	23.4
	Warrenton	Fauquier			4340	500	2593	40.5	16.2
	Front Royal	Warren			3722	132	455	45.3	27.5
	Buckingham	Buckingham		NAACP	1500	355	1853	39.7	16.1
	Cumberland	Cumberland			1540	300	1347	84.7	18.2
	Emporia	Greensville			3290	1034	2851	73.1	26.6
	Farmville	Prince Edward			2765	665	2231	53.9	23.0
	Fredericksburg	An Independent City			4059	573	898	60.4	38.9
	Isle of Wight	Isle of Wight			3647	1164	3153	73.1	27.0
	Lynchburg	An Independent City			13779	2042	4532	49.7	31.1
	Portsmouth	LAn Independent City			23109	5623	15432	52.2	26.7
	Roanoke	An Independent City			31939	2860	6659	60.8	30.0
	Suffolk	Nansemond			4063	2090	7716	58.3	21.3
	lSuffolk lCity	An Independent City			4112	851	1918 ~~67~~	78.0	30.7
	Surry	Surry			1045	445	1397	70.6	24.1
	Sussex	Sussex			2285	920	2786	85.8	24.8

Virginia (cont'd)

Amelia	Amelia	SCLC	1977	672	1252	87.4	34.9
Appomattox	Appomattox	Mr. Andrew Young	2575	262	880	60.6	22.9
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~						
Brunswick	Lawrenceville		3575	813	3921	77.1	17.2
Dinwiddie	Dinwiddie		3706	1013	7574	71.1	11.8
Hopewell	An Independent City		5000	250	1299	56.5	16.1
Lunenburg	Lunenburg		2650	340	2194	57.5	13.4
Mecklenburg	Boydton & Radcliffe		5700	408	6216	54.4	06.1
Nottoway	Nottoway		3060	635	2823 ~~[illegible]~~	55.0	18.4
Powhatan	Powhatan		1480	522	1041	62.3	33.4
Petersburg	An Independent City		6015	2643	7178	48.0	26.9
Prince George	Prince George		2139	510	1910	24.1	21.1
Southampton	Courtland		4036	677	6758	55.7	09.1

Arkansas
Texas
Alabama
Miss
Va.

March 15, 1962

Mr. John B. Orr, Jr.
Orr & Lazar
407 Lincoln Road
Miami Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Orr:

Thank you for your letter of January 25 in which you express your interest in the Voter Education Project, which we hope to get started at a very early date.

I am pleased to know that you, too, have such confidence in the ability of Mr. Phil Weightman in the area of voter registration work. I have known Phil for a number of years and have worked with him in voter registration efforts in the state of Arkansas. He was one of the first persons whom I contacted upon accepting this new job, and he and his staff will be working very closely with us in any way that they possibly can.

I am sure that the greater Miami area will be one in which we will want to make a determined effort in our survey, and I look forward to meeting you the first time I get to Miami.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB/mr

ORR & LAZAR

LAWYERS · 407 LINCOLN ROAD · MIAMI BEACH

JOHN B. ORR, JR.
LAWRENCE L. LAZAR
A. NORMAN DRUCKER

JEFFERSON 2-5454

January 25, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Branton:

Jack Greenberg, the new General Counsel of the NAACP, advised me on Saturday afternoon, that you were shortly going to undertake the task of administering the funds which have recently been made available for the purpose of encouraging voter registration by Negroes in the south.

I am extremely interested in this project, and would like to make this observation to you. I have observed some, and have participated in many drives for the purpose of stimulating Negro registration. The only real successful one in Florida, that I know about, was conducted in 1950 by the C.I.O. Mr. Phillip Weightman, whose offices are now in the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, was the field man in charge of this registration. He really knows how to go about it, for there were more Negroes registered during the few weeks that he and two others were at work than had been in the entire history of Florida. I therefore recommend that you get in touch with Mr. Weightman for suggestions.

All of the other attempts that I know about, both before and after the 1950 campaign, have been conducted by well-meaning volunteer organizations, with very little success. I certainly hope that your efforts will bear fruit.

I am completely convinced that no really significant gains in the field of civil rights will be made until the voter registration rolls reflect the voting strength of Negroes in the south.

Sincerely,

John B. Orr Jr.

JBO:jf

JOHN B. ORR, JR.

May 10, 1962

Mr. Joel O'Brien
Joel O'Brien Productions, Inc.
225 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. O'Brien:

Mr. Whitney Young of the National Urban League has forwarded to us your letter to him of April 11, 1962, regarding the possibility of your producing a film to help the voter drive.

We have no particular need at this time for the production of any special film, but we will retain your letter on file and in the event that any interest develops in this regard we will be pleased to communicate further with you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copy to Mr. Whitney Young

WAB/mr

APR 30 1962

cc: Wiley Branton

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York - New York

April
Twenty-sixth
1962

Dear Mr. O'Brien:

Thank you for your letter of April 11th regarding the possibility of a film to be used in the voter registration project. Mr. Wiley Branton is Director of the project, and I have forwarded your letter to him for his consideration. I am sure you will be hearing from him shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director.

COPY

Mr. Joel O'Brien
Joel O'Brien Productions, Inc.
225 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Featherweight Union Stars
U.S.
FOR LONG

Executive House 225 East 46th St. New York, N. Y. ELdorado 5-7520

am
Send to Wiley

JOEL O'BRIEN PRODUCTIONS INC.

APR 12 1962

April 11, 1962

Mr. Whitney H. Young, jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Young:

I recently read of the group effort being undertaken by some five community agencies, including your own, to organize a program designed to stimulate Negroes in the southern states to register and vote.

I am familiar with many of the problems surrounding this situation, since they were frequently discussed in the past years during which we were producing the educational television series, "Briefing Session". For a parallel situation (without the coercion or violence), I have just finished a half-hour film for the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, dealing with exactly these two areas of registration and getting out the vote.

I would appreciate the opportunity of meeting with you and your colleagues to discuss the possibility of producing a film to help this group of agencies in the immense educational task they have ahead of them.

My organization and its work are well known to some members of the National Urban League. This is especially true of Julius Thomas, who has helped in many of our educational programs.

Very sincerely,

Joel O'Brien

Joel O'Brien

JOB/g

file - Freedom Project Report

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF VEP NINETY-DAY GRANTS

Organization and Location of Program	Grant	Total Expenditure[1]	Voters Registered[1]	
DCNA, Durham, North Carolina	2,500.00	873.46	3,700	78.0
ACRC, Atlanta	3,600.00	3,600.00	5,015	4.6
CORE, South Carolina LEE SUMTER YORK		4,294.25	1,392 293 1099 0*	6.1 8.5
CORE, Mississippi (Jackson)		1,159.14	61	.2
CORE, Louisiana (Baton Rouge 1st W. 1st Ward)		3,033.20	104	.4
CORE, Totals Grant	8,625.00	(8,486.95)	(1,557)	
SNCC, Mississippi LEFLORE COAHOMA WASHINGTON FORREST, HINDS	5,875.00	5,865.00	[redacted] 8 8 8 Hinds 41	8 8 8 .9
FOCUS, Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 2nd Ward)	1,000.00	966.56	297	1.0
NAA, Raleigh, N.C.	1,140.00	1,140.00	1,641+	24.9
Ala. Coor. Assn.	1,500.00	1,334.05	1,742	.5
SCLC, Georgia: Waycross (Ware County), Liberty County, Macon (Noxubee County), Washington (Wilkes County)		1,430.87	—	0
SCLC, Louisiana, Shreveport and Caddo Parish		1,726.98	—	0
SCLC, North Carolina: Chowan County, ~~Elizabeth City~~ PASQUOTANK CTY		1,252.33	250	4.5
SCLC, South Carolina: Charleston, Wards 7, 9, 10 and 12		441.54	1,135	3.7
SCLC, Tennessee: Chattanooga (Hamilton County		3,495.47	1,800	27.7
Knoxville			1,000	25.4
SCLC, Virginia: Counties of Prince Edward, Powhatan, Dinwiddie Prince George, Brunswick, Suffolk Lunenburg and Hopewell		1,743.77	3,100	18.5
SCLC Totals	11,500.00	(10,090.96)	(7,285)	
		32356.98	21,279	
35740	35,740.00	32,356.98	[redacted]	

1 Figures in parentheses are sub-totals and are not included in column totals

2— ~~Some of these programs were longer than ninety days, others were shorter. For example the Alabama Coordinating Association program ran only five days and operated in 60 counties in Alabama, while the DCNA program was actually in operation between January and May in Durham North Carolina. However, since the primary purpose of these grants was to provide VEP with field information upon which could be based the long-term grants, and since most of these grants were actually for periods of ninety days or so, they are all classed here, generically, as ninety-day grants.~~

* Registration Books closed during drive.
+ $2380 supplied by Field Foundation - total funds exploded -

AFSC project—Jackson, Tennessee—grant: ~~$1,~~ $2,000; period, June 15-August 10.

The period through July 2 was devoted to a house-to-house canvass attemtping to maximize Negro registration before the books closed for the August primary. During this time more than 2500 homes were visited and more than 1,500 prospective registrants were urged to register. Transportation was available for all those who needed it to go and register. After the books closed on July 2nd, pahse two of the program was designed to stimulate interest in the city and the county Negroes. clinics and workshops were set up in ~~xxxx~~ neighborhoods and ministers and community and business leaders were urged to influence all possible to attend. Persons at these meetings and clinics were instructed in registration technique and in the importance of voting and how the Negro vote could be used to better conditions for the Negro.

The thrid phase of the program was an attempt to reap the harvest of phase two by again attempting to maximize Negro registration between August 3 and August 10.

When the figures become available on the results of this drive, we shall be able to make an interesting comparison between the registration results of phase one and phase three and perhpas get some kind of an idea about the utility of the clinic-workshop-meeting approach as contrasted with the house-to-house canvass approach.

Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, W.C. Patton, President.

Project dates: July 1-6, 1962

Grant: $1,500.

This projedt resulted in the registration of 1742 new Negroes in Alabama. The somewhat truncated report from W.C. Patton indicates that the drive produced 9,371 personal contacts with prospective registrants by project workers. Such workers, from one to three per county, were operating in thirty of the 60 counties included in the project. According to the report, community leaders of one kind and another were active in the other thrity counties.

Patten reports that in Dallas and Tuscaloosa counties the registration boards tried to keep it a secret that the books were open during this special registration period. None of the applicants in Dallas County (the number of applicants is unreported) were permitted to register. Some of the other registration boards were hostile, though the report does not identify these hostile counties. Neither does it identify those counties in which registration boards were found to be "very cooperative". In Greene county, according to the report, the board uses as a stalling tactic, preoccupation with clerical work. Though such an interpretation of clerical acgivity seems to be dubious in general without further supporting evidence, if such are taking place, Greene county would be an appropraite place to anticipate them.

In addition to peresnal contacts, some 3,000 persons, organizational and community leaders, were contacted by mail; dodgers and pamphlets were distributed; advertising, editorial comment and news stories were inserted in a cooperative Negro press.

No hostile white press was reported, suggesting that white hostility did not choose further to give notice to Negroes that a drive was being conducted. Is this indicative that whites, for all their dominance in southern communities, actually lack basic confidence that they will be able to preserve that dominance. One might expect that such whites would feel confident that an urgent call to whites to register would more than offset any successes of the Negroes. This does not appear to be the case.

NSA Project--Raleigh North Carolina--June 15th, August 3rd--Grant--$1140.00
(Field Foundation Monies in amount of
2731.17 also used in this project)

The ~~xxxxx~~ registration of Negroes in North Carolina is not as difficult as in other areas of the South. Durham county has five Negro deputy registrars and so registrar resistance is minimal. There is also a Negro on the city council of Raleigh and the Negroes, in general, find a much more permissive atmosphere here than in other Southern communities. It might be suspected that political apathy among Raleigh Negroes is more due to depressed socio-economic status brought about by a century of second-class participation in the opportunities for advancement, than it is due to outright discrimination at the registrar's office and the polling booth.

This projedt succeeded in registering 1641 Negroes. The students mapped out the areas of the city in which most of the Negroes lived and then attacked them with door-to-door canvassing and with block and precinct meetings. On occasion the students were able to have deputy registrars making the rounds with them, registering people in their homes and at meetings and at booths set up in public places. This project was a good example of what can be done in a relatively permissive area with a well-organized program. The principal question is, however, in absence of severe oppression of the kind expereinced in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, are those Negroes registered actually going to participate in politics in any meaningful way ?

East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana--2nd Ward--Focus--Grant $1,000.00 6-4-62
expend. 966556
registrar's books closed June 27.

Focus reports an increase in Negro voter registration, due to their efforts, of 297 voters. During this same period of time white registration increased by 181 voters. There was a loss of 6 Negro voters due to some kind of attrition, presumably death or geographic mobility.

We do not have any report on the exact number of personal contacts made by Focus. However we do have their report indicating that they used the standard methods of eliciting support of ministers, clubs, employers (Negro), etc., in arousing interest of the people in voting. We know from perosnal observation that they did some house-to-house canvassing, but we do not know to what extent their success can be attributed to this technique and to what extent to the other modes. Focus printed up dodgers of various kinds and posted them inconspicuous places about the Negro community. Their only really specific comment about resistance was that the personnell in the registrar's office were far from cooperative, and that if they had been more cordial surely more Negroes could have been induced to attemtp to register. Also, Focus thought that the high per capita cost of registrants would have been reduced considerably on a longer project. Belton thinks that the program was just beginning to gain momentum in the Negro community, when it had to be halted because the books closed. This suggests that, in future, projects of more than one month should probably be sought.

CORE CRASH PROGRAMS

South Carolina--Total expenditure in York, Sumter and Lee counties--4294.25

	Sumter County	York County	Lee County	
# reg	1109	none*	293	1402
# instructed	3592	5958	582	10,132
# instructed who were denied regis.	10	none	NA	10
# instructed who did not apply	2673	none	289	2962

*Registration books were closed while the campaign was on--to open in August.

Jackson, Mississippi--Total expenditure, 1159.14

# reg	61
# instructed	550
# instructed were who/denied registeration	20
# instructed who did not apply	469

Baton Rouge, La., Ward 1, pct.'s 45 and 51--total expenditure--3,033.20

# reg.	143
#instructed	1491
# instructed who were denied	39
# instructed who did not apply	1209

Total increased registration	1606
Total instructed	12173
Total denied	69
Total inst. who did not apply	4640

Car's technique, generally, involves securing cooperation of ministers & other leaders in the Negro community in recruiting participants and encouraging participation while at the same time using student and other volunteer workers for canvassing.

prospective registrants are instructed in clinics or at home depending upon the wishes of the participants.

SNCC program in Mississippi — Total Grant, May, 11, 1962, $5875.00
Total expenditures, 7-31-62 — 5865.00

County	Registered	applied	in some stage short of completion	failed
Jackson (Hinds) Indrulect	41	65		14
Holly Springs 2nd 300	0	62		62
Greenville 3rd	0	37	36	1
Greenwood 3rd	0	50	0	50
Hattiesburg 4th 272	11	152	14	141
Vicksburg 4th - 500	10	14	00	4
972	62	380	50	225

The SNCC program should be considered merely the beginning stage of a relativley long-term operation. As the above figures indicate, not much progress can yet be reported in hard quantitative data. However, it is very clear from a reading of the field reports submitted by SNCC fiedl workers to the central office in Atlanta, that the groundwork has been laid from which should eventually come substantial increases in Negro political participation in Mississippi. In every one of the towns listed above, SNCC has established an office and maintains at least one field worker on duty at all times. These workers are the continual targets of harassment by whites, both official and unofficial. Particularly in the smaller communities they meet with outright brutality, and they are forced to deal with a Negro community which is kept in a constant state of terror by white harassment and intimidation. It is not so remarkable that their results are quantitatively small, as it is that there is anything at all to report, or anyone to report, from these blighted areas. It is to be considered a signal victory that any sustained effort at organizaing and arousing the Negro community has been carried on under such circumstances. One thing appears certain, from the SNCC experience. Liaison must be established with the justice department in such a way that immediate action can be taken to protect the lives and safety of voter registration workers in Mississippi. Furthermore, now would seem to be an excellent time to begin seeking federal injunctive action that would have some teeth. Unless justice takes action in the near future, the harassment is likely to become much more sophisticated and much more difficult to use as a basis for litigation. The resistance techniques of the whites are truly amazing inthair versatitlity.

they range from delaying tactics at the registrar's offices to the beating and jailing of registration workers. Landlords who have permitted workers to use their property are threatened with arson, as well as with bodily harm. One individual who not only rented space to the workers in Greenwood, but also helped them to recruit prospective registrants was arrested and charged with bigamy. Although it appears that he actually is living with his present wife without benefit of a divorce from his first, he has been doing so for the past fifteen years. It seems likely that the sudden interest of the police in this man is directly related to his connection with the voter registration activities in Greenwood.

All citizens Registration Committee - Atlanta
$2000 on April 12
$1600 on May 15
$3600 total VEP Grant.

The All-Citizens Registration Committee of Atlanta received a grant of $2000 from VEP on April 12, 1962 and a supplemental grant of $1600 on May 15, 1962. A Registration drive by the ACRC had been in progress since around the first of the year, so the net result of the program should be extended over a period of about five months. The registration drive ended on May 5th, 1962, the date on which registration for the summer and fall elections ended.

As of May 5, 1962, Negro registration in that part of Atlanta which lies in Fulton County stood at 46,945. The only figures available to us on Negro registration as of January 1, 1962 are those compiled for the December 6, 1961 city general election. This compilation shows a total of 37, 301 Negroes registered in Atlanta. Thus there appears to have been an increase of 7644 during the period of the ACRC registration drive.

There is no way of knowing with great precision how much of this increase is attributable to the ACRC drive. During the final two weeks of the drive, ACRC had an employee in the Fulton County Registrar's office who made a count of the Negro registrants. The count totaled 2,800, though, here again, there is no direct evidence indicating what proportion of the 2,800 registered as a direct result of the ACRC drive.

Employees in the registrar's office state that Negro registration is generally brought about, in their experience, by active programs, and that Negroes appear rather infrequently to register unless some kind of activity is underway to encourage their registration. The recent history of Negro Registration in Atlanta seems to bear this out. In July, 1960 the total Atlanta, Fulton County Negro registration was 34,572. Thus between July 1960 and December 1961, Negro registration in the area increased by only 2629. This period, furthermore, saw a hotly contested city election in which the Negro community was intensely involved. (Indeed, the Mayor of Atlanta was elected with a minority of the white votes, but with a near-unanimous Negro majority.) It could be supposed, therefore, that the period July, 1960 to December, 1961, represents a reasonably accurate picture of the normal volume of Negro registration in the absence of a sustained and intensive registration program.

In order to arrive at an estimate of the effectiveness of the ACRC program, we have taken the difference between the registration increase during the 18-month period, July 1960 to December, 1960 and the five-month period, January, 1962 to May 1962. This difference is 5,015. Such an estimate is rather conservative in that the 2600 votes by which the total registration during the program has been discounted represents the gradual appreciation of Negro registration over a period of eighteen months. It seems unlikely that the gradual appreciation figure over the five-month period of the program would have been as high. However we feel that in an estimate such as this one, conseratism will best serve the interests of accuracy.

The ACRC program included the distribution of some 50,000 handbills in Negro residential areas; sound trucks urging people to vote and offering free transportation to the registrar's office; chartered busses to transport prospective registrants (particularly high school students) to the registrar's office; newspaper and radio advertising; door-to-door canvassing, telephoning and the operation of car pools for transportation to the registrar's office.

The ACRC drive was originally designed to stimulate interest in registration among (1) high school students; (2) those living in densely populated areas.

The Fulton Connty registrar permitted a representative of ACRC to occupy a desk in the registrar's office for the purpose of enumerating Negro registrants.

Door to door canvassers learned that an unknown proportion of those whom they canvassed had been telling registration workers for years that they were registered in order to avoid having to admit that they were not, and then having to accept the opprobrium of not participating in the registration drive. Many of these persons, as well as persons who refused outright to participate, feared the stringency of a test involving interpretation of the Georgia constitution.

A part of the ACRC program was to place workers at a desk in the foyer of the county courthouse in order to solicit participation of those persons coming to the courthouse to pay taxes, get auto license, etc. This phase of the program was a considerable success. They found that many whites as well as Negroes took the workers to be courthouse employees and asked for various kinds of information.

~~[illegible]~~ No unpleasantness of any kind developed as a result of these workers being where they were, nor because of the employee who was stationed at a desk in the registrar's office.

SCLC Crash Program Grant

Grant, 507062, $11500	
Expenditures	10090.96
Overhead	1409.04

SCLC reports a total increase of 7285 registered voters (Negro) in the 7 areas in which they operated under VEP authority during the 90-day period. They report no increase in Caddo Parish Louisiana, or in the state of Georgia. This the increase reported breaks down as follows

Chowan County, North Carolina	250	(with NAACP)
Charleston, S.C.	1,135	(with NAACP)
4th Cong. Dist., Va.	3,100	
Chattanooga, Tenn.	1,800	(with NAACP)
Knoxville, Tenn.	1,000	(with NAACP)
	7285	

The figures are estimates of the results of the programs. According to the SCLC report, cumulative data sheets were not kept on each of the areas involved so that no actual enumeration of results is possible. It should be noted that in all but one of the areas in which SCLC reports increased Negro registration NAACP was also operating under the aegis of VEP. Since we do not yet have the reports of NAACP for these areas no comparison is possible. We assume that the reported increases are the results of joint efforts and will attempt no division of credit.

SCLC spent the "lion's share" of the money on "operating car pools, paying door-to-door canvassers and general coordinating of the avrious committees functioning in the Voter Registration Campaign".

SCLC reports that affadavits were taken from prospective registrants who were subjected to resistance tactics by officials. One such affadavit tells of an eye-test for vision by the registrar's office in Shreveport, La. SCLC thinks the taking of these affadavits is of benefit in assuring the local ~~folkkkk~~ people that they have support which may be effedtive against local harassment and intimidation.

Durham, North Carolina – VEP GRANT, April 27, 1962 –
$2500. $873.46 spent by
DCNA between April 27th
and May 17th.

The registration rolls of Durham County were purged during the Spring of 1962. Between the dates April, 21 and May, 12 all those who had previously been registered to vote were required to re-register. No new registration applications were accepted. Prior to the purge, Durham County had 13,201 registered Negroes out of a Negro Voting Age Population of 20,000. At the close of registration, May 12th, Negroe registration in Durham County was approximately 10,000. (Durham County does not report registration figures by race, so the number of Negro registered voters can only be estimated. The estimate is based upon the following: In five all-Negroe precincts, the average voter turnout was 70% of registration during the May 26th primary. C. E. Boulware, Negro Candidate for County Commissioner, received 7254 votes. Assuming that the great proportion of Boulware's votes were cast by Negroes, and attending the 70% turnout to the Negro registration as a whole, we arrive at an approximation of 10,000 Registered Negroes.)

It is difficult to estimate with acceptable accuracy the number of Negro registered voters which can be attributed to the efforts of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, (of which only $873.46 was spent during the drive) ~~[illegible]~~ D.C.N.A. carried on an intensive campaign to arouse the interest of the Durham Negroes in re-registering during the three weeks April 21, to May 12. A luncheon, ~~attended by 20 Negroe ministers, was~~ was held for 20 Negro ministers at which ~~their cooperation was assured~~ they agreed to urge all

and the Durham Chapter of the NAACP ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ who co-sponsored a voter registration drive funded by a $2500 VEP grant.

Church members to ~~[illegible]~~ re-register. A DCNA speaker attended two meetings in each Durham County Negro Church, again urging all ~~[illegible]~~ in attendance to re-register. ~~[illegible]~~ A letter urging that all possible influence be exerted to persuade Negroes to register was sent to each minister, school principal, school teacher and to heads of all business firms. Speakers attended P.T.A. Meetings, social clubs, and fraternal organizations urging registration. 20,000 hand-bills were ~~[illegible]~~ distributed by high-School students. Another 15,000 handbills were distributed prior to and during a "Parchlight Campaign" on May 11, the eve of the last registration day. Three teams of two women each conducted all-day telephone campaigns on the two saturdays preceding the close of the registration period.

We assume that a certain proportion of the 10,000 Negroes presently registered resulted from the DCNA. program. In the absence of precise data we feel that a respectable estimate of the effect of the DCNA program can be made. Taking the registration prior to the purge as the universe of ~~qualified voters~~ ~~registrants~~ prospective registrants, we can compute the proportion of Negro and white prospects who actually registered: 47.6% of the whites and 75.7% of the Negroes. Assuming that, in the South, ordinarily no greater proportion of Negroes than whites would register, we can reason that the differential between these proportions provides a rough estimate of the effect of the DCNA campaign. Applying that differential, 28.1%, to the universe of Negro prospects, we arrive at an estimate of 3700 as the result of the DCNA program. It should be noted here that one of the reasons for the purge of the registration lists was the accumulated inflation of the lists. We have no data on

the extent of the inflation, and no acceptable premises from which anything approaching a satisfactory estimate could be made. ~~[illegible]~~ the universe of possible registrants upon which we base our estimate of the effectiveness of the DCVA effort incorporates this inflation. It is reasonable to assume that there was a greater degree of inflation among the white than among the Negro registration prior to the purge; a number of counties listed ~~[illegible]~~ in excess of 100% of their white voting age population as registered, while in 20 counties was there such an excess in Negro registration. We mention this consideration merely to point out ~~[illegible]~~ one of the principal factors which ~~[illegible]~~ conditions the accuracy of our estimate of DCVA results.

Thus the inflation would tend to exaggerate the effectiveness of the DCVA program, ~~[illegible]~~ under the formula we have used for estimating that effectiveness. However, we have no way of quantifying this exaggeration.

NOV 23 1962

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 264-4753

PRESIDENT
Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
George W. Jones
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Ala.

VICE PRESIDENT
Dr. J. Rupert Picott
316 East Clay Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

November 21, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

This is to acknowledge, with grateful appreciation, your letter of November 15 regarding our plans to survey the voting strength of The Negro Teacher in the South.

I am very pleased that your office is interested in this project, and also, am extremely happy for your offer of financial assistance. Thank you most kindly.

We have re-worked our questionnaire in terms of the suggestions of Mr. Jack Minnis. The revised copy is herewith enclosed. I should like to take advantage of your offer to mimeograph the questionnaire and furnish some postage for mailing them out. Also, I think well of the idea of having the questionnaires returned to your office for processing.

In view of this, I have indicated that the questionnaire is to be returned to your office when completed. Do you think it would help to increase the number of responses if a postage-paid business reply envelope is included with the questionnaire when it is sent out? If so, do you have a supply of these?

I had planned to send out around 5,000 inquiries. This is figured on the basis of an average of about 500 Principals and local association Presidents in each of 10 States. This is a rough estimation as I do not have the exact figures for all States. In view of your explanation, I will not plan to send this to Arkansas.

As to procedure, let me see if I am correct: you will reproduce the questionnaire and send the copies to me. I will mail them out. The questionnaires will be returned to you for processing. You will then send me the results of the findings. Let me have your reactions.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton November 21, 1962

Let me thank you again for your willingness to offer the facilities and financial assistance of your office for our use relative to this project. The American Teachers Association is anxious to help pave the way for first class, and more intelligent citizens. We feel that it is part of our responsibility, as an organization of minority group educators, to engage in those activities which will lead to equality of educational opportunities, as well as equality of professinnal status. Maximum understanding and use of the ballot, it seems to me, should help lead to the achievement of our ultimate goals. Your interest and faith in us is tremendously heartening.

Let me hear from you again soon regarding these matters.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones
E.F.

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

Enclosure

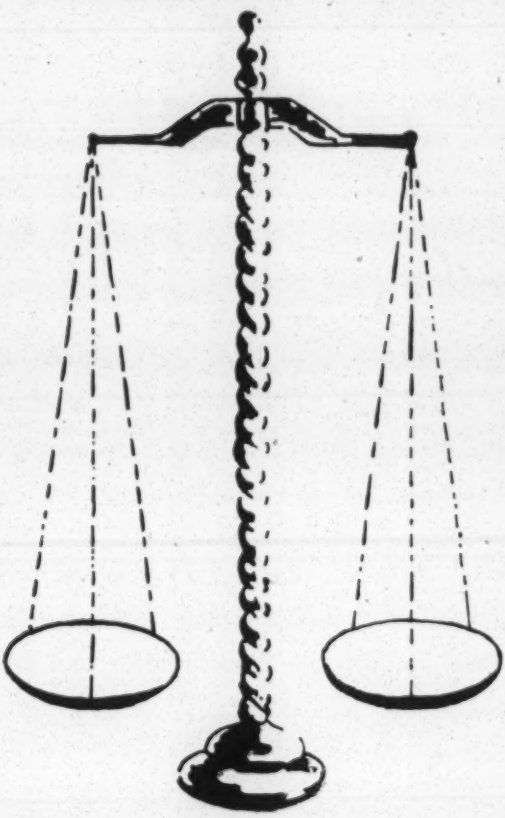
cc: Dr. Richard V. Moore, President

merican

eachers

ssociation

FOR EQUALITY OF PROFESSIONAL STATUS



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To secure

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And

- **Equality of Professional and Economic Status for every teacher.**

  TENURE
  SALARY
  ACADEMIC FREEDOM
  ELIMINATION OF FLAGRANT ABUSES

- To PROVIDE another voice in the appeal for the elimination of discriminatory differentials in the provision and administration of compulsory universal education.

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- To INITIATE challenging programs and projects which will stimulate action on our urgent concerns for those children and their communities for which ATA members have most immediate service-obligation.

- To MAINTAIN liaison and to seek maximum participation - opportunity for ATA members in the wide range of teacher organizations.

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To enlist the interest and organizational participation of all teachers who are concerned for the achievement of DEMOCRATIC ideologies in Education and in other aspects of life in AMERICA. A representative voice for 100,000 members of the teaching profession.

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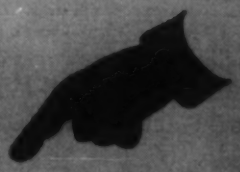

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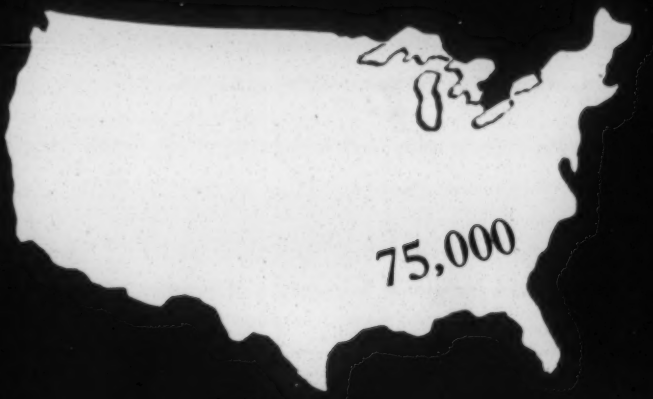
1962 - 1963



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NAME

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MAILING ADDRESS

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Clip out . . . Attach your check . . . Mail To

AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 Thurman Street

Montgomery 4, Alabama

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IT IS TIME TO GROW.

It is time to become a truly great National Professional Organization with Nation-wide influence.

It is time to employ full-time research assistants, educational writers, legal Counsel, and field workers.

It is time to have a fully equipped and fully staffed library of educational materials and books accessible to all members.

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Cooperation with the Association for The Study of Negro Life and History—(ASNLH)

Encouragement of Adult Education

The officers and staff of ATA will seek to give priority ratings to these emphases.

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JM
BU ~~11/22/62~~
11/29/62

November 15, 1962

2.

Mr. George W. Jones
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of November 7, in which you enclosed the questionnaire which you propose to send to teachers.

We are very much interested, here in the VEP office, in your plans and would like to participate in them. We would be willing to give some financial support to such a project. The only state that I can think of where it would serve no practical purpose would be in Arkansas, for in that state all teachers and public employees are required to pay their poll tax (which is the registration in Arkansas) before they can draw their checks, so that every teacher in Arkansas is a registered voter.

I have asked Jack Minnis, our Research Director, to look over the questionnaire and I am enclosing some suggestions which he has made for your consideration.

We would be willing to take on the job of having all of the questionnaires returned to this office for processing and could offer other services such as the mimeographing of the questionnaire and the furnishing of some postage.

Let me know what you think about this.

Sincerely yours,

WAB:jl

Wiley A. Branton

1. (b) - should specify a time period. Five years perhaps?

We have some evidence that, in the poll tax states, registration of Negroes sometimes exceeds considerably payment of poll tax. Thus, many registered Negroes are not potential voters. A sub-question under "1" might inquire if this be true of teachers.

3. I would suggest rephrashing of this question. "Unusual" suggests that we know what the "usual" is in all of the areas into which the questionnaire will be going. Perhaps a question should ask something like "Do teachers appear to be reluctant to qualify for the ballot?" Then - "If so, does this reluctance seem to stem from lack of confidence that the ballot is an effective way to registeredissatisfaction with conditions; from apprehension that there will be reprisals; from lack of knowledge about the potentiality of organized political action."

Then, "In the past year or so (or, perhaps, five years or so) have teachers seemed to take a more active interest in registering and voting than they did previously?" "If so, to what do you attribute this changing attitude?"

Memo from **JEAN T. LEVINE**

Wiley:

With the few changes I'm noting this looks like it could be an important piece of research. I'd suggest we try to arrange to be given access to the results, even if it means investing a bit in postage, etc. Or perhaps we could make a deal with Jones whereby we would mimeo the quwstionnaire here and send it out ~~under~~ over his name, have it returend here for our processing, and then send it on to him for whatever he wants to do with it. Our best interests would, I think, indicate the latter.

Jack

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

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TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION ATA Founded 1904

NOV 8 1962

November 7, 1962

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I am delighted to have had the pleasure of meeting and chatting with you during the convention of the Arkansas Teachers Association last weekend.

Pursuant to our brief discussion regarding a project in which I am interested in developing, I submit herewith a rough copy of a proposed questionnaire for your reactions. I plan to send this to the school principals and presidents of local associations in each of the Southern States.

The information sought by this instrument may already be on file somewhere. However, I thought I would seek to pull it together and publish the results of my findings. I do not mean publish for public consumption necessairly, but make it available to those agencies or institutions or organizations who might find such information useful in their programs for progress in this area.

Before I proceed to polish and distribute this form, I should like your frank and objective reactions to its structure, content, and possible value if any. Since the project will take a considerable sum from our modest budget, I want to be sure it is worthy of the time, effort and money.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ :ek

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

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Richmond 19, Virginia

TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

County-_____ State_____

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many Negro Teachers are employed in your County? _____
   (a) How many are registered voters? _____
   (b) How many have been denied registration in your county? _____

2. Is there any organized plan to get Negro Teachers to register? _____

   _____
   (a) What is the plan and how effective has it been? _____

   _____

3. Have Negro Teachers shown any unusual interest in qualifying for the ballot? _____
   (a) Point out some particular cases to verify your answer. You may use back or separate sheet for your answer.

4. Is there any opposition from citizens of the community to teachers registering and voting? _____
   (a) Give cases to verify your answer. You may use back or separate sheet for your answer.

5. Do the laws of your county or state have any provisions which make it difficult for Negroes to register and vote? _____

6. How does one proceed to qualify for the ballot? _____

   _____

   _____

7. Is there a Board of Registrars? _____
   (a) How is the Board selected? _____
   (b) What is the length of term of office of the Board Members? _____

   _____
   (c) How often does it meet? _____

   (d) Is accommodation adequate for Negroes who appear for registration?

   _____

   (e) Are there separate facilities for Negro applicants? _____

   (f) What discriminatory practices are noted in the registration of Negroes? You may use back or separate sheet for your answers

of the Teachers are

QUESTIONNAIRE*

1. How many Negro Teachers are employed in your County? _____
   (a) How many registered voters? _____
   (b) How many of those registered have paid their poll tax, and thus qualified to vote? _____
   (c) How many have been denied registration in your County during the past five years? _____

2. Is there any organized plan to get Negro teachers to register? _____
   _____
   (a) What is the plan and how effective has it been? _____
   _____

3. Do teachers appear to be reluctant to qualify for the ballot? _____
   If so, does this reluctance seem to stem:
   (a) From lack of confidence that the ballot is an effective way to register dissatisfaction with conditions; _____
   (b) From apprehension that there will be reprisals; _____
   (c) From lack of knowledge about the potentiality of organized political action? _____

4. In the past year or so ([redacted]) have teachers seemed to take a more active interest in registering and voting than they did previously?
   _____

   If so, to what do you attribute this changing attitude? _____
   _____
   _____

5. Is there any opposition from citizens of the community to teachers registering and voting? _____
   (a) Give cases to verify your answer. You may use back or separate sheet for your answer.

6. Do the laws of your county or state have any provisions which make it difficult for Negroes to register and vote? _____

7. How does one proceed to qualify for the ballot? _____
   _____
   _____

8. Is there a Board of Registrars? _____
   (a) How is the Board selected? _____
   (b) What is the length of term of office of the Board members? _____
   (c) How often does it meet? _____
   (d) Is accommodation adequate for Negroes who appear for registration? _____
   _____
   (e) Are there separate facilities for Negro applicants? _____
   (f) What discriminatory practices are noted in the registration of Negroes? _____
   _____

You may use back or separate sheet for your answers.

*NOTE: Please return this questionnaire, after it is completed, to: Mr. Wiley Branton, Director, Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Teachers Questionnaire

799-1353

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 LUCKIE STREET, NW • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JAckson 5-8654

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • TYPOGRAPHIC DESIGNERS

November 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Attention Mr. Jack Minnes

Thank you for the opportunity of submitting the following proposal

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
✓ 5000	Business Reply Envelopes	$15.12 per M
10,000	" " "	10.80 per M
15,000	" " "	9.40 per M

Above prices based on 6-3/4 size. If 6-1/4 size is desired, please deduct 24¢ per M.

SPECIFICATIONS

24 lb. white wove envelope. Black ink
Printed 1 side.

We shall be pleased to receive your order and assure you excellent quality and prompt service.

Very truly yours,

John Rogers

John Rogers
Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

Make file on ATA

WJB

Memorandum for the Teachers' Questionnaire File
December 14, 1962

On Thursday, December 13, I called on George Jones, Executive Secretary of the ATA at his office in Montgomery. I delivered the questionnaires to him and clarified with him the mode of operation.

He agreed to provide us with a numbered mailing list, the numbers to correspond to the numbered return mail envelopes. I told him we would ship him the envelopes either Friday or the following Monday by bus, and when we know the time I would phone him as to when to expect the shipment.

Jones tells me that the registrar in Montgomery is beginning to mail notices of acceptance to the persons listed in the Federal Court decree.

We tried to get in touch with Rufus Lewis, who is the big man in registration in Montgomery, but he was not available. Jones assured me that he would talk to Lewis, find out whether the court decision had changed the attitude of the registrars in any way, and would write us about it.

The ATA is a national Negro teachers' organization which has been in existence since 1904. Jones tells me that they recommend that Negro teachers belong both to the ATA and the NEA. He says that prospective ATA members frequently ask him why they should belong to both. He says that in many instances the NEA discriminates against Negro teachers and it is the ATA's position that so long as this continues there will be a need for a national Negro teachers' association. As one example of this NEA discrimination, he states that during the time when the Louisiana legislature was holding up funds for paying New Orlean's teachers, the NEA told the Louisiana white teachers association that an interest-free loan was available for continuing the white teachers salaries. When the Louisiana Negro teachers association asked the NEA for this same service, NEA informed them that only a certain amount of money was available for such purpose and that NEA had elected to provide the loans for the white teachers. NEA doubtless would have a different story about this, and it should be kept in mind that Jones' recouonting of this incident operates to the advantage of his organization. On the other hand, Jones impresses me as a dedicated and responsible professional. I doubt that he would make such allegations if they were not

true.

While I was in Montgomery I went to the Secretary of State's office to try to get a copy of the constitution and the election laws and to find out what kind of registration and voting records were available in the state capitol. An administrative assistant to the Secretary of State informed me that in the six years that she had been in that office she had not seen a copy of the Alabama constitution nor of the election laws. She said that money was not available for such purposes. Just outside the door of the capitol building is a huge marble obelisk, guarded by iron confederate soldiers. The monument is dedicated to the purity of southern womanhood? I thought is was interesting that the state does not provide material which is necessary for the accumulation of the information the state requires of prospective registrants.

JM:jl

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

PHONE 264-4753

PRESIDENT
Rev. L. H. Pitts
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Ala.
Phone ST. 8-6577

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
George W. Jones
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Ala.

VICE PRESIDENT
Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Fla.

TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Educational Leaders of ATA

FROM: George W. Jones, Executive Secretary, ATA

IN RE: THE ENCLOSED QUESTIONNAIRE

The American Teachers Association is currently engaged in a project, the results of which will be of tremendous benefit and value to all of us. We are seeking to determine the voting strength, and voting potential, of Negro educators in the South.

This is a mammoth task, and we need and respectfully solicit your assistance. Enclosed you will find a questionnaire which we are asking that you complete, and using the enclosed self-addressed business reply envelope, mail right away.

You will note that the envelope is addressed to the office of the Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Georgia. This organization has been kind and gracious enough to contribute significantly to this survey.

You will also note that some of the questions on the enclosed form require more space for an answer than is provided. Please feel free to use the back of the form, or a separate sheet of paper for your answer.

You may or may not wish to identify yourself, your school, or your county. This is your choice, and we leave that up to you.

All this requires is a few minutes of your time. And I think you should know that whether or not you take the few minutes necessary to complete and mail this form may mean the difference between greater or lesser security for the Negro teacher in the South.

You asked that ATA DO SOMETHING concrete, positive, definite and valuable for its membership. This is one of the many projects in which we are engaged which will help us do what you ask.

Your cooperation is urgently requested.

Thank you kindly for your time and understanding.

GWJ:ek

12-17-62

Enclosures

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

4- Teachers Questionnaire

5000 envelopes
shipped to Mr. Jones
via Baggett Transport. Co.

12/19/62

BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF THE
CITY OF ST. LOUIS

INSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT
DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT - BANDEKER GROUP
5940 LUCAS AVE. (8)

December 20, 1962

Mr. George W. Jones
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

I appreciate very much your letter of December 13. You are indeed very generous in your kind words about the Bandeker District and me.

Your invitation to suggest something for ATA poses a real challenge. I believe there is a current need - a desperate need - for your organization. This is particularly true in the south. Not that the problems are any less in the north, but the organizational structure is perhaps a bit more favorable for attacking the problems. That is, we have more Negroes in favorable positions in the north or there is more likelihood of action programs in the best interest of Negroes getting pushed ahead than is the case in the south.

I certainly would like to help you and ATA push a program forward. I would hesitate, however, to attempt to suggest anything without intense study of the situation. Perhaps, as time passes I will have some strong convictions which I will pass on to you.

Merry Christmas, Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Shepard, Jr.
Assistant Superintendent

SS/HC

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 15, 1963

Mr. George W. Jones
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter concerning the possibility that I might be of assistance in helping our Association develop some specific research proposals in line with the suggestions made at our recent ATA-NEA Joint Committee meeting. What I think might work would be for a small committee of experts to work under my guidance in accomplishing this job. I can assemble such a group who might contribute their services, but I think some travel and minor expenses may be involved. Perhaps $300-$500 would cover it since there may be two or three meetings required.

You may wish to explore with your officers the setting up of a small ad hoc committee to serve under my leadership. If the officers approved then I would want the funds made available to the committee to be used at my discretion with proper responsibility and accountability. In this way we can move fast and at our own speed without red tape and unnecessary delays. I would want the Executive Secretary, President, Vice-President and Treasurer to be ex-officio representatives on this committee. The professional designers would come from the Office and nearby colleges and universities. I think they would serve at no cost.

If we could get approval from you and operating funds, we would be able to call a preliminary group together around February 1. Two or three of the persons I have in mind would come from the Norfolk area and another from the University of Pennsylvania. All proposals developed would go to you and the Association before being submitted. There are a number of very good possibilities.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Edward W. Brice
Director
Adult Education Branch

1-24-63

January 17, 1963

Mr. George W. Jones
Executive Secretary of the
American Teachers Assn.
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

I wonder if you would give us a brief progress report on the mailing out of the questionnaire to school principals and local association officials?

I was in Clarksdale, Mississippi, last week conferring with the voter registration workers there. One of the workers, Mrs. Idessa Johnson, 208 Edwards Street, Clarksdale, Mississippi, who is a substitute teacher and the owner of a restaurant, is very much interested in trying to get teachers in Coahoma County registered. She tells me that her activities with the NAACP and with local organizations interested in voter registration is hindering her ability to work with her fellow teachers. Whites in the area have been very successful in frightening the teachers about association with anyone connected with such organizations. Mrs. Johnson tells me that the local teachers association is more or less dominated by administrators whose positions and careers are at the mercy of white school officials. She finds that the local teachers association is therefore immobilized on any voter registration work. I suggested to her that there might be some ATA members in the county whom she could stimulate into action, using ATA as a basis for organization. If you think such a thing might be possible, I would suggest you write to Mrs. Johnson and make arrangements for some kind of contact with her and any members you may have in the area. I would appreciate receiving a copy of such correspondence for our files.

Best regards,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

January 21, 1963

Mrs. Idessa Johnson
208 Edwards Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Mr. Jack Minnis of the Voter Education Project informs me that he spoke with you in Clarksdale recently regarding voter registration there. He told me that you are interested in pushing a more dynamic program in your area but are faced with certain handicaps.

As you know the American Teachers Association is concerned about those situations and circumstances which prohibits optimum performance of our teachers. We feel that one of the most serious barriers to quality service is political impotency. We are not only willing but anxious to work with any person or group interested in the removal of this barrier.

If local, district, or state associations do not, for some reason, have active programs in the area of voter registration, they should have. Meanwhile ATA will serve in whatever way it may be deemed feasible to stimulate or mobilize action in this area.

If you think well of the idea, I will accept an invitation to come to Clarksdale to discuss this further with you and other teachers in the area. Let me have your reaction to this.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

cc: Mr. Jack Minnis

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

PHONE 264-4753

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Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

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M E M O R A N D U M

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FROM: George W. Jones, Executive Secretary, ATA

IN RE: THE ENCLOSED QUESTIONNAIRE

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This is a mammoth task, and we need and respectfully solicit your assistance. Enclosed you will find a questionnaire which we are asking that you complete, and using the enclosed self-addressed business reply envelope, mail right away.

You will note that the envelope is addressed to the office of the Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Georgia. This organization has been kind and gracious enough to contribute significantly to this survey.

You will also note that some of the questions on the enclosed form require more space for an answer than is provided. Please feel free to use the back of the form, or a separate sheet of paper for your answer.

You may or may not wish to identify yourself, your school, or your county. This is your choice, and we leave that up to you.

All this requires is a few minutes of your time. And I think you should know that whether or not you take the few minutes necessary to complete and mail this form may mean the difference between greater or lesser security for the Negro teacher in the South.

You asked that ATA DO SOMETHING concrete, positive, definite and valuable for its membership. This is one of the many projects in which we are engaged which will help us do what you ask.

Your cooperation is urgently requested.

Thank you kindly for your time and understanding.

GWJ:ek

12-17-62

Enclosures

WBV

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Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION ATA Founded 1904

JAN 22 1963

January 21, 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Your letter of January 17 is herewith acknowledged. Thank you for writing.

Because of clerical staff problems I have not been able to mail out the questionnaire, regarding voting, to school principals and local association officials. However, I expect to resume work on this project and get the material in the mail this week.

The story in Clarksdale, Mississippi as related to you by Mrs. Idessa Johnson is not an atypical one. I have found too often that fear of economic reprisal is the most serious deterrent to the full pursuit of political rights. I think the Negro teacher in Mississippi is suffering very badly in this area. and needs the comfort, sympathy and support of those not afraid to give it. At the same time, however, these people are afraid to ask for help from outsiders and are afraid to work with those in the community who might help them. Thus I am happy to know that Mrs. Johnson is interested in doing something about voter registration in Clarksdale. A copy of my letter to her is herewith enclosed.

Also enclosed is a copy of the letter which I am sending out along with our questionnaire. As you can see, it was written over a month ago. But I will mail it out over the next serveral days.

Meanwhile please know that I do appreciate you writing and for calling the Clarksdale situation to my attention. I really think that ATA does have a responsibility here.

4. Teacher Questionnaire

Enclosed are thermofax copies of letters from Dr. Samuel Shepard, Jr. of St. Louis, Missouri and Dr. Edward W. Brice of D. C. These are in line with the items we were discussing during your visit with me in Montgomery. I thought you might be interested in developments.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

Enclosures

March 18, 1963

Mr. George W. Jones
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, kAlabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 13. The reports are coming into our office every day and at the moment we are opening the mail as it comes in and recording the information on cards.

We have approved your request for the extra clerical help which was needed to get the questionnaires out and we are enclosing our check in the amount of $254.62 representing payment in full for the clerical expense and postage.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.

4- Teachers Questionnaire

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

PHONE 264-4753

PRESIDENT
Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

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853 Thurman Street
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Dr. J. Rupert Picott
316 East Clay Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

MAR 14 1963

March 13, 1963

Attorney Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Attorney Branton:

I have finally managed to finish mailing out the questionnaire designed to determine the extent of registration among Negro teachers in the South. Forms were sent to School Principals and Presidents of local associations in the following States: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. A total of 4,975 were mailed with instructions (and an envelope) to return them to you. (In spite of this, some of them have already been returned to my office!)

The cost of mailing out the questionnaires came to $74.62. In order to get the work done finally, I had to hire two extra clerks. (The job turned out to be much bigger than I had envisioned!) I would appreciate it if you could see your way clear to assist financially with paying these young ladies. Each of them worked about three hours a day for about a month. It cost me $90.00 each--a total of $180.00 to get the extra typing done. I know this item was not included specifically in our original agreement. Nonetheless, it did turn up as an additional expense, and I hope you will give serious and favorable consideration to granting us this additional help. To summarize, then, the costs add up thusly:

Postage	--	$ 74.62
Clerks	---	180.00
TOTAL		$ 254.62

Under separate cover, I am sending you the list of persons to whom the questionnaires were sent. They are numbered, and each received an identically numbered return envelope.

Attorney Wiley Branton, Director March 13, 1963

I was in Atlanta a couple of weeks ago and while there, spoke to Mr. Jack Minis about the project. In addition to explaining the above matter to him, I asked that the final results of the tabulations which ensue from this project not be released to anyone until I had a chance to see them. He agreed to this.

If there is any thing else relative to this matter that I should attend to, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

J. M.

Do you approve this expenditure?

W. B.

I do

JM

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

STATEMENT OF MAILING MATTER WITH PERMIT IMPRINTS

MAILER: Prepare in duplicate, completing all items by typewriter, pen or indelible pencil.

PERMIT NO. 58

POST OFFICE	DATE	RECEIPT NO.	NUMBER OF SACKS	NUMBER OF CARTONS
Montgomery, Alabama	2/28/63		8	

[X] 1st—Letters, written matter, post cards. [ ] 2nd—Newspapers and magazines entered as second-class mail. [ ] 3rd—Circulars and other printed matter, merchandise less than 16 ozs. [ ] 3rd—Books or catalogs of 24 pages or more, seeds, etc., less than 16 ozs. [ ] 4th—Parcel post, books, merchandise, printed matter, 16 ozs. or more.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF PERMIT HOLDER — TELEPHONE NO. 264-4753

American Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

[X] Check here when mailing is by authorized non-profit organization *(Section 134.5 P.M.)*

Weight of a single piece.	1 OZS.
Number of pieces in a pound. *(For third-class matter mailed at bulk rates.)*	25
Total number of PIECES in mailing.	4,193
Total number of POUNDS in mailing.	168
Rate chargeable on each *(check one)* [ ] POUND [X] PIECE is →	1 1/2 ¢
TOTAL COMPUTED POSTAGE	$ 62.89

SIGNATURE OF PERMIT HOLDER OR AGENT: Guy W Jones

NAME AND ADDRESS OF INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION FOR WHICH MAILING IS PREPARED *(If other than permit holder)*

POD Form 3602
Oct. 1962

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

STATEMENT OF MAILING MATTER WITH PERMIT IMPRINTS

MAILER: Prepare in duplicate, completing all items by typewriter, pen or indelible pencil.

PERMIT NO. 58

POST OFFICE	DATE	RECEIPT NO.	NUMBER OF SACKS	NUMBER OF CARTONS
Montgomery, Alabama	3/13/63		2	

[X] 1st—Letters, written matter, post cards. [ ] 2nd—Newspapers and magazines entered as second-class mail. [ ] 3rd—Circulars and other printed matter, merchandise less than 16 ozs. [ ] 3rd—Books or catalogs of 24 pages or more, seeds, etc., less than 16 ozs. [ ] 4th—Parcel post, books, merchandise, printed matter, 16 ozs. or more.

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American Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

[X] Check here when mailing is by authorized non-profit organization *(Section 134.5 P.M.)*

Weight of a single piece.	1 OZS.
Number of pieces in a pound. *(For third-class matter mailed at bulk rates.)*	25
Total number of PIECES in mailing.	782
Total number of POUNDS in mailing.	32
Rate chargeable on each *(check one)* [ ] POUND [X] PIECE is →	1 1/2 ¢
TOTAL COMPUTED POSTAGE	$ 11.73

SIGNATURE OF PERMIT HOLDER OR AGENT: Guy W Jones

NAME AND ADDRESS OF INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION FOR WHICH MAILING IS PREPARED *(If other than permit holder)*

POD Form 3602
Oct. 1962

MAILER must NOT make any entry on this side of form.

STATION OR UNIT	WEIGHING SECTION	PERMIT NO.
RECEIVED AND WEIGHED	NAME OF PERMIT HOLDER	
DATE		
TIME A.M. P.M.		

NUMBER OF		CLASS	WEIGHT OF A SINGLE PIECE	NUMBER OF		
SACKS	OUTSIDE BUNDLES			PIECES IN A POUND	TOTAL PIECES	TOTAL POUNDS

	RATE CHARGEABLE ON EACH *(Check one)*	TOTAL POSTAGE
	☐ PIECE ☐ POUND ¢	$

I CERTIFY that the matter mailed has been inspected, the statement of mailing on the reverse side of this form has been verified, and the bulk mailing fee has been paid.

(WEIGHER)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1962 OF—664556

MAILER must NOT make any entry on this side of form.

STATION OR UNIT	WEIGHING SECTION	PERMIT NO.
RECEIVED AND WEIGHED	NAME OF PERMIT HOLDER	
DATE		
TIME A.M. P.M.		

NUMBER OF		CLASS	WEIGHT OF A SINGLE PIECE	NUMBER OF		
SACKS	OUTSIDE BUNDLES			PIECES IN A POUND	TOTAL PIECES	TOTAL POUNDS

	RATE CHARGEABLE ON EACH *(Check one)*	TOTAL POSTAGE
	☐ PIECE ☐ POUND ¢	$

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(WEIGHER)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1962 OF—664556

WB

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

PHONE 264-4753

PRESIDENT
Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

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TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

MAR 20 1963

March 19, 1963

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you so much for your letter of March 18 with which was enclosed the check for $254.62 to cover clerical expenses and postage incident to mailing out the voter questionnaire. We are greatly pleased that you approved our request.

I am happy to know that the reports are coming in. Perhaps they will all be in before schools close. It would be good if we could make a report on this project to the ATA Convention on July 31 - August 3, 1963.

We will look forward to hearing from you when all the "returns" are in.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

4 - Teacher's Questionnaire

1962-63 NCTA Membership Report
as of April 2, 1963

APR 28 1964

	Number Enrolled	100% Membership	Amount
Coastal Plains District			
Carteret County Unit	42		$ 336.00
Craven County Unit	87	100%	696.00
New Bern Unit	70		560.00
Duplin County Unit	172	100%	1,376.00
Greene County Unit	95	100%	760.00
Jones County Unit	59	100%	472.00
Lenoir County Unit	154	100%	1,232.00
Kinston Unit	101	100%	808.00
New Hanover County Unit	189		1,512.00
Onslow County Unit	90	100%	720.00
Pamlico County Unit	~~29~~ 33		~~232.00~~ 264.00
Pender County Unit	~~101~~ 103	100%	~~808.00~~ 824.00
Wayne County Unit	149	100%	1,192.00
O'Berry Unit	29		232.00
Goldsboro Unit	129	100%	1,032.00
Freemont Unit	5	100%	40.00
East Piedmont District			
Durham County Unit	103		824.00
Durham City Unit	279	100%	2,232.00
N. C. College at Durham	~~17~~ 18		~~136.00~~ 144.00
Franklin County Unit	100		800.00
Franklinton Unit	24	100%	192.00
Granville County Unit	79		632.00
Oxford City Unit	~~67~~ 69	100%	~~536.00~~ 552.00
Person County Unit	94		752.00
Vance County Unit	152	100%	1,216.00
Wake County Unit	264	100%	2,112.00
Raleigh Unit	193	100%	1,544.00
Saint Augustine's College	1		8.00
Shaw University	~~15~~ 16		~~120.00~~ 128.00
State School for B. & D.	8		64.00
State Department Unit	14		112.00
Raleigh at Large	2		16.00
Warren County Unit	137	100%	1,096.00
North Central District			
Edgecombe-Tarboro Unit	229	100%	1,832.00
Halifax County Unit	~~191~~ 205		~~1,528.00~~ 1,640.00
Roanoke Rapids Unit	36	100%	288.00
Weldon Unit	46	100%	368.00
Johnston County Unit	156	100%	1,248.00
Nash County Unit	200	100%	1,600.00
Rocky Mount Unit	120	100%	960.00
Northampton County Unit	183	100%	1,464.00
Wilson County Unit	75		600.00
Wilson City Unit	120	100%	960.00
Elm City Unit	38	100%	304.00
Northeastern District			
Beaufort County Unit	79		632.00
Washington Unit ..(3 retired teachers)	67	100%	542.00
Bertie County Unit	~~148~~ 149		~~1,184.00~~ 1,192.00
Camden County Unit	26	100%	208.00
Chowan County Unit	12	100%	96.00

NCTA Membership Report (Con't)	Number Enrolled	100% Membership	Amount
Northeastern District			
Edenton Unit	51	100%	408.00
Currituck County Unit	22	100%	176.00
Dare County Unit	4	100%	32.00
Gates County Unit	52	100%	416.00
Hertford County Unit	146	100%	1,168.00
Hyde County Unit	30	100%	240.00
Martin County Unit	148		1,184.00
Pasquotank County Unit	33	100%	264.00
Elizabeth City Unit	60	100%	480.00
Elizabeth City Teachers College	~~1~~ 13		104.00 ~~8.00~~
Perquimans County Unit	47	100%	376.00
Pitt County Unit	249	100%	1,992.00
Greenville Unit	71	100%	568.00
Tyrrell County Unit	~~21~~ 22		176.00 ~~168.00~~
Washington County Unit	59		472.00
Piedmont District			
Alamance County Unit	110	100%	880.00
Burlington Unit	~~67~~ 70		560.00 ~~536.00~~
Caswell County Unit	111	100%	888.00
Chatham County Unit	97	100%	776.00
Guilford County Unit	127	100%	1,016.00
Greensboro Unit	281	100%	2,248.00
High Point Unit	~~118~~ 119	100%	952.00 ~~944.00~~
A. & T. College	~~26~~ 31		248.00 ~~208.00~~
Bennett College	15		120.00
Palmer Memorial Institute	6		48.00
Sedalia Unit			
Lee County Unit	76	100%	608.00
Moore County Unit	68	100%	544.00
Pinehurst Unit	12		96.00
W. Southern Pines Unit	27	100%	216.00
Orange County Unit	73	100%	584.00
Chapel Hill Unit	46	100%	368.00
Randolph County Unit	53	100%	424.00
Richmond County Unit	59	100%	472.00
Hamlet Unit	44	100%	352.00
Rockingham Unit	26	100%	208.00
Morrison Training School	21	100%	168.00
Rockingham County Unit	44	100%	352.00
Leaksville Unit	31	100%	248.00
Madison-Mayodan Unit	25	100%	200.00
Reidsville Unit	~~53~~ 58		464.00 ~~424.00~~
Scotland County Unit	75		600.00
Laurinburg Unit	56		448.00
Southeastern District			
Bladen County Unit	144		1,152.00
Brunswick County Unit	78		624.00
Columbus County Unit	159		1,272.00
Whiteville Unit	41	100%	328.00
Cumberland County Unit	175		1,400.00
Fayetteville Unit	171	100%	1,368.00
Fayetteville State Teachers College	~~32~~ 36		288.00 ~~256.00~~
Harnett County Unit	144	100%	1,152.00
Hoke County Unit	87		696.00
Robeson County	105	100%	840.00
Fairmont Unit	44	100%	352.00
Lumberton Unit	56	100%	448.00
Maxton Unit	31	100%	248.00
Red Springs Unit	31	100%	248.00

NCTA Membership Report (Con't)	Number Enrolled	100% Membership	Amount
Southeastern District			
Saint Pauls Unit	34	100%	272.00
Sampson County Unit	149	100%	1,192.00
Clinton Unit	49	100%	392.00
Southwestern District			
Asheville-Buncombe Unit	~~114~~ 13		912.00
Burke County Unit	38	100%	304.00
Caldwell-Lenoir Unit	39	100%	312.00
Catawba-Hickory-Newton Unit	77		616.00
Cherokee County Unit			
Murphy Unit	3	100%	24.00
Andrews Unit			
Cleveland County Unit	169		1,352.00
Gaston County Unit	98	100%	784.00
Gastonia Unit	58		464.00
Cherryville Unit	14	100%	112.00
Haywood County Unit	10	100%	80.00
Hendersonville Unit	14		112.00
Jackson County Unit			
Lincoln County Unit	31	100%	248.00
Lincolnton Unit	6	100%	48.00
McDowell County Unit	15	100%	120.00
Macon County Unit			
Mecklenburg-Charlotte Unit	~~718~~ 720	100%	~~5,744.00~~ 5,760.00
Johnson C. Smith University			
Polk County Unit	16	100%	128.00
Rutherford County Unit	62	100%	496.00
Transylvania County Unit	7	100%	56.00
Yancey County Unit			
Western District			
Alexander County Unit	14	100%	112.00
Alleghany County Unit			
Anson County Unit	80		640.00
Morven Unit	27	100%	216.00
Wadedsboro Unit	35	100%	280.00
Ashe County Unit	3	100%	24.00
Cabarrus County Unit	109	100%	872.00
Davidson County Unit	78		624.00
Davie County Unit	22	100%	176.00
Forsyth County Unit	~~22~~ 24		~~176.00~~ 192.00
Winston-Salem Unit	397	100%	3,176.00
Winston-Salem Teachers College	41		328.00
Iredell County Unit	60	100%	480.00
Mooresville Unit	18	100%	144.00
Statesville Unit	41	100%	328.00
Montgomery County Unit	50		400.00
Rowan County Unit	96		768.00
Salisbury Unit	~~41~~ 48		~~328.00~~ 384.00
Stanly County Unit	58	100%	464.00
Stoke County Unit	5		40.00
Surry County Unit			
Mount Airy Unit	~~16~~ 20		~~128.00~~ 160.00
Union County Unit	54		432.00
Monroe Unit	32	100%	256.00
Wilkes County Unit	29	100%	232.00
Yadkin County Unit	15	100%	120.00
Barber-Scotia College	1		8.00
Livingstone College	15		120.00
TOTAL	11,874		$94,998.00

~~11,895~~ 11,966

JMV
WBV

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 264-4753

PRESIDENT
Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
George W. Jones
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Ala.

VICE PRESIDENT
Dr. J. Rupert Picott
316 East Clay Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

May 27, 1963

MAY 28 1963

Dr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 506
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Minnis:

Thank you for your letter of May 23 relative to our survey.

It is almost unbelievable that only 840 replies have been returned to date out of the nearly 5,000 sent! This is very disappointing news. Even though I suspected that most principals were a little frightened, I did not realize that they were scared, hired men! Perhaps this is not the reason the questionnaires were not returned, but I am inclined to think so.

The information contained in your letter is sufficient for our mid-June meeting. Meanwhile, I would rather you keep the questionnaries. We will move our office to Atlanta in August, and I can get them then. If you can get some meaningful data ready for our annual convention, fine. If not, then we will make a progress report there, and release the full report later.

Thank you for your continued interest and cooperation. I, too, feel that the study is very valuable, even though I am greatly disappointed about the disgustingly limited response.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones /R
George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

5- Teacher Questionnaire

May 23, 1963

Mr. George W. Jones
The American Teachers Assn.
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

Eight hundred and forty (840) replies to our questionnaire mailing have been received by this office. We still get three or four a week, but I doubt that there is going to be a significant number coming in from now on. We have taken the information from the questionnaires and put them on 5 x 7 cards for ease in handling. I think it is going to be necessary to put the material onto IBM cards in order to get any meaningful information from it. This, of course, requires coding and card punching, which is time consuming and tedious. I do not expect to complete this phase of the operation before late summer. It is possible that something could be ready by the date of your annual convention, but I would by no means advise you to count on it.

Since we have taken the information from the questionnaires, we would be happy to send them to you, if you desire. In this way, you could prepare something for your mid-June meeting, and you could, as well, undertake to prepare whatever you think appropriate for your annual convention in the event that we do not complete our study in time for the convention.

We are a bit disappointed about the response to the questionnaire, but we nevertheless feel that the study is a valuable one even so.

My very best regards.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

5- Teachers Questionnaire

J. M.
Please answer

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

853 THURMAN STREET MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 264-4753

PRESIDENT
Dr. Richard V. Moore
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
George W. Jones
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Ala.

VICE PRESIDENT
Dr. J. Rupert Picott
316 East Clay Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

TREASURER
Dr. Walter N. Ridley
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

MAY 23 1963

May 22, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

The purpose of this letter is to request information on the status or stage of the ATA-VEP teacher survey. I should like to make a progress report to our Board of Directors at a Mid-June meeting.

Also, I should like to know if you feel that a final compilation of data can be made ready for presentation to the delegates at our 60th Annual Convention in Dallas, July 31-August 3, 1963.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Jones
Executive Secretary

GWJ:ek

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
JAckson 2-7512

H. E. Tate, *Executive Secretary*

THE GEORGIA TEACHERS AND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

June 14, 1963

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Frederick D. Browne, *Vice President*
Sylvester Ashford, *Treasurer*
H. E. Tate, *Executive Secretary*

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George B. Tutt
Mrs. Lillie S. Harris
John W. Lawton

TRUSTEES

James Hawes, Jr.
Napoleon Williams
R. J. Martin
Harry S. King

JUN 15 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

This comes to acknowledge and thank you for your letter received June 14, 1963 relative to the questionnaire pertaining to voter registration. The next Newsletter that we send out will carry a copy of this questionnaire. We are asking teachers to complete and return this form to us. After compiling the materials we will be happy to send it to you.

With kindest personal and professional regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. E. Tate
Executive Secretary

HET:gr

"INVEST IN A CHILD AND MAKE A MAN"

5- Teachers Questionnaire

Virginia Teachers Association

VTA
FOUNDED 1887

CLAY STREET AT FOURTH
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
MILTON 3-1954

ALFRED K. TALBOT, JR., PRESIDENT
J. RUPERT PICOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 19, 1963

JUN 22 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

This follows your letter of the thirteenth.

Contact will be made with our school principals and local association officials in various parts of the State. I shall mention your questionnaire and try to encourage them to respond. As you know, this is not the best time of the year. However, we will be pleased to try to cooperate.

Do accept good wishes.

Cordially,

Executive Secretary

JRP:hhb

June 20, 1963

Mr. W. E. Solomon,
Executive Secretary
Palmetto Education Assn., Inc.
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Solomon:

I am enclosing a copy of the questionnair and the letter of transmittal. We have received only 72 out of 447 queries in South Carolina.

Thanks so much for your interest. Will greatly appreciate anything you can do to stimulate respondents for us.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Encls.

Palmetto Education Association, Inc.

Office of the Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Telephone: ALpine 2-9383

Hudson L. Barksdale, President
331 N. Dean Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

June 18, 1963

JUN 19 1963

Mr. Jack Minnis, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

Your letter of June 13 read today. I regret so much that the principals and county association officials in South Carolina did not return the questionnaire in sufficient numbers to give you the information desired.

Unfortunately we will not send any general correspondence to all members before September. Will you please send me the letter that accompanied the questionnaire? I would like to try to get the response you desired.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon,
Executive Secretary

Janet - Please count # of resp. from S.C. and write Solomon.

WES/bfb

Dear Mr. Solomon: (over)

I am enclosing a copy of the questionnaire and the letter of transmittal. We have received only ~~[illegible]~~ 72 out of 447 queries in S.C.

Thanks so much for your interest. Will greatly appreciate anything you can do to stimulate respondents for us.

(~~[illegible]~~ make copies of Q + letter + send them too)

PRESIDENT
E. J. OLIVER
Fairfield Industrial High School
Fairfield, Alabama

VICE-PRESIDENT
S. J. WHISENHUNT
Cobb Avenue High School
Anniston, Alabama

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
ROBERT H. HATCH
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

RESEARCH SECRETARY
CHARLES W. ORR
Alabama A & M College
Normal, Alabama

TREASURER
WALTER D. BRANCH
J. S. Abrams High School
Bessemer, Alabama

Alabama State Teachers Association

Founded in 1882

SERVICE — LEADERSHIP — PROFESSIONAL GROWTH

853 THURMAN STREET TELEPHONE AM 3-7998

Montgomery 4, Alabama

Office of the Executive Secretary

March 26, 1964

Rec'd 3/27/64

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker, Research Assistant
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

In reply to your letter of March 25, I submit the following requested information:

Total number of Negro teachers in Alabama------10,000
Total number belonging to ASTA----------8,219 as of June 30, 1963
Our most recent compilation----------9,314

Always happy to be of service to you.

Yours sincerely,

Velma G. Ballard

Velma G. Ballard
Clerk

Teacher Questionnaire

The American Teachers Association
145 ASHBY STREET, N.W. / PHONE 523-1648 / ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
ATA
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MAR 30 1964

March 27, 1964

Miss Barbara Whitaker
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Whitaker:

Dr. J. T. Brooks asked that I send you the following information:

ATA Annual Memberships

State	March 27, 1964	June 30, 1963
1. Alabama	7139	7208
2. Arizona	--	1
3. Arkansas	583	612
4. California	1	3
5. Delaware	53	48
6. District of Columbia	96	251
7. Florida	2150	2773
8. Georgia	4420	5491
9. Kentucky	9	--
10. Louisiana	136	155
11. Maryland	25	124
12. Michigan	5	3
13. Mississippi	2862	2537
14. Missouri	-	16
15. New Jersey	36	30
16. New York	2	--
17. North Carolina	3116	4446
18. Ohio	10	--
19. Pennsylvania	13	6
20. South Carolina	3581	3895
21. Tennessee	1322	2596
22. Texas	948	793
23. Virginia	2889	3444
24. West Virginia	61	134
TOTALS	29458	34566

Very truly yours,

Eloise King
Secretary to Dr. Brooks

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
JAckson 2-7512

H. E. Tate, *Executive Secretary*

OFFICERS
James C. Reese, *President*
Frederick D. Browne, *Vice President*
Sylvester Ashford, *Treasurer*
H. E. Tate, *Executive Secretary*

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Marion D. Heath
Robert H. Hamilton
Erasmus Dent
St. Elmo Morgan
James E. Luten
John W. Lawton

TRUSTEES
James Hawes, Jr.
Napoleon Williams
R. J. Martin
Harry S. King

March 29, 1964

APR 15 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

This comes to acknowledge and thank you for your letter received March 26, 1964.

With reference to the request made in your letter, we wish to state the following. There are 11,233 Negro teachers in the state of Georgia and of that number, 9,800 were enrolled as members of our Association as of June 20, 1963.

With kindest, personal and professional regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. E. Tate

H. E. Tate
Executive Secretary

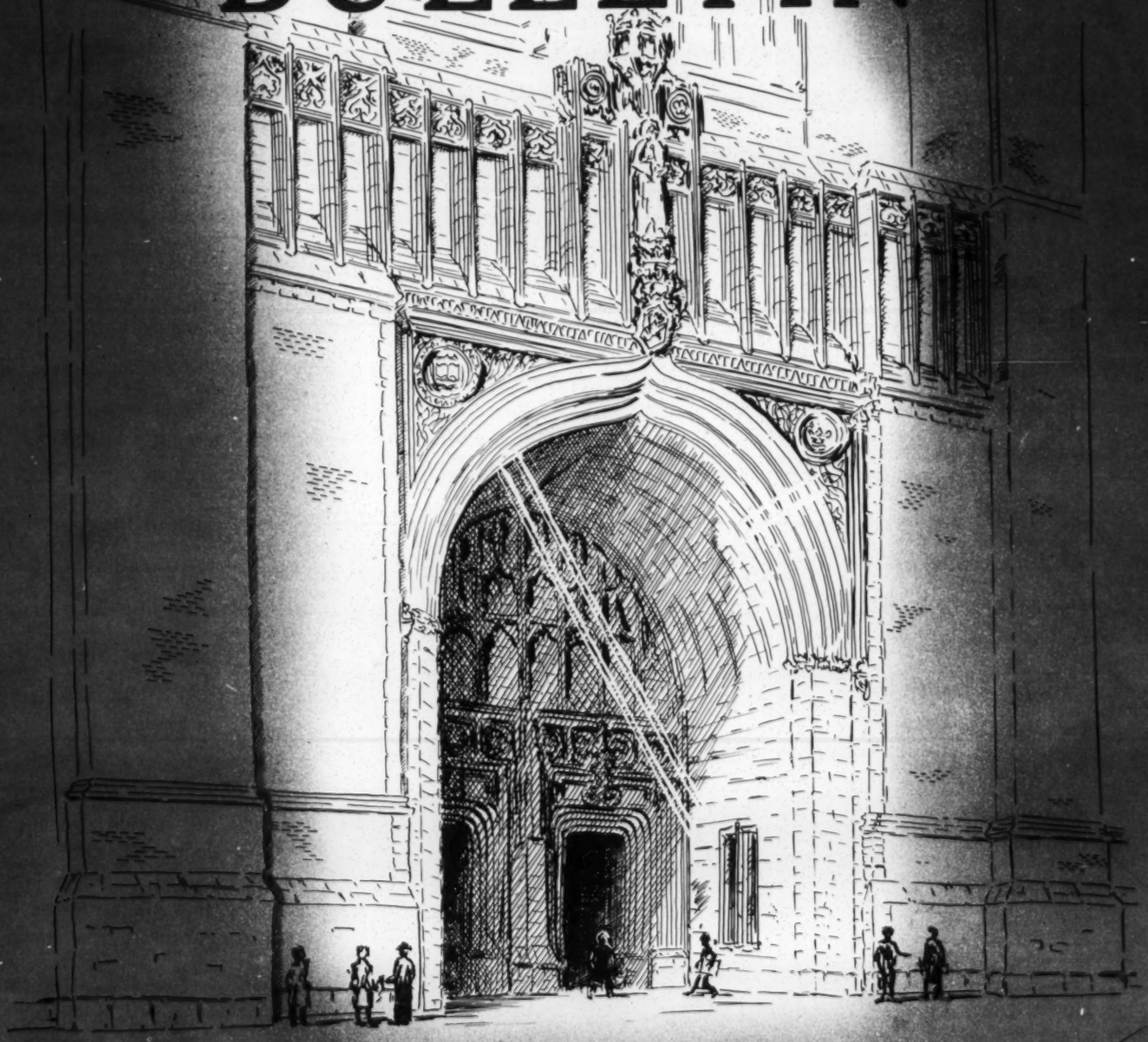
HET:rm

"INVEST IN A CHILD AND MAKE A MAN"

ata

AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

BULLETIN



"WHAT BETTER OR GREATER GIFT CAN WE OFFER THE REPUBLIC THAN TO TEACH AND INSTRUCT OUR YOUTH."

MARCH 1964

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N. P. Marshall, President
North Little Rock
E. L. Hawkins, Vice-President
Little Rock
Miss Kathalyn Scott, Rec. Sec.
Rosston
Elijah Coleman, Treasurer
Pine Bluff
W. H. Fowler
Little Rock
J. M. Sutton
Morrilton
Will V. Rutherford
Hope

Arkansas Teachers Association

Office of
T. E. Patterson
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
PHONE FR 5-5868
924 Ringo Street
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

EXECUTIVE BOARD

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Moro
Charles Williams
McGehee
L. H. Black
Lewisville
Charles J. Latimar (at large)
Madison
Mrs. V.T. Hegwood, Immediate Past Pres.
Little Rock

April 2, 1964

APR 6 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206 - 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

The number of teachers in the state in the public schools - 3,438 (we do not have the number in colleges). As of June 30, 1963 we had 3,254 ATA members. Our latest compilation, February 14, 1964, is 3,039.

Very truly yours,

T. E. Patterson/a

TEP/ceb

T. E. Patterson,
Executive Secretary

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

P. O. BOX 2215 • TELEPHONE 224-6157 • TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32304

7 April 1964

APR 8 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

Acknowledgment is made of receipt of your letter of March 25, 1964.

The total number of teachers as taken from the Educational Directory 1963 was 10,275. The number belonging to FSTA 9,704.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert L. Porter
Executive Secretary

GLP:rc

Virginia Teachers Association

VTA
FOUNDED 1887

CLAY STREET AT FOURTH
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
MILTON 3-1954

ALFRED K. TALBOT, JR., PRESIDENT
J. RUPERT PICOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 9, 1964

APR 13 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

This follows your letters of March twenty-fifth and April eighth. There is regret on this end that I did not get to Atlanta on Monday, March 30 as planned. The reason was that we had quite a snow here and all flights were cancelled during that day.

It is my hope that you will find the attached information what you seek.

Cordially,

J. Rupert Picott

Executive Secretary

JRP:mjb

Inclosure/

TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS JUNE 30, 1963*

NEGRO

Elementary

Male	453
Female	4,460

Secondary

Male	1,129
Female	1,673

Combination

Elementary and Secondary

Male	59
Female	219

TOTAL 7,993

WHITE

Elementary

Male	836
Female	14,504

Secondary

Male	4,362
Female	7,183

Combination

Male	206
Female	743

TOTAL 30,553

TOTAL VTA MEMBERSHIP JUNE 30, 1963

Cities and Counties	7,926
Colleges & State Schools	374
Retired Teachers	49
Miscellaneous	41
Student-VTA	359
Life Members	66
TOTAL	8,815

Estimated number of teachers January 1964 -- TOTAL 39,200

Total in Public elementary and Schools in State.

* Does not include instructors in institutions of higher education.

Palmetto Education Association, Inc.

Office of the Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Telephone: ALpine 2-9383

Hudson L. Barksdale, President
331 N. Dean Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

April 10, 1964

APR 13 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

Your letter of March 25 was received prior to my visit to Atlanta. I sent the information by our president because he did not plan to attend. He informed me that no one asked for the information in the meeting, so he brought it back. We are enclosing a membership report by counties and private schools for the year 1962-63. Someone requested this information a year ago and we sent it to them.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon wfd

W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary

WES:wfd

Enclosure

MEMBERSHIP REPORT BY COUNTIES AND DISTRICTS 1962-63

	No. Tchrs.	Membership Apr.30,'63 PEA	NEA	ATA
FIRST DISTRICT				
Allendale	68	70	4	55
Beaufort	185	182	125	145
Berkeley	245	254	120	116
Charleston	730	777	129	278
Clarendon	190	191	110	129
Colleton	150	148	5	1
Dorchester	126	132	22	52
Hampton	101	106	0	6
Jasper	80	83	2	2
	1875	1943	516	784
SECOND DISTRICT				
Aiken	225	225	132	159
Bamberg	75	75	32	29
Barnwell	82	80	3	3
Calhoun	85	83	63	75
Lexington	128	128	84	36
Orangeburg	380	395	164	83
Richland	538	487	297	272
Sumter	315	314	73	135
	1828	1787	848	792
THIRD DISTRICT				
Abbeville	71	71	54	71
Anderson	191	191	122	26
Edgefield	86	86	84	14
Greenwood	125	136	123	126
McCormick	52	52	7	52
Newberry	103	98	9	12
Oconee	45	45	10	11
Pickens	46	50	1	1
Saluda	32	32	3	2
	749	761	413	315
FOURTH DISTRICT				
Greenville	352	353	346	340
Laurens	114	114	23	27
Spartanburg	320	346	103	89
Union	101	101	11	0
	887	914	483	456

	No. Tchrs.	Membership Apr.30,'63 PEA	NEA	ATA
FIFTH DISTRICT				
Cherokee	70	71	65	14
Chester	129	130	115	34
Chesterfield	137	141	141	141
Fairfield	124	129	128	128
Kershaw	133	134	134	134
Lancaster	108	107	107	45
York	225	236	96	84
	926	948	786	580
SIXTH DISTRICT				
Darlington	215	222	221	221
Dillon	130	139	13	12
Florence	340	319	267	141
Georgetown	215	216	189	37
Horry	192	203	203	202
Lee	132	135	49	35
Marion	170	181	98	55
Marlboro	135	130	10	5
Williamsburg	282	295	36	47
	1811	1840	1086	755
PRIVATE SCHOOLS				
Allen University	45	16	7	10
Benedict College	35	26	2	0
Boylan-Haven M. A.	22	12	8	8
Claflin College	20	2	2	0
Clinton Jr. College	8	4	1	0
Friendship Jr. Col.	12	6	0	2
Morris College	32	30	0	0
S.C. Area Trade Sch.	25	27	0	0
S.C. State College	96	41	10	3
The Mather School	10	11	8	0
Voorhees Jr. College	20	26	0	1
	325	201	38	24
TOTALS				
Counties	8076	8193	4133	3682
Private Schools	325	201	38	24
At Large		8	1	2
	8401	8402	4172	3708
Life Members		28	53	35
	8401	8430	4225	3743

STATISTICS

Districts 100% in PEA: Third, Fourth, Fifth

Counties 100% in PEA: Abbeville, Allendale, Anderson, Bamberg, Barnwell, Berkeley, Calhoun, Charleston, Cherokee, Chester, Chesterfield, Clarendon, Colleton, Darlington, Dillon, Dorchester, Edgefield, Fairfield, Georgetown, Greenville, Greenwood, Hampton, Horry, Jasper, Kershaw, Lancaster, Laurens, Lee, Lexington, Marion, Marlboro, McCormick, Newberry, Oconee, Orangeburg, Pickens, Saluda, Spartanburg, Sumter, Union, Williamsburg, York - The Mather Sch., S. C. Area Trade School, Voorhees Jr. College, Morris College

Counties 100% in NEA: Chesterfield, Darlington, Fairfield, Horry, Kershaw, Lancaster

Counties 100% in ATA: Abbeville, Chesterfield, Darlington, Fairfield, Horry, Kershaw, McCormick

MEMBERSHIP COMPARISONS:	PEA	NEA	ATA
April 30, 1962	8095	3556	3499
April 30, 1963	8430	4225	3743

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

TEACHERS STATE ASSOCIATION
of Texas

P. O. BOX 6308
PHONE GR 2-5493
1191 NAVASOTA
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78702

VERNON McDANIEL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER

April 14, 1964

APR 15 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project, Rm. 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

As requested in your letter of April 7, 1964, please be advised that there is a total of 12,130 Negro teachers in the state of Texas; 9,355 belonging to our Association as of June 30, 1963; and, our most recent compilation is 9,634 members.

Very truly yours,

Vernon McDaniel kw.
Executive Secretary

VMcD:kw

North Carolina Teachers Association

125 EAST HARGETT STREET RALEIGH, N. C. PHONES TE 3-8436 TE 2-3959

APR 27 1964

CHARLES "A" LYONS, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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MRS. JETTIE D. MORRISON, '65
STATESVILLE

EDNA S. SMALLWOOD, '65
TRENTON

O. N. FREEMAN, '66
CHARLOTTE

J. H. TWITTY, '66
SAINT PAULS

KING A. WILLIAMS, '66
WINFALL

April 24, 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker, Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

In response to an earlier communication to you I wish to enclose some information which you requested.

According to the figures of the Department of Public Instruction, there are 12,786 Negro teachers in North Carolina. We had enrolled in our association June 30, 1963, approximately 11,975 members. As of April 22, 1964, our NCTA membership is 12,343.

I shall be very much in your findings in this project.

Very sincerely yours,

Charles "A" Lyons, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CL:pj

MACK J. SPEARS
PRESIDENT

J. K. HAYNES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ROBERT N. PERRY, JR.
EDITOR -- THE JOURNAL

R. U. CLARK
TREASURER

55

Louisiana Education Association

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MRS. ELLA V. WILLIAMS, 2ND
THOMAS J. WILCOX, JR., 3RD
EDDIE L. HEARD, 4TH
W. P. MOORE, 5TH
L. D. VIRDURE, 6TH
W. D. ROCHELLE, 7TH
G. G. METOYER, 8TH

Strong in the strength of the Lord we who fight in the people's cause will never stop until that cause is won.—Selected.

1335 NORTH BOULEVARD
POST OFFICE BOX 1767
BATON ROUGE, LA. 70821

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

MRS. A. G. BLALOCK (EMERITUS)
MRS. AUDREY S. BOYKIN
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ELIJAH B. WILLIAMS
ALPHONSE JACKSON, JR., 1ST VICE-PRES.
CELESTINE C. GRAVES, 2ND VICE-PRES.

May 5, 1964

MAY 7 1964

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

Thank you for your letter of March 25.

As of June 30, 1963, our records show a total of 10,388 teachers and 9,221 LEA members. Our most recent figures show a total of 10,843 teachers and 9,749 members. These totals represent our public school teachers. Please do not hesitate to call on us whenever we may be of service.

Sincerely yours,

J. K. Haynes

J. K. Haynes
Executive Secretary

JKH:MJF

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

JUN 3 - 1964

May 22, 1964

Mr. G. W. Brooks
Tennessee Education Congress
Burt High School
Clarksville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Brooks:

We have looked, to no avail, for an answer to our letters of March 25 and April 7. If you will recall, we asked you to supply us with the total number of Negro teachers in your state, and the number belonging to your association as of June 30, 1963, and your most recent compilation.

May we please hear from you soon?

Very truly yours,

Barbara I. Whitaker
(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Total teachers in state 5,500
Total membership — 4,910

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

MAY 27 1964

May 22, 1964

Mr. L. S. Alexander
Mississippi Teachers Assn.
1328 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Alexander:

We have looked, to no avail, for an answer to our letters of March 25 and April 7. If you will recall, we asked you to supply us with the total number of Negro teachers in your state, and the number belonging to your association as of June 30, 1963, and your most recent compilation.

May we please hear from you soon?

Very truly yours,

Barbara I. Whitaker

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

601-354-5351

as of June 30, 1963
approximately 7525
belonging to the Association

Association's own teachers
for academic year 1963-64
to date 7739

Same letter also sent to: Mr. G. W. Brooks, Clarksville, Tenn. Rec'd 6/3/64

May 22, 1964

Mr. L. S. Alexander Rec'd 5/27/64
Mississippi Teachers Assn.
1328 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Alexander:

We have looked, to no avail, for an answer to our letters of March 25 and April 7. If you will recall, wesasked you to supply us with the total number of Negro teachers in your state, and the number belonging to your association as of June 30, 1963, and your most recent compilation.

May we please hess from you soon?

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Jerolus Prestmaine

Same letter also sent to:

Dr. Gilbert S. Porter, Tallahassee, Fla.
Dr. Chas. Lyon, Jr., Raleigh, N. C.
Mr. W. E. Solomon, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Vernon McDaniel, Austin, Tex.
Dr. J. R. Picott, Richmond, Va.
Mr. J. K. Haynes, Baton Rouge, La.
Mr. L. S. Alexander, Jackson, Miss.
Mr. G. W. Brooks, Clarksville, Tenn.

April 7, 1964

Mr. H. E. Tate
Executive Secretary
Georgia Teachers and Education
Association
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Tate:

We are anxious to begin our analysis of the questionnaires mentioned in our letter of March 25. In order to do this, we need your cooperation in supplying the information on the total number of Negro teachers in your state, and the number belonging to your association as of June 30, 1963, and your most recent compilation.

We will appreciate your attention to this.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Gentlemen

Same letter also sent to:

Rec'd 4/7 Mr. T. R. Patterson, Little Rock, Ark.
Rec'd 4/15 Dr. H. E. Tate, Atlanta, Georgia
Rec'd 4/9 Dr. Gilbert S. Porter, Tallahassee, Fla.
Dr. Chas. Lyon, Jr., Raleigh, N. C.
Mr. W. E. Solomon, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Vernon McDaniel, Austin, Tex.
Rec'd 4/13 Dr. J. R. Picott, Richmond, Va.
Rec'd 3/27 ~~Mr. Rbt. H. Hatch, Montgomery, Ala.~~
Mr. J. K. Haynes, Baton Rouge, La.
Mr. L. S. Alexander Jackson, Miss.
Mr. G. W. Brooks Clarksville, Tenn.

March 25, 1964

Rec'd Mr. Robert H. Hatch
Executive Secretary
Alabama State Teachers Association
853 Thurmond Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hatch:

Last year, in cooperation with the American Teachers Association, we sent questionnaires to principals and county association officials in your state. While the response has not been what we had hoped, we are attempting to compile the information received into a meaningful report. In order to make an analysis of the returns, we need to know the total number of Negro teachers in your state and the number belonging to your association as of June 30, 1963, and your most recent compilation.

Mr. Brooks has indicated that you are expected to attend a meeting here at the NEA headquarters on Monday. If you desire, you may leave the information with him or return it to me.

We will greatly appreciate your cooperation in this matter. We will share our findings with you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Send follow-up

Send Questionnaire

This same letter sent to the following:

1 Mr. T. E. Patterson
Executive Secretary
Arkansas Teachers Association
924 Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
Air Mail

2 Dr. H. E. Tate
Executive Secretary
Georgia Teachers & Education Association
201 Ashby St., N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

3 Dr. Gilbert S. Porter
Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association
449 W. Georgia Street
Box 2215
Tallahassee, Florida

4 Dr. Mr. Charles Lyon, Jr.
North Carolina Teachers Association
125 E. Hargett St.
Raleigh, North Carolina
Air Mail

5 Mr. W. E. Solomon
Palmetto Education Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

6 Mr. J. K. Haynes
Louisiana Education Assoc.
1335 N. Boulevard
Box 1287
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Air Mail

7 Mr. L. S. Alexander
Mississippi Teachers Assoc.
1328 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
Air Mail

8 Mr. G. W. Brooks
Tennessee Education Congress
Burt High School
Clarksville, Tennessee
Air Mail

9 Dr. Mr. Vernon McDaniel
Teachers State Assoc. of Texas
1191 Navasota St.
Austin, Texas
Air Mail

10 Dr. J. Rupert Picott
Virginia Teachers Assoc.
Clay St. at Fourth
Richmond, Virginia
Air Mail

June 7, 1963

Mr. Robert H. Hatch
Executive Secretary
Alabama State Teachers Association
853 Thurmond Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hatch:

In cooperation with Mr. George W. Jones of the American Teachers Association, we recently sent the enclosed questionnaire to principals and county association officials in your state. Response to this questionnaire has not been what we had hoped and we are asking that you mention the desirability of completing the questionnaire and forwarding it to us in any publication which may be going out to your membership.

We will greatly appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl
enc.
cc: Mr. George W. Jones

Mr. Robert H. Hatch
Exec. Secy.
Alabama State Teachers Assn.
853 Thurmond St.
Montgomery

Mr. T. E. Patterson
Exec. Scy.
Arkansas Teachers Assn.
924 Ringo St.
Little Rock

Dr. H.E. Tate
Exec. Secy.
Georgia Teachers & Education Assn.
201 Ashby St. NW
Atlanta 14

Dr. Gilbert S. Porter
E. S. (they're all exec. secy)
Florida State Teachers Assn.
449 W. Georgia Street
Box 2215
Tallahassee

Mr. Charles Lyon, Jr.
N.C. Teachers Assn.
125 E. Hargett St.
Raleigh

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Palmetto Education Assn.
1719 Taylor St.
Columbia, S.C.

Mr. J. K. Haynes
Louisiana Education Assn.
1335 N. Boulevard
Box 1767
Baton Rouge

Mr. L. S. Alexander
~~XXX~~ Mississippi Teachers Assn.
1328 Lynch St.
Jackson

Mr. G. W. Brooks
Tennessee Education Congress
Burt High School
Clarksville

Mr. Vernon McDaniel
Teachers State Assn. of Texas
1191 Navasota St.
Austin

Dr. J. Rupert Picott
Virginia Teachers Assn.
Clay St. at Fourth
Richmond

Teachers Questionnaire

June 11, 1964

Dr. J. T. Brooks
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
145 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brooks:

Thank you for your letter of May 22, and I am pleased to learn that Mrs. Whitaker was helpful in your Citizenship Workshop.

We will be happy to work with you in any way that we can in the follow-up workshop which will be held during your 61st Annual Convention here in Atlanta on July 28.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

MAY 23 1964 WB

The American Teachers Association
145 ASHBY STREET, N.W. / PHONE 523-1648 / ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
ATA
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 22, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

We are writing to express our appreciation to you and the Project for making available to us the services of Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, your research assistant, at our initial workshop on Citizenship held in New Orleans on Saturday, May 9,1964.

Mrs. Whitaker was most helpful to us not only in our general sessions, but also in the small groups. She displayed keen insight into the problems which we were discussing.

It is our anticipation that during the next several months we may be able to launch a concerted effort among the teachers whom we serve in the American Teachers Association to stimulate a greater interest in the problems of Citizenship. We envision the possible publication of an inexpensive pamphlet which may be available to P. T. A. groups and other similar organizations. We also propose a series of conferences involving small geographical areas, possibly not to exceed two states. In this effort we shall certainly wish to cooperate with your organization wherever such is possible and there may be certain aspects of the program for which we may need professional assistance from you.

Please feel free to offer any suggestions that you may have in this matter; and if at all possible, we should like to have the cooperation of your office in a follow-up workshop which will be a part of our 61st Annual Convention at the Atlanta Municipal Auditorium on Tuesday, July 28, 1964.

With kind personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

J T Brooks

J. T. Brooks
Executive Secretary

B/R
cc: Dr. Picott
Dr. Dixon
Mrs. Whitaker
Mr. Murray

WB

The American Teachers Association
145 ASHBY STREET, N.W. / PHONE 523-1648 / ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
ATA
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

JUN 15 1964

June 12, 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

Incident to our 61st annual convention, we are proposing a workshop on Tuesday, July 28 on Citizenship. We are herewith extending a cordial invitation to you and the members of your staff to participate in this workshop. In addition, we are asking if you can be available to serve us in the capacity of a consultant. This particular workshop is scheduled between the hours of two and five in one of the committee rooms of the City Auditorium to be designated.

Meanwhile, we also have special interest in our program for the evening of Wednesday, July 29 when State Senator Constance Baker Motley will be our banquet speaker at a program scheduled for the Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel. Tickets for this occasion are available at $5.00 each. We shall appreciate any stimulation which you and your staff may be able to give us in this matter of ticket sales.

With kind personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

J T Brooks

J. T. Brooks

cc: President J. R. Picott

July 24, 1964

Dr. J. T. Brooks
Executive Secretary
American Teachers Association
145 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Brooks:

I regret that I will not be able to attend the workshop on citizenship which will be conducted during the 61st annual convention of the American Teachers Association on July 28, but I am having to leave for Washington that morning.

I suppose you know that the Voter Education Project has operated with a very small staff, and we have recently lost two of our key staff members, Mr. Randolph Blackwell and Mrs. Barbara Whitaker. I have been in touch with both of them, and I am happy to learn that they will be in attendance during your workshop. While they are no longer with VEP, I feel confident that they will be as much value to your program in their new positions as if they were still on our staff. We simply do not have anyone else on the staff with sufficient experience who would be of more value than these two former staff members.

With every good wish for a successful convention, I am

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

61st ANNUAL CONVENTION

American Teachers Association

1964

atlanta

July 27-28-29

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

MAE W. STABLER
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

230 WEST 41ST STREET
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
PENNSYLVANIA 6-4000

THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH

MUHAMMAD IS HIS APOSTLE

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD SPEAKS—above his gilt-decorated hat the invariable motto, "There Is No God But Allah, Muhammad Is His Apostle." Not just the admirers before him but 20 million Negroes in America listen. But in white society he is practically unknown. Now, Robert S. Bird, National Correspondent of the Herald Tribune and the first white reporter ever to interview "The Divinely Inspired Messenger of Allah," has written a portrait of the man, his message and his influence. Directly or subtly, for the 150,000 who devoutly believe and for the others who do not, he is making the most persuasive statement of what is wrong in America—White America. He is making the mass of Negroes prouder of their race, their color. His Black Muslim propoganda, without question, is forcing all civil rights organizations and even Negro politicans to take another step toward harder, more extreme positions. His preachings are loosening Negro ties to Christianity—not through conversion to Allah but through impatience with Christian slowness on segregation. This man's power is felt the breadth of the land and by every person treated in the series "Ten Negroes" which Mr. Bird begins today.

TEN NEGROES

By Robert S. Bird
Herald Tribune National Correspondent

After our interview Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, took me out from the living room through the kitchen into the high-walled courtyard of his winter home in Phoenix, and we stood under the Arizona sun while he said a gracious goodbye to me.

Brother Antonne X had gone to the garage to back the Cadillac out and drive me back to my hotel. I thanked Mr. Muhammad for giving me this unprecedented interview, and I mentioned that I felt he had spoken very forcefully.

This was an understatement, really, for never in my life had I heard the white race—my race—so unmercifully flayed, so thoroughly accused, so vividly denounced, so damned in judgment, as from him during the preceding hour and a half.

Still, he had displayed an exquisite courtesy throughout the long declamation, glancing at me in a kindly way every now and then as I sat beside him on the couch, or giving me a questioning look as if to see how I was taking it. But most of his excoriation seemed addressed to the middle of the living room, as if that were where white America might be listening.

THE CHARGES

He is small and fragile of figure, this man who is regarded by many law enforcement officers as the most dangerous Negro leader in the country. And standing there in the courtyard in well cut dark gray suit, gray and white bow tie of smooth design and dark, stylishly narrow-brimmed hat, he looked like an unobtrusive man of importance.

Brother Antonne X, in snow-white suit or uniform (I couldn't tell which), maneuvered the sleek car up beside us and Mr. Muhammad gave a warm, almost shy, smile and said he had enjoyed my visit. Then, speaking in a voice so low I had to lean over to catch his words, he volunteered an interesting explanation of himself.

"You see, I am between life and death," he said, "and I have to say these things in the way I say them. There was a time when I had no knowledge of them. But they have been revealed to me, and now Allah would punish me if I did not say them."

I had sought this interview with the 65-year-old Mr. Muhammad because his preaching is touching, influencing or exciting the whole Negro world in this country, including those who are his severest critics.

Nobody can laugh him off. For even though his devoted formal following is hardly more than a small fraction of the 20 million American Negroes, his harsh message is helping to change the inner feeling and the scene of Negro America.

THE DENIALS

In my visit with him we talked for a good four hours in two sessions spread over two days. The first session of about an hour and a half was given over to my questions and his answers. In the second one I asked him a few more questions and he answered at length. Then, at my suggestion that he describe in his own way, without interruption from me, his view of the race situation in the United States and the place of the Black Muslim movement in it, he embarked on his declamatory monologue of about an hour.

The total interview dealt, first of all, with the charges made that he preaches hatred and violence against the white people—

The charges that he has organized within his movement a highly disciplined household guard or militia—

The charges that he teaches "black supremacy" and "segregation" of the whites—

The charges that he teaches that the white people are inferior and that all are inherently "devils"—

The charges that he is advocating insurrection in the

More on TEN NEGROES—P 10

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

future, and destruction of the white race, and domination by the Negro population in this country by 1970.

To most of these accusations he gave denials, with explanations of why the charges were being made against him. But to that relating to the devilish nature of the white people he offered a regretful theological explanation as to why it was true, and he detailed supporting grievances to prove it, in chilling language.

He discussed the future possibility—but only a possibility, he insisted—of involving the Black Muslim movement in political voting, perhaps even in the next Presidential election.

He made it clear that there is absolutely no possibility in his view for any integration of the white and black races, or even a living together side by side in the long range future. Total physical separation in different territory and total independence for the Negroes are a "must," he said, and he described how this might be brought about at an unspecified time ahead.

He spoke pityingly about the various "foolish" Negro leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King jr., who are active on the scene today, and he described the Black Muslim elementary schools and "university" and its stores and other businesses in Chicago, Detroit and other places.

He dealt with what he calls the failures of Christianity in the Negro world, and he went deeply into his religion of Islam and the sacred nature and uniqueness of the black race, which he teaches was the "original" race from which the inferior white race was developed.

His Black Muslim preaching is spread through the Negro world largely by his own tabloid newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, published in Chicago, and by a column of his writings in certain Negro weekly newspapers, and his rare public appearances at Black Muslim meetings and rallies which have drawn audiences on special occasions of up to 10,000 persons.

But his message is being effectively relayed to even bigger audiences, perhaps, by his young "traveling minister," Malcolm X, an exceedingly articulate and forceful speaker who has gained a great deal of television "exposure" during the past year.

THE TAPING

Mr. Muhammad himself (his followers generally call him "mister") has shunned the spotlight and avoided interviews with white news men, and has stayed pretty much within the inner circles of his ministers and followers. He makes his headquarters in Chicago, but passes more and more time now in Arizona because of his severe asthma.

In this series of articles aimed at developing some new and perhaps deeper insights into the thoughts and feelings of Negroes, I had wanted to get a first-hand impression of this influential figure who is the earthly fount of the Black Muslim philosophy.

Through certain Negro intermediaries I arranged to speak with him in Phoenix by long distance telephone from New York, and he agreed to a two-hour interview in his home there.

I asked him if I might bring a tape recorder with me, and he instantly replied:

"That will be all right—because I will have one, too."

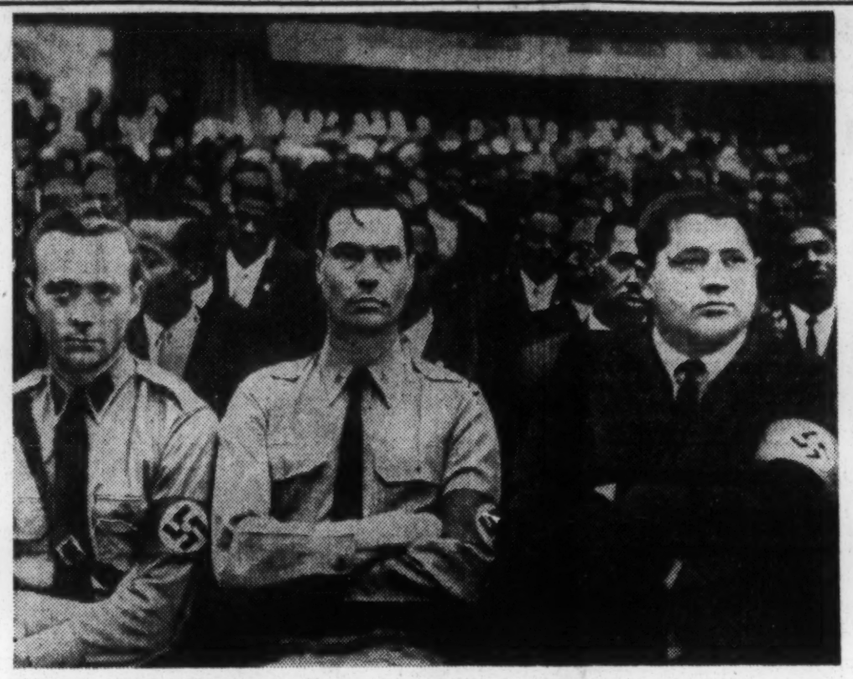
A few days later a Phoenix taxicab driver dropped me off at a little single-level, suburban-type brick house with red tile roof and a pretty, clipped lawn with newly planted flower border. The place was about 15 minutes' drive from downtown Phoenix in a very spruce, middle class Negro residential section.

I pressed the door bell, which had a white crescent insignia of Islam on the button, and a tall, stern Negro man in white opened the door. He turned out later to be Brother Antonne X, who is altogether friendly when you get to know him. He was expecting me, and passed me straight into the living room.

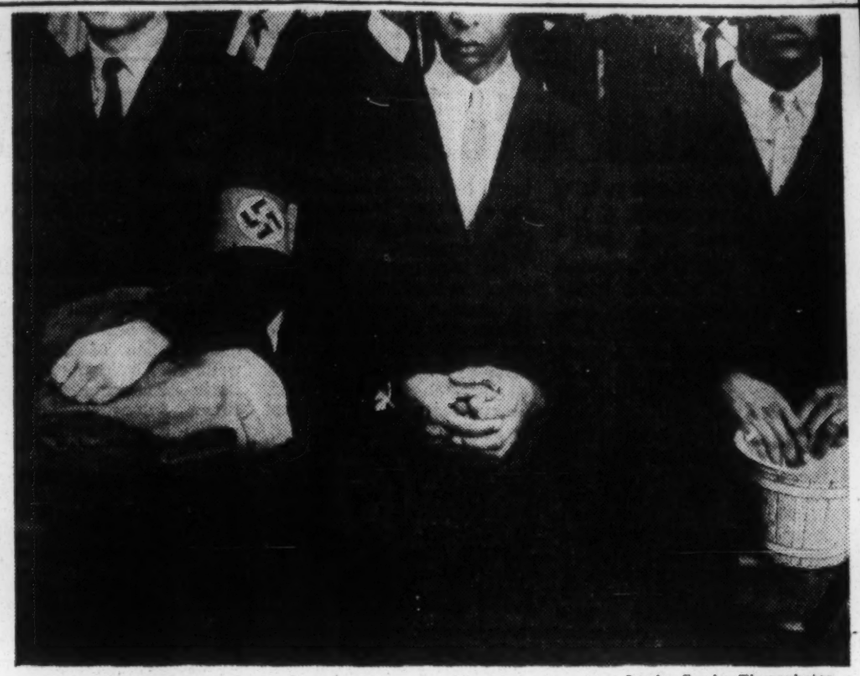
Mr. Muhammad was standing there waiting, and he came forward with a little smile and a handshake. He was gentle but a trifle stiff at first. Brother Antonne took a chair beside him and watched everything with an eagle eye.

We immediately went to work setting up our tape recorders, and I quickly discovered that the leader of the Black Muslims was a most considerate host, for he fretted a little to make sure that I was in a comfortable place and that all was well for going ahead.

Actually we ended up sitting side by side on a big, soft, curved [illegible]



WHITE SYMPATHIZERS—George Lincoln Rockwell, center, leader of the American Nazi Party, and a pair of his lieutenants sit up front as special guests at a giant rally of Black Muslims in Washington. Minority groups tend to lean toward one another in order to gain greater public attention, so in spite of the Muslims' desire to cut themselves off from white America, Muhammad's movement attracts "hate" affiliates like these home-grown Nazis, and his message is changing posture of Negroes.



London Sunday Times photos

IN THEIR HANDS—A white American Nazi, guest of the Muslims at a fund-raising meeting in Washington, sits alongside two Negro followers of Elijah Muhammad. One with strong, judo-trained fingers tightly clutched and the other holding a paper bucket into which the believers will toss their dollar bills for the ever-growing war chest. The Muslims wait, calmly and quietly, apparently within the law—for Allah's announcement of Armageddon. Hard core membership is about 5,000 to 6,000.

repeatedly that this was not done in the movement, that it was severely prohibited and would be punished. Speaking of a demonstration with strongly worded "police state" picket signs which I had witnessed on Fifth Avenue in front of Rockefeller Plaza, which was carried out with astonishing suddenness, efficiency and discipline, he commented:

"Well, I didn't see the signs but I heard that there were some protests made against the arrest of the innocent Brothers, and that's no more than natural; because the charge made against them they could not have been guilty of, because there were no such arms among the Brothers while they were in their meeting. That is absolutely prohibited, and they are not supposed to allow any one to come in with arms on them at the meetings.

"If that happens the guards or searchers will be also punished for allowing arms to enter the meeting, especially when it is at a stationary place."

Mr. Muhammad talks in a somewhat high voice and tends to falter at times, but when he gets emotional the words flow from him rather dramatically and far more easily. He got a little emotional over the police interference with the Black Muslim temple meetings in Los Angeles.

The leader's disclaimer of teaching black supremacy and segregation seemed to be more semantic than actual. In any case, when I asked him about this—and whether his teachings were not in one sense rather similar to the white supremacy and segregationist teachings of the white Citizens Councils of the South, he replied:

"Allah has revealed that the black man is the Original Man, and that's what I teach. Now where this supremacy teaching comes in, that is charged by the disbelievers—that I teach it in order to suit their particular purpose of charging us with being an aggressive movement, or intending to become such, because of the teachings of one being superior over the other."

THE 'BLAME'

He elaborated on this at length, adding:

"We say that the black man is the first man in the sun, and then they take this and just change it around—that he is teaching supremacy. And that, we are not doing. We already know that we are inferior to you here in America. We cannot say physically or even mentally that we are equal. We can't do it because we're not. We have undergone such treatment that it has absolutely made us inferior to you, and therefore we can't be your equal; not, say, your superior, when it comes to actual physical or educational ability."

Meredith and his success in getting into the University of Mississippi with the help of the United States Army.

"Poor fellow," Mr. Muhammad said, "trying to force himself in a school where it is 100 per cent white, and they're telling him they don't want him. And then the Army is standing around trying to force him in there—that's their crazy idea. I wouldn't want the Army to think about coming to help me against a white man, to allow me to come into his house or in the school or his restaurant, or anything else that he owns.

"If you tell me, I don't want you here, that's sufficient. I'm gone."

He said that "our people" would make room for the Muslims "but not for people like Mr. King and Meredith and other leaders who are yet ignorant of the knowledge of themselves."

"They will not accept them," he said, "because they don't have the knowledge of self, and therefore they hate self. They don't have as much love for self as they think they have; they don't have love for themselves if they want to let a strong people swallow them up."

Knowledge of self is a big aim in the Black Muslim teaching, and among other things it means to Mr. Muhammad a "cleaning up" of his people. He puts it this way:

THE MORALITY

"I am not so foolish a teacher to teach my followers to go and force the white man to allow us to become equal members of his society without cleaning up my people and making them self-respecting first. They must be qualified to demand even a black independent society.

"Therefore I start at the root of the matter. Go clean yourself up and show the world that you have self-respect, and seek education wherever you can get it, and make yourself equal with the civilized society of the earth, and they will accept you.

"Otherwise you are a dog in the society, or you are a rejected human being or beings in the society of the world, and I don't blame them. If you are not qualified and not their equal, stay out of it."

Cleaning up also means a rigorous morality characterized by modesty in women's dress and also by learning to eat the right foods, he said. He scathingly opposes the eating of pork.

I asked Mr. Muhammad how he felt about other Negro people who, though perhaps not leaders in the civil rights cause, were persons whom he knows or has dealings with in business and professional ways, even though they did not asking. We can't get along with you in peace, you don't want us in peace.

"If we sit over there in that house across the street, peaceful all day and all night, after a while that worries you. You will send someone around to see what is going on over there in that house. 'I don't ever see them, looks like they're doing nothing over there. Go on over there and see. I never hear what they're planning. Maybe they're planning something over there.'

"It's the white man's way of starting trouble. Breaking the peace of people by interfering with their peace. We're not sitting over there in that house planning anything, but are trying to plan peace for the house."

The Black Muslims, though forbidden by Mr. Muhammad to use weapons, are taught self-defense and to fight back if molested.

"In a case where the person will not accept this and he wants to fight, and he pounces upon us, sometimes without even warning us, we want our own men and women and our girls to learn to try to protect themselves the best they can in case of attack.

"But in the case of the so-called American Negro we have nothing to fight back with. If you come to the door shooting, we have no guns here to shoot back, so therefore the right is with God, as it is written in the Book. He will defend us if we believe in Him and trust Him, and we're not going to start fighting with any one to have Him to defend us. But if we are attacked we depend on Him to defend us because He has stripped us."

Mr. Muhammad's teaching about a separate territory for the American Negroes is open to negotiation, he indicated. He said, "They use this teaching of separation as something that we plan to make war, or cause insurrection in the country for even talking about it, and that it's out of place because we can't solve the problem by separation."

Here's what he says on that subject:

"The American white man is not going to move out of his estate to give to the so-called Negroes. We are not asking you to do any such thing. No, only unless you prevent our going to our own. If you are going to prevent us from going to our own, or back where we came from, where you found us, okay, then give us a place here to ourselves.

THE TERRITORY

"This has gone to too much talk about separation, and about our acting or demanding a territory here. We're not demanding territory in America. No, sir, we're asking America only if they don't allow us, or will not allow us to go back to our own people and to the country from which we

THE TAPING

Mr. Muhammad himself (his followers generally call him "mister") has shunned the spotlight and avoided interviews with white news men, and has stayed pretty much within the inner circles of his ministers and followers. He makes his headquarters in Chicago, but passes more and more time now in Arizona because of his severe asthma.

In this series of articles aimed at developing some new and perhaps deeper insights into the thoughts and feelings of Negroes, I had wanted to get a first-hand impression of this influential figure who is the earthly fount of the Black Muslim philosophy.

Through certain Negro intermediaries I arranged to speak with him in Phoenix by long distance telephone from New York, and he agreed to a two-hour interview in his home there.

I asked him if I might bring a tape recorder with me, and he instantly replied:

"That will be all right—because I will have one, too."

A few days later a Phoenix taxicab driver dropped me off at a little single-level, suburban-type brick house with red tile roof and a pretty, clipped lawn with newly planted flower border. The place was about 15 minutes' drive from downtown Phoenix in a very spruce, middle class Negro residential section.

I pressed the door bell, which had a white crescent insignia of Islam on the button, and a tall, stern Negro man in white opened the door. He turned out later to be Brother Antonne X, who is altogether friendly when you get to know him. He was expecting me, and passed me straight into the living room.

Mr. Muhammad was standing there waiting, and he came forward with a little smile and a handshake. He was gentle but a trifle stiff at first. Brother Antonne took a chair beside him and watched everything with an eagle eye.

We immediately went to work setting up our tape recorders, and I quickly discovered that the leader of the Black Muslims was a most considerate host, for he fretted a little to make sure that I was in a comfortable place and that all was well for going ahead.

Actually we ended up sitting side by side on a big, soft, curved green couch, with my recorder on a glass coffee table and his on a side table.

He watched politely to see that we synchronized the start of our tapes, and then we were off.

THE VIOLENCE

The thing that is most worrisome about the Black Muslims to most white people who follow their activities is the hatred and violence that seems to emanate from the movement. Mr. Muhammad denies preaching either, but there appears to be a distinction between his tough talk against white treatment of the Negroes and anything suggesting the possibility of overt violence by the Black Muslims. As to this last, here is what he told me—and rather impassionedly, too:

"We are not going to take part in any violence whatsoever. We're not going to do anything other than what we are doing. That is trying to deliver the truth to our people and teach them that they are supposed to be Muslims, and that means they are supposed to be righteous people and that we have shed off all things that pertain to wickedness.

"We have stripped ourselves of harm to let you know that we are not people of violence. We don't intend to attack you. We have no idea or knowledge of anything like that coming in the future. Because if we attacked you we would have to have superior weapons to attack you with, and we don't have factories, nor earth to dig metals to manufacture tools or weapons such as you have.

"All this is your own creation, and therefore if we would get some of this you would have to let us have it—and you would not give me a gun to shoot you with. Therefore, God forbid us even to accept weapons, and even to carry anything like weapons to fight with. Because to fight is with Him, and you are not with us."

I asked Mr. Muhammad why, in view of this, a part of his movement was organized as a military unit. I referred to the so-called "Fruit of Islam," a contingent of husky finely trained young Negroes who are, in the opinion of some law enforcement officers, seemingly the cadre for a potential Black Muslim militia.

"The Fruit of Islam means the first converts to Islam here in America, and the first people to be cleaned and made fit to be called Muslims," he answered.

"And their training is on this basis, as being Muslims, to keep in practice; not just say it is their faith or belief. You must put into practice the principles of Islam that you believe in, and serve as an example for others who would accept Islam.

"They take physical training and exercises in many ways to keep physically fit and healthy and to try to get away from many of the physical ailments that they have suffered long before coming into the knowledge of Islam.

"And trained into the knowledge of what the aims and purposes of Islam is for. It is to clean up a people who are not clean, morally as well as spiritually, in America; and to make them fit to become good members of the society."

A little later in connection with this discussion he added:

"I notice that the white people are very keen and alert about who teaches us and what is being taught us. Well, I don't say that I would not do the same if I had brought up a people subjected to slavery under myself. I would like to know what my slave learned or is being taught other than that which I have not taught him."

THE WEAPONS

As to the disciplined demonstrations in the streets by the Black Muslims, such as were held in New York during the early spring in protest against the arrest of certain members of the movement in Rochester, N. Y., he said, "I can't tell you whether we will have any future demonstrations or not."

"We're not people who actually like to get out in the public for any show," he explained. "We don't like that. If we have to go out in the public we want this going-out to be in a good way, and for a good cause, and to know that it is for justice."

As for carrying weapons, the Black Muslim leader said

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To my question whether this black supremacy charge was, then, a distortion of his teaching, he said, "Yes, in order to add to the charge of aggression."

He does, however, believe along with the Southern segregationists that integration is wrong and that intermarriage is evil and that segregated education is all right so long as the Negroes get the same textbooks.

"What are we going to integrate for?" he asked. "What do we want to marry a white woman for, when we are black men? That is going to ruin our family. We will spotty up our family. What does she want a black man for? Or what does the black man want the white one for? This is ignorant on both parts even to want to intermarry with each other. The very desire there is ignorant and evil. It's against divine law for either side to integrate in such a way.

"God made all of us as we are. We have black nations, brown nations, red ones, yellow and white. We have all these five major colors in races or nations. Why should they not remain like that? Why should they be thrown in like bones or birds into a pot to make soup out of?

"I don't blame the white man in the South for not wanting my people to marry with them. But I blame the South for mistreating him. Why don't the South let him go free? Why don't they teach him that, look here, Negro, I freed you a hundred years ago. Now come on, I'm going to put you on the road to freedom because I don't want you in my house as a member of my family. I don't want you sitting down at my table. Go make a table for yourself. Come on, I'll show you how to do this."

But "educational integration," that is good, Mr. Muhammad said.

"We should try to get the same education that is available to all other living people, and if the white man has it in his school, if we prove ourselves intelligent enough or decent enough to get in that particular class—we expect him to allow us to study the same courses he studies," he asserted.

"It doesn't have to be right in his own school if he doesn't want us in his own classes. Just give us the textbooks, that's all. Let us learn what is in the book where he is learning. We don't have to stand together in the class."

THE SCORN

The black nationalist Mr. Muhammad had only scorn for Negro leaders who sought the help of the United States Constitution to gain Negro rights because, he pointed out, "the Constitution was written up while the white man owned slaves, and he didn't have the slave in mind when he was writing the Constitution."

There always will be bloodshed over any Negro effort to gain equality with the white man, he said, as witness "the example in Mississippi and Alabama today while we are talking." Then he heaped scorn on Dr. Martin Luther King jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of Atlanta, Ga.

"The head of this movement, Mr. King, is trying to force the white man in the South to do that which is against his will and nature, because some of the Northern parties of the white people, maybe in Washington, have said to him that it should be done, and you should have this in the Constitution and therefore you should enforce it, and therefore have it enforced by the government.

"But Mr. King has not learned as yet that the white man in the South is brethren to the white man in Washington, and the Washington white man is the brother to the Southern white man, that they are not going to go to war over the Negro and kill each other for the sake of the unlearned Negro—of the knowledge of self and others—to integrate into that which they don't desire him to be in. They are not going to kill themselves for the sake of a Negro.

"Therefore Mr. King is making a fool out of himself in the South, and acting like a dog around the house, where the master stands at the door and the dog wants something to eat and he just waddles all around the door, around the master's feet, whipping his tail on the ground and grinning and leaning his ears back on his neck to show that he is a good, peaceful dog; and that, master, give me a piece of your meat that you have there in your house. And this while there is plenty of meat for the dog in the bushes out there, if he would go out there and hunt for it."

It was only pity that Mr. Muhammad felt for James

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I asked Mr. Muhammad how he felt about other Negro people who, though perhaps not leaders in the civil rights cause, were persons whom he knows or has dealings with in business and professional ways, even though they did not believe in his movement.

"We have respect for them and their professions and we try to treat them as we treat ourselves, for that matter," he answered. "We know they are not believers as we are, we know that.

"But as long as they tolerate with our faith we tolerate with them, and we treat them as brothers."

But what about the persons who are sometimes referred to by Black Muslims as the "Uncle Toms," I asked.

"That doesn't mean that we are in any way aggressive toward them and seek an aggressive act," he said. "We only just criticize them for being like that.

"I love all my people," he continued, "and I believe one day they all will be going to believe as I believe. If they don't, why then the prophets have lied, and we just can't make liars out of them."

I asked him what he meant exactly in referring to members of the white race as "devils," and he said that this is the white man's essential nature because he was made that way. He made it clear that he was not speaking rhetorically but in a theological sense—this was what God had revealed.

"It's what He revealed, and what He revealed is what I am teaching and believe in, and this term 'devil,' or name 'devil,' is applied to wicked people, people who are by nature wicked.

THE INDEPENDENCE

"They were made white, or different color," he said, "because they had been grafted out of the darker people, and therefore they have that color."

This conforms to the version given in Elijah Muhammad's Volume II of "The Supreme Wisdom," in which it is said that the history of the black man goes back to the beginning of creation, but that the history of the white race goes back only 6,000 years.

However, he explained to me that the only point about this that he is teaching is "that the person is the same by nature but he can be better than another one of the same family or race." I took this to mean that all whites have the devil-nature, according to his teaching, but that some can be better than others and that those who do a good deed "will be rewarded for their goodness and their time will be extended."

For his view of the white man in relation to the American Negro, he had this to say:

"This is the real trouble, the whites oppose us, the black people of America who were their slaves once upon a time, from ever becoming anything like self-independent. They want to keep them subject to themselves in a more educational and scientific way, other than their fathers'.

"Their fathers only used the common knowledge of enslaving our people. But today their children can use one of the smartest scientific ways against our people to keep them subject to them that ever was invented by a race of people since time was."

Without saying what this particular kind of knowledge is, he went on to assert:

"We want what you want today, and that is independence. We want peace, and whether you want peace or not, we want peace and security from you. You are our worst enemy. We have no other people who is an enemy to us but you, because we don't live in the country of other people. We live only with you, and we have been here for 400 years, and you say now that we are free, but yet you are doing everything to keep us from exercising the rights of or equals of a free people."

THE MONOLOGUE

Mr. Muhammad at this point was deep in his long monologue. His talk came flowing out as if from a self-replenishing wellspring. He declaimed his points in a tone of boundless grievance. Several times he was interrupted by his asthmatic cough; he begged pardon for the interruption and continued.

"This I want you to understand," he said. "We are tired of suffering, brutality, beatings, killings, just because you don't like us, and just hate us, and absolutely knowing that we are powerless to resist because you have every odd against us. You are absolutely the boss, and we have nothing. And we are asking to leave you, that's all we're

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Mr. Muhammad's teaching about a separate territory for the American Negroes is open to negotiation, he indicated. He said, "They use this teaching of separation as something that we plan to make war, or cause insurrection in the country for even talking about it, and that it's out of place because we can't solve the problem by separation."

Here's what he says on that subject:

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THE TERRITORY

"This has gone to too much talk about separation, and about our acting or demanding a territory here. We're not demanding territory in America. No, sir, we're asking America only if they don't allow us, or will not allow us to go back to our own people and to the country from which we came.

"Then give us a place to ourselves, as you know and we have learned through experience for 400 years we can't get along in peace together. You're not going to accept us as your equals and we know you're not going to do so. We disregard your promises because you are not going to live up to them because 100 per cent of your people will not agree with such. And we have proof today in the South."

In answer to a series of questions on this subject of a territory for settlement he told me that " I have in mind the place where I think it would be."

"But I will not say that until my people want to be separated, and until the government itself wants to separate them and give them such a place."

He indicated that the place for settlement, whether in this country or abroad, has not been decided on because it is altogether premature at this point.

He did suggest, though, that the Muslims would be glad to have the government make available to them right now land suitable for growing food.

"I don't think we should, many of us, work without a focus," he said. "If the government will give us the land to farm on, and it should give us some farm land to go and raise our own food. They can do it to us. But we will buy it if we have the money to buy it. If we don't have the money to buy it, we can't buy it, but the government should do so because the government has plenty of land according to statistics."

He said that if the land were made available the Muslims would begin work "tomorrow morning."

"You won't have to drive us to it, we would do that religiously, because we want our people to have something for themselves and to grow food for them and clothes."

In answering my questions about Black Muslim finances he said that no member is forced to give money but that if they want to buy a piece of property they agree among themselves how much each will give of his earnings toward the purchase price.

"It may demand $50 of each of us, and we buy it and we sacrifice ourselves to give that $50 out of our wages for so long a time, a month, two months, three months, four months, something like that."

I mentioned that I had heard that active members were required to contribute a total as high as $90 a month to the movement.

"Those who are able might give that much," he replied, "but he's not forced. But as I said, after we learn that you have an income of $100 a week we ask you how much of this do you have to pay out for the house rent, food, clothing, and other overhead expenses, and you tell us. And how much the government has to take out for taxes and whatnot. Then whatever is left, then you will tell me and you will tell me what you can give out of that. It's not for me to tell you. That's forcing you."

THE TARGET DATE

On the subject of using the power of the vote, Mr. Muhammad said this was all "future talk" at this point, but he indicated that there was a possibility that this might be used in the 1964 election. In order for a candidate to gain an indorsement, he said, "he would have to be in sympathy with us and he would have to have some knowledge of the aims and purposes of Islam in America."

"The aims and purposes of Islam here among my people," he added, "is to give them a knowledge of self and a knowledge of God, knowledge of their religion Islam and to separate them in time, that these 17 million or 20 million American dark people should go for themselves. This is the basis of the whole, it is to separate our people and put them by themselves."

Although he kept emphasizing that the voting idea was in a very indecisive stage now, I asked, if it should materialize as a Black Muslim policy, would that change the movement's position with respect to military service? At the present time it opposes military service and its members refuse to serve.

"If it became materialized, naturally military participation might take place, but I don't know yet, not as yet myself," he said.

Replying to the reports that he had set the date 1970 as the time when the Negroes would take over in the United

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TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page 10.)

States, Mr. Muhammad said this was misrepresented, and that what he actually had said was that "by 1970 all of my people, or most of them, at least 90 per cent of them will be believing in Islam—that's all that was said."

Asked about whether Fidel Castro was included by him in the group of "original men," he said:

"I am so concerned where the so-called Negro stands and what he should be and who he should try to join onto that I have no time to study the history of Castro and the Spanish people in the South."

The Black Muslim movement was started in the early 1930s by Wallace Fard of Detroit, who later disappeared. Mr. Muhammad, who was born Elijah Poole in Georgia 65 years ago, took over the leadership after the founder's disappearance.

I asked Mr. Muhammad about this. Is there, I asked, a mystery about what happened to him?

"No sir, there is no mystery of what happened to him," he answered.

Could Mr. Muhammad say what happened?

"He is just waiting for his proper time to deliver speeches."

Did Mr. Muhammad consider Mr. Fard (whose name he pronounces Farad) to be not only a holy man but actually a divine person?

"He is God Himself. He is the One that we have been looking for for the last 2,000 years to come. He is the One and His word bears witness to the fact that He is the One."

And you knew him, I asked?

"I do know him."

Is Mr. Muhammad in touch with him now?

"Yes, spiritually."

I asked him about a successor. Did he have in mind the identity of his own successor, since he himself is known as the inspired Messenger of Allah?

THE PUBLIC EYE

His answer to this was a swift one:

"No, that is not my job to do anything like that. This work that has been put upon me to do by the will of Almighty God Allah who has appointed me, there will be no such thing as a successor because everything will be guided according to the will of Allah and whatever that He reveals it will be carried out, and it is like today we have the moon and the sun and the stars up there, and they are not changed for others."

I mentioned that his minister, Malcolm X, was much in the public eye, and on the other hand his own children are active in the movement, too.

"All my family are believers," he said. "My sons and daughters and their children, all of them, their sons and daughters. They all believe and they all follow me. Now if you are referring to which one shall be the successor, that I don't know. I could not say that because I have not got a meaning of anything of the kind, and so therefore I could not say to you such and such a one will be the successor, even if I were to die this afternoon."

I asked him about the membership figure in his approximately 80 temples around the country, saying that law enforcement authorities seemed agreed that the hard core membership of the Black Muslims was between 5,000 and 6,000 members, with a less attached following of between 150,000 and 300,000.

"I don't even know that because we don't have a record showing that figure," he said. "That figure is only known with Allah."

TOMORROW: The president of the nation's largest Negro university answers a question posed by many white people: why don't Negroes do more to clean their own house—for instance, reduce crime among their people?

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

As an educator he taught law for twenty years at Howard prior to his appointment as president of the university in 1960. He comes, moreover, from an Atlanta family of scholars who have made important careers for themselves.

Taking all these things together, he can afford a disarming affectation when he settles in his chair to talk. Dr. Nabrit discourses in the leisurely, round-about fashion of a crack-voiced country preacher—making, however, impressive good sense in every sentence. He smokes a cigar and waves it around as he drives home a point, and a half dozen spare cigars are stacked in a breast pocket.

"I say to my white friends," he continued, "you ought to understand that we Negroes aren't going to be better than American society itself. We're part of it. You're talking to me as if the Negro ought not to have any of these aberrations. But I say the Negro should mirror everything in American society—because he's part of it. That's why I don't get upset over the Black Muslim and over all these other things.

"I'm not pleased with them, but I am not made hopeless or led to feel that everything is going to collapse. Rockwell doesn't represent America, he just represents some people who have peculiar ideas."

Taking his time in circling around to the target question—Washington crime—Dr. Nabrit warned that if his blunt views and those of other equally frank speaking Negroes were printed here they would disturb many well-meaning whites who have come to feel a little self-righteous about the "progress" of the Negroes.

"But they ought not to be disturbed," he growled from his tilted back chair, "because this country was conceived and developed and built under a revolutionary set of principles—principles that agitated and stirred up all Europe and England and the Americas from the 1700s straight through to the adoption of our Constitution and since.

"The point is, some of the fire and enthusiasm and adventurousness and keen perception of all that has become blunted by an affluent society, and by the fact that we are in a leadership role in the free world. But if people in other countries don't think that the United States is big enough to embrace differences in people they're not going to accept the leadership of this country."

Howard University's campus is vibrant with the hum and life of students of many foreign nationalities, of varied skin colors, and diverse languages. Of the approximately 7,000 students, more than 1,000—more than any other university in the country—are from other countries all over the world.

Friend of Statesmen

Dr. Nabrit himself has sat, moreover, on international conferences in other countries and has a wide acquaintance with both the statesmen and the capitals of foreign nations.

He argued that if the race issue is "unsettling" to many white Americans it was the facing-up to such unsettling issues in the past which made this country great. He voiced a thought heard everywhere in Negro America, that time is running short in this country for redeeming for the Negro minority the vaunted promises of democracy. America does not have the time left that the Roman Empire, or ancient Greece, or even England, had to build and maintain world leadership, he warned.

"It seems to me that we ought to be grasping for the kinds of things that would make our leadership survive," he said. "And I think one such thing is tolerance and understanding and respect for people who differ from us.

"We Negroes will work out our solution in this country in any case, because we have more time than the country has. I don't mean we want the time—but psychologically and chronologically we have more time to work out our solutions than the United States.

"As for the country, we ought to set up as a pillar of our society the idea of aligning our nation with the philosophy that men differ in their backgrounds and thoughts and languages and colors—but they are all men."

Herald Tribune photo by BILL SAURO

Dr. James M. Nabrit jr. On a Recent Visit to New York

". . . I have lived in the South. There the Sheriff is the man. I don't care what people write in books, it's the Sheriff who has contact with the jury list, with the taxes and assessments, and all the legal and illegal activities going on in the county. He can make a person's life miserable by harassment—I mean white or black."

Negro in these counties in the South the image of America is the image of the Sheriff. This is what people don't understand. Many of the Sheriffs are good people, however, else the Negroes would not have survived.

"But the importance that this Southern Negro sees in the elections in the United States is not who is elected President, all he wants to know is who's going to be Sheriff. That's the person who's going to be on his back. I'm not talking about Negroes in the universities, I'm talking about the ordinary Negro whose life is just one risk after another."

Dr. Nabrit, who spent much time in the South working as a lawyer in behalf of these rural Negroes, spoke with pain and compassion in his voice.

"For people to talk about the trend in the United States being a trend toward equal opportunities, that's true enough—but this Southern Negro can't see it," he said. "He can't see any trend. The white people are not even talking to him.

"So if you asked him what the trend is he would say people are getting meaner and meaner, and he has taken all he can take. And he just has to do something about it. And this surprises the white people in the South."

Dr. Nabrit circled back on the crime-in-Washington question, offering a profound insight into this problem.

A basic difficulty is, he said, that the Negro masses are being asked by the whites to assume citizenship responsibility before they are allowed citizenship freedoms.

"My first answer to this crime problem is," he said, "that all of us need to work on the deficiencies of our society which prevent people who want to work from working. And which don't let people get the kind of education for life in society that they want. Now if we are willing to do that, I am willing to address myself not to what the Negro is doing in Washington about the crime matter but what

terested in studying. They may have high I. Q.'s but they get talking to some fellow on the corner and he says I am studying electricity and you're foolish to try it because I can't get a job.

"Meanwhile, here we are trying to tell them, if you don't get an education you'll be lost, because you can't live in America unless you have the education that will fit you to deal with the machines and the techniques of today."

Dr. Nabrit said that to prevent hatred and violence in America three things are especially needed in society—"and for conformity to the basic principles of this country call for conformity to the basic principles of this country and a little moral leadership in places where it ought to be shown."

The three basics, he said, were:

"One, to do something about more evenly distributing education of citizens in all groups.

"Two, to enable people to live where they are able to live and where they have a desire to live.

"Three, to enable people to work and hold a job and get promoted on the basis of their ability."

The Howard educator, constitutional lawyer, and international figure spoke scornfully about the "depressing" statement made by a Southern Congressman a few weeks ago proposing that the Marines be called in to help clean up the Washington crime situation.

"The trouble is we are not dealing with the things that produce this situation," he said in summation. "But if we don't do something about it then in ten years we will have to have troops in all the big cities—because we'll have hundreds of thousands of people who will have no way to make a living and will be either on welfare or out with a gun trying to take something from society to live on."

TOMORROW: Another revealing conversation, Mr. Martin

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Meantime, he emphasized, Negro resentment at the disadvantageous position in which they remain a full century after slavery is running higher than ever.

"And one of the ways it is manifesting itself," he said, "is through those 300,000 people whom Elijah Muhammad has got in the Black Muslim movement. We ought to understand, though, that it is a marvel that more of this resentment has not been stored up within the Negro, that he has been able to take all he has taken without becoming absolutely anti-American, anti-white, anti-everything.

"It shows qualities which the Negro and America both ought to be proud about because, given the same circumstances, I don't know of another race that would have reacted this way over that period of time."

Coming around to the subject of Negro violence, Dr. Nabrit continued:

"Some of the Negroes do feel violent, of course. But we don't have anybody in the Negro group preaching that sort of thing in organized fashion except in the Black Muslims. And I would hope we would have fewer of those, because it's futile and destructive of everything that would make life worth having.

"We are trying to narrow the circumference around them, and to show the weaknesses of their arguments about separation and that sort of thing. But these people are shrewd. They can do some things that not even the churches can do. They can control their people.

A Consuming Hatred

"These Black Muslims don't drink, they don't smoke, they don't run around with other women. They stick with their families and pay their debts. Their people do a lot of things we would like to see everybody practice. So you have to watch them because of those things, to see that they don't capture people. Because the other thing is worse. It's a consuming hatred they have, and they may erupt in violence as they have already done in some places. All these things call for America to do something about these things that are wrong in our society."

The university president frequently referred to the good intentions of many white citizens, contrasting them with the harsh realities as seen through Negro eyes.

"I think this country would like to see us get an even break," he philosophized, "but the image which so many Negroes get from this country is not that at all. If you have been down in Mississippi or Alabama or Georgia—where I have been—you know that's not the image there.

"Their image is of fear, and bodily harm, and economic boycotts, and intimidation of all kinds. These are with the Negro every day. His fear is of getting less justice in the courts even if he shows the nerve and ability to get somebody to represent him.

"I have lived in the South. There the Sheriff is the man. I don't care what people write in books, it's the Sheriff who has contact with the jury list, with the taxes, and assessments, and all the legal and illegal activities going on in the county. He can make a person's life miserable by harassment—I mean white or black.

"Only a few white people in the county can do anything with him, and they work hand in glove with him. So to the is the image of the Sheriff. This is what people don't understand. Many of the Sheriffs are good people, however, else the Negroes would not have survived.

"But the importance that this Southern Negro sees in the elections in the United States is not who is elected President, all he wants to know is who's going to be Sheriff. That's the person who's going to be on his back. I'm not talking about Negroes in the universities, I'm talking about the ordinary Negro whose life is just one risk after another."

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"I was called into a meeting with very good white friends of mine recently when a white woman who was there, and who is a friend of mine, asked me what we were doing about this crime situation. She said she couldn't walk in the park at night.

"I said, this thing affects us all. You're not the only one who can't walk in the park at night. I told her we have had fear of walking in parks at night all our lives—but not for the same reason she had. After we got that straightened out we were able to make some headway in that meeting."

Dr. Nabrit moved to the heart of the Washington problem, saying:

"The Negro cannot assume the responsibilities of a citizen unless he understands what they are.

"I say in all my speeches that the Negro must assume the responsibilities before we get the rights. But that's all right for me to preach it—and I do try to convince as many Negroes as I can—but too many of these people I am talking about don't have this fine line of understanding.

"They can't see that. All they think is that they are not being treated like others in our society. So when we begin talking about what their responsibilities are it doesn't make any impression on them at all.

"Now I think this is one of the responsibilities of Negro leadership, to try to get this across, and I think Negro leadership is trying. I notice that Dr. Martin Luther King jr. advocates it in all his speeches, and the N. A. A. C. P. is advocating it. They all realize that there are citizenship responsibilities which free people have to assume, and if you're reaching for freedom you had better assume them. But that's not easy to get across to the Negro people as it is to sit here and discuss it."

Though Dr. Nabrit insists that the prevention of Negro crime is a task for all society and not for the Negroes alone, still he personally ordered the university months ago to initiate several different kinds of programs to improve Negro family life and living conditions in slum or run-down areas in the vicinity of the Howard campus. He keeps in close touch with these programs, and he was thinking of them when he said:

"If you went out and talked to families near the university where a white policeman beat up a Negro father of a family last week—a family that lacked food and heat—and if you spoke to them about what you and I are discussing right now, they would not know what you were talking about.

One Step at a Time

"I have to tell these people things one step at a time. I say, if you will do this first, then the policeman will not beat you up, then you will get heat. All the philosophy about citizenship responsibilities and freedom doesn't reach this man and his family at all. The family doesn't have anything you can hook into. It's like trying to hang up a suit of clothes in a closet without hooks. The clothes just fall right down on the floor.

"The lives of these people are a scramble for existence, and the rules we live by don't mean anything to them. It's as if the rules don't exist. Certainly, they would listen if you could hold them that long—then they'd go out and mug somebody. Or mug you."

Dr. Nabrit detailed the difficulties qualified Negroes have in getting anything but menial jobs in the big private firms and offices in Washington, and he spoke with deep feeling about discrimination in the important building industry in Washington against allowing Negroes into the various construction unions.

He himself was under attack by student groups at Howard this Spring because no Negroes were allowed to be employed in the construction of a new $4 million gymnasium on the Howard University campus. He told about the frustration he had encountered when he protested to contractors, unions and Federal agencies the (gym is being Federally financed). But still no Negroes were employed on the project.

Such discrimination has devastating effect on the motivation of youngsters who are studying, or would like to study, vocational skills such as electricity, he warned. Speaking of such youngsters from the Negro masses in Washington, he continued:

"They don't have any books in the home and they don't have enough food or clothing. They may have a radio or a television—that would be their only contact with our culture. The parents themselves are short of motivation and ambition, the whole family sees nothing behind them, nothing in the present, nothing in the future.

So the youngsters drop out of school. They're not in-

get talking to some fellow on the corner and he says I am studying electricity and you're foolish to try it because I can't get a job.

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TOMORROW: Another revealing conversation. Mr. Martin Luther King tells what American Negroes seek in the civil rights field. The key word is NOW.

8-1-63

NEGRO EDUCATOR'S SEARCHING LOOK AT OUR SOCIETY

By Robert S. Bird
Herald Tribune National Correspondent

In his cloistered office on a campus in Washington, D. C., a Negro university president distinguished with degrees and honors answered a bitter question that rattles in the minds of most white people in the nation's Capital.

Why don't the Negroes themselves do more to clean up crime among their own people?

Negro crime in Washington is becoming a global scandal as foreign diplomats in the Capital watch and wonder at the American failure in handling the peril of violence there.

But what about the Negroes themselves? Why don't they do something about policing their own people?

I asked the question of a number of Negroes in Washington and other crime-afflicted cities. But the answer of Dr. James M. Nabrit jr., president of Howard University, the nation's biggest predominantly Negro university, seemed to embrace most searchingly and vividly a viewpoint shared by all.

It was a little surprising to hear a noted educator from the academic world—even though a Negro one—speak almost as devastatingly about white America's failures in race relations as the Black Muslims themselves, while disagreeing utterly with their philosophy and what he called their hate declarations and talk of violence.

This is the second article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird on the Negroes' views of white America.

Herald Tribune photo by BILL SAURO
Howard University's Dr. James M. Nabrit jr.

But Dr. Nabrit insisted that the question needed to be put in perspective, and he gave it bluntly.

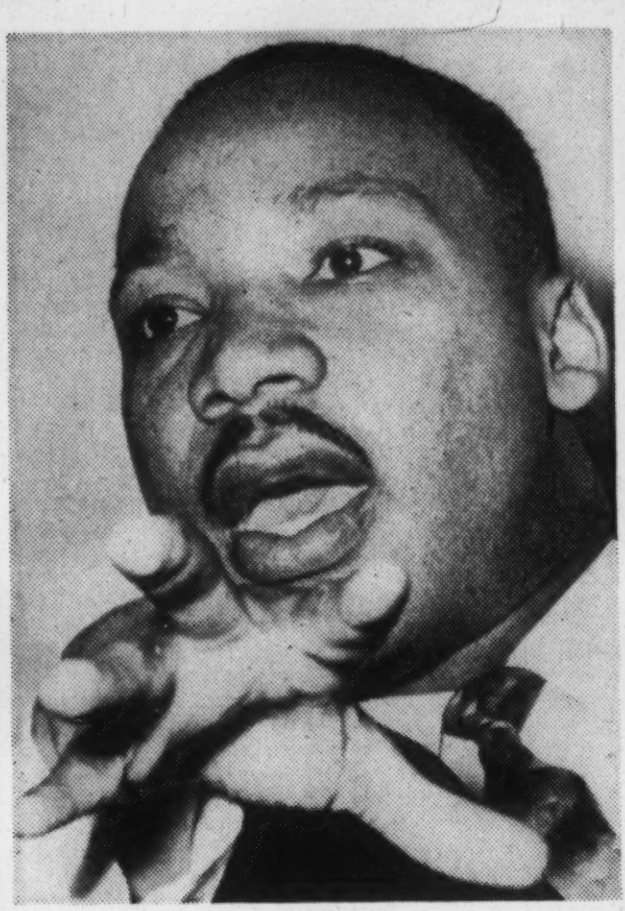
"Many of my white friends come to me from time to time to sympathize with me because of something the Negro has done or something some Black Muslim has said," he began. "They tell me they are very sorry about it. But I reply, don't come feeling sorry for me. You ought to sympathize with society. It is society which has all the aberrant personalities—the white ones as well as the Negro ones.

"I tell them that we Negroes don't indict the white race because of the John Birch Society or the Klu-Klux Klan or George Rockwell, the American Nazi leader, or any other persons who deviate from the accepted standards. We simply hold that these are persons who have broken off in some abnormal way within society. We think of them as belonging within the confines of the group."

Dr. Nabrit knows the Negro crime subject from first hand experience. He holds a law degree with honors from Northwestern University and an honorary doctorate in law from Morehouse College in Atlanta, where he got his bachelor of arts degree with honors in 1923. Sixty-two years old now, he was a practicing lawyer in both the South and the North before becoming a national authority on civil rights and constitutional law.

More on TEN NEGROES P 10

TEN NEGROES



Martin Luther King Describes the Hurry

This is the third article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird outlining the Negroes' views of white America.

By Robert S. Bird
Herald Tribune National Correspondent

Dr. Martin Luther King jr.'s office in Atlanta is not much larger actually than some of the jail cells in which he has served time with what many people think has been honor and distinction.

When he is not in jail or out on the road protesting, preaching or lecturing, the 34-year-old Dr. King can usually be found in this cubicle-like office in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Headquarters on Auburn Ave. in Atlanta.

This is where I interviewed him one day recently—before he went down to Birmingham to end up in jail again. For the thirteenth time.

THE PROBLEM

Dr. King had made an interesting calculation on the progress of school integration in the South, and he offered it to me as an explanation of why there seemed to be so much "hurry" by the Negroes for advancement of their civil rights.

"We face the frustrating problem," he said, "of having a Supreme Court decision that was handed down some eight years ago. Yet only 7.8 per cent of the Negro students of the South are attending integrated schools this year, a hundred years after our emancipation from slavery.

"This means we are barely making 1 per cent progress a year, and that if it continues at this pace it will take 92 more years to integrate the public schools of the South."

I made a fast calculation of my own. Adding 92 to 1963, I got the year 2055 A. D. as the one when—at that rate—school integration in the South would be completed.

"The shape of the world today just doesn't afford us the luxury of such slow movement," Dr. King said dryly.

THE URGENCY

As a Baptist minister in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955 he launched during the Negro bus boycott there the first history-making experiment in non-violence techniques and philosophy of creative protest against segregation. Since then the non-violence movement for Negro rights has spread around the country, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which he heads as president, has become the principal co-ordinating agency for a number of affiliated non-violence groups.

Dr. King's own stature as a Negro rights leader is perhaps unsurpassed in the nation now, and he moves through a broader band of the spectrum than probably any other figure in the country. His name and his presence are powerful symbols among the 20 million Negroes of America.

In an interview which lasted almost two hours he was especially interested in explaining the sense of urgency that pervades the Negro world today.

"There is abysmal ignorance on the part of many,

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TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

many white people, even those of good will, about progress being made in civil rights," he said. "There is a feeling that much more progress is being made than actually is being made."

Then he went directly into the essence of this sense of urgency, reinforcing in his own calm way the same thoughts I had heard from other Negroes with flashes of anger in their words. What he said furnished the answer to the question often asked by white people—what is it the Negroes want?

"Three simple words can describe the nature of the social revolution that is taking place and what Negroes really want," he continued. "They are the words 'all,' 'now,' and 'here.'

"That is, we do not want some of our rights, we do not want token handouts here and there—because that is one of the great problems we must deal with now, tokenism.

"We are saying that we want ALL of our rights, not some, and we are also saying we want all of our rights HERE.

THE MOOD

We want ALL of them.

"Now when I say 'here I am speaking of here in the United States and here in the South. The mood of the Negro now is very interesting in connection with this idea. My experience is that Negroes who live in the South are now saying we are not going to run from this thing but we are going to stay right here and struggle for our rights HERE.

"The mood of Negroes now is that we are Americans, and America is our home—we don't need any back-to-Africa movement. I still contend that the black nationalist movement will never appeal to the great majority of Negroes. It will appeal to some as long as the problem is with us, and it is symptomatic of the discontent and frustration and bitterness of many Negroes.

"The third word is 'NOW.' Here again I find that many people feel we have a long time, and that it will take time to solve the problem, and all that. Of course we realize that the problem can't be solved overnight. But all too often those who live with the myth of time have the idea that time is going to solve the problem.

"They fail to realize that time is neutral—and it can be used constructively or destructively, and the people of ill will have used time more effectively than the people of good will.

"And this is why I say that we may have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic actions and words of the bad people, but also for the appalling silence and apathy of the good people."

THE BRAVERY

Whether addressing a couple of thousand people in an auditorium or talking privately in this little office at his somewhat cluttered desk, Dr. King carries immense conviction.

This comes partly from his background, for his father was a clergyman before him; and partly from the nature of his dedication and special mission. I had watched him risking his life around the clock in Montgomery eight years ago when that city was torn with strife and when dynamite bombs were being set off, and he's still exposing himself to danger in trouble spots in the South. This kind of bravery helps to convey conviction when he speaks.

Actually his office is a kind of communications center with the world. For he is in touch constantly not only with protest groups around the South but also with national and world figures all around this country and as far away as India, where he is a friend and, in a sense, a student of Prime Minister Nehru.

"So, I can sense in the Negro community all over this country," he went on, "a feeling of 'now.' That is, a feeling of wanting freedom not a hundred years or fifty years from now, but tomorrow morning.

"There is also a feeling that some progress is being made. In the South you can see real signs of progress, because here there is an overt, glaring system that has legal sanction. So you can easily see progress when you know that last year Negroes could not go to theaters in Atlanta and they can go today.

"You know that two years ago the Negroes could not eat at a lunch counter in downtown Atlanta but today they can. This is a breaking down of the system of segregation in a gradual way, but at least it's moving."

THE DANGER

But in one area, Dr. King emphasized, there is retrogression and danger. That is in the area of Negro employment. And here he calls on President Kennedy for executive action.

"We are retrogressing in this area rather than progressing, and I am sure that a lot of this is the result of automation," he said. "So the Negro has been limited to unskilled and semi-skilled labor, and because of discrimination in the South he has been refused apprenticeship training.

"Now these jobs are going away, the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, and this makes a great problem in unemployment. The danger is that if something isn't done about employment discrimination and housing discrimination—then social problems will continue to mount, and juvenile delinquency will grow."

Associated Press

TOWARD HONOR AND DISTINCTION—Dr. Martin Luther King in a 1958 arrest for loitering in Montgomery, Ala. Shortly after Bird interviewed Dr. King for this article, the minister was arrested for the 13th time—a record probably unmatched by any holder of a doctor's degree in systematic theology. He has been shot at, stabbed, and bombed since he sprang to national prominence by successfully leading the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956, is now appealing contempt term.

Associated Press

FIGHTING FAMILY—Dr. King's family has played an important part in his fight for civil rights. His wife, the former Coretta Scott, received a sympathetic phone call from President Kennedy when Dr. King was jailed during the 1960 campaign. Some said the call tipped the nation's Negro vote Kennedy's way. His son, Martin 3d, 5, is pictured at left after being refused admission to a private school in Atlanta. Last August, Martin 3d, Yolande Denise, 7, and Dexter Scott, 2, visited Dr. King in jail.

Dr. King predicted what a number of other Negroes in various fields have told me.

"If something isn't done in a hurry and in a vigorous way, explosive situations will develop, particularly in the large industrial areas of the North, where you have great numbers of Negroes with these frustrations emerging."

As far back as a year ago in May he himself had urged President Kennedy to sign a sweeping executive order to end discrimination in the whole broad Federal areas where Federal funds are being used. Dr. King's idea was that this would end segregation in many places where it exists now, and would create an atmosphere for integration on all levels.

His view of the President is rather sharply pointed. It may be recalled that in the heat of the 1960 Presidential campaign Presidential candidate Kennedy made a telephone call to Dr. King's wife in Atlanta sympathizing with her over her husband's particular jail confinement at that time. This gesture was credited with securing for Mr. Kennedy the Negro vote of the country.

But the Negro leader made it eloquently clear to me that he feels the President could do a great deal more than is being done by him to advance the cause of integration. Still, he did not want to be represented as suggesting that the President lacks good will.

"I know he has problems and I don't want to overlook them," he said, "and I certainly don't want to give the impression that the President isn't a man of good will. I think if one compares what he has already done in civil rights with that of his predecessors, he has done more.

"But still I feel this problem is so grave now that it takes more than applying a little vaseline to a cancer—it's going to take a vigorous approach that really goes to the roots."

THE DECISION

In essence Dr. King proposed that the President make a great moral decision, an historic decision.

"Now certainly he would get a great deal of opposition from members of his own party," Dr. King said. "I mean the Southern members of his party. It would mean they would take a stand against other phases of his legislative program. But as I have said to the President in discussing this very matter, these men are going to vote against many phases of his legislative program anyway. They were against medical care for the aged, against his farm bill, and they are going to fight the tax cut.

"So I don't see the consistency here of saying that I need these men for my total legislative program, for my foreign aid bill, and this and that, and so we can't arouse their ire too much on civil rights because they are going to vote against most of it anyway.

"I think it is better for a man to go down taking a strong moral position than to go down anyway, and you compromise in the process. I believe it would be—I am sure it would be—the right moral decision. And every great decision that has been made by a great President in this area has brought opposition. But when we look back over it we see that it put the nation in the right direction from the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abe Lincoln right on through."

The Negro leader summed it up in these words:

"I feel that ever and again in history you find those moments when that which is morally right is also politically expedient. And I think it would be politically expedient, for it would not hurt the President in terms of getting re-elected because it has been demonstrated that it is going to be in the large industrial areas of the North—New York, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and some others—that one must think of winning an election.

"And in these communities you have enough liberal forces in the white community and enough Negro folks to turn an election. So I don't think it would be political suicide for the President. I think it would be a wise political action as well as one of great moral value. And it is very seldom that one has the opportunity to do that which is morally right and also that which is politically expedient."

THE UNTOUCHABLES

Dr. King had a couple of other points to make on the general worry to him of Negro employment. One is that the Federal government ought affirmatively to move out to help the depressed Negro classes in the same way the government of India has financially assisted the caste of Untouchables after discrimination against them had been outlawed by the new constitution of the newly independent nation.

"I remember when in India hearing Prime Minister Nehru make speeches condemning Untouchability on at least three occasions in six weeks," he said. "I think, rather frankly, that not even yet since 1954 has a President of the United States made a major speech or major statement really saying that integration was right and segregation wrong.

"It's always a 'we must do this because the law says do it' sort of thing. It never comes out that the purpose of the law is to establish justice, and that which is right, and that Mr. Meredith must go to the University of Mississippi not merely because the Supreme Court rendered a decision but because he is your brother and this is right, and that Mississippi will never come into its right relationships until this can be done in a natural and normal and moral manner. "But I saw this in India, where the Prime Minister constantly brought this out.

"But again another thing is, from the beginning of the date when the nation gained its independence it started out giving millions of rupees a year for the improvement and development of the Untouchables who had been discriminated against for thousands of years.

"When I talked with Nehru about that he said, we couldn't think of talking about refusing to discriminate against Untouchables without thinking somehow of doing something ourselves and taking some responsibility to lift the standards of the people whom we have exploited all these years.

"He said that might be a little discrimination in reverse, giving them something we don't give others—but this, he said, was our way of atoning for what we have done to these people for thousands of years. Well, the Negro has not had that help in America, and it's only natural that some of these problems of lagging standards will produce problems in the transition period."

The other approach Dr. King is undertaking toward helping Negro employment is through the "selective buying" campaign that is being pushed around various cities in the country against firms that discriminate against Negroes in employment. This, he said, will be a major program for this year.

Dr. King stands at the opposite pole from the Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, who scathingly criticized Dr. King in an interview with me. Dr. King, on the other hand, was critical of the Black Muslims.

"I think this Black Muslim movement is very sensational," he said, "and consequently it will excite and get a good deal of coverage. But the thing that amazes me is not how many Negroes have been willing to join this movement but that more Negroes have not joined it. When you think of the number who have given overt allegiance by joining, and those who somehow share the views of this group, it's amazing.

"Their membership really is almost less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the Negro population. The FBI estimates its membership at perhaps 75,000 for the whole nation, but I would think many more would share its philosophy. I would think a great number of Negroes are at least in agreement with them on their statement of the race situation.

"But it seems to me that this other movement that is all around the country now, engaging in non-violent direct action, has appealed to many more people because they see a way out through this. You can channelize legitimate, healthy discontent through creative channels in the non-violence movement.

"The Black Muslim movement channelizes it through negative and bitter channels. The non-violent movement says that the anger I have is an anger that is almost inevitable in a situation I am in, but this discontent which is necessary for a change in the social situation can be channelized in a creative channel.

THE DISCONTENT

"You don't need to hate in the process, and when we talk about love at this point we are not talking about emotional bosh or sentimental affection. It's nonsense to tell an oppressed people to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. But we're talking about something much deeper. Now this is why the Muslims can't get off the ground in cities where you have powerful non-violent movements.

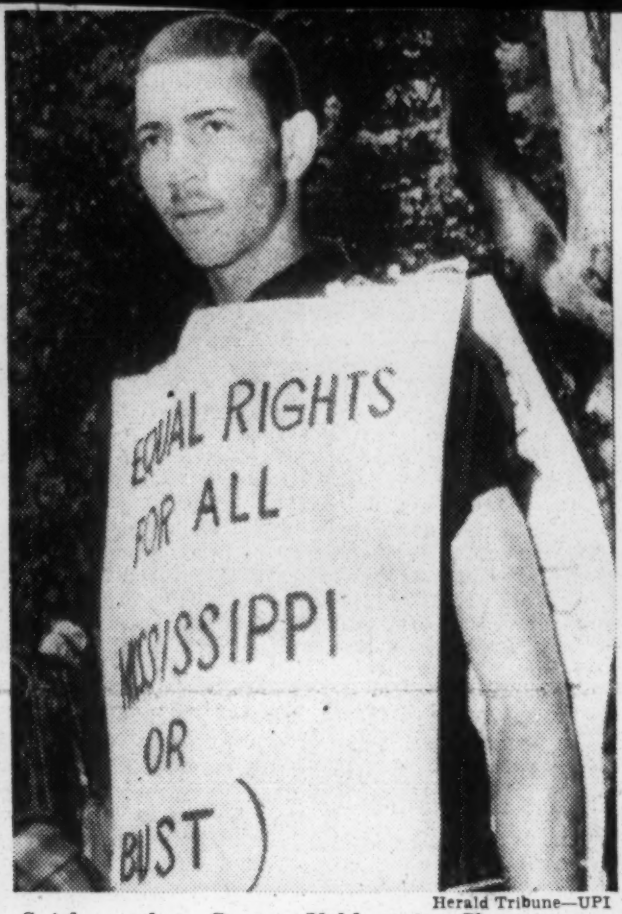
"They've been in Atlanta three years and it was interesting that the Atlanta Constitution had a series of five articles on the Muslim movement, and at the end of the series they said that the Muslims had sixty-five members in the temple in Atlanta.

"In the non-violent movement we've had as many as 4,000 students participating at one time. But we've never had a series of articles on that."

Dr. King warned that grave elements of danger reside in the Black Muslim movement. This is because it appeals to people on the periphery of life, he said, and he added:

"I think that this is a danger. There is no doubt about it. If this movement grows and continues to grow it can create an atmosphere for a great deal of bitterness and hatred, and can bring about a nightmarish situation in any big city in the country. It has dangerous overtones, and no doubt about it."

TOMORROW: Reporter Bird is introduced into the "Snick way of life" in an interview with Carver Neblett at the headquarters of the Students Non-violence Co-ordinating Committee, or "snick" for short.



Herald Tribune—UPI

Snick worker Carver Neblett in Chattanooga. Tenn., earlier this week as he led the freedom marchers of the "William Moore Memorial Trek."

TEN NEGROES

This is the fourth article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird giving Negroes' views of white America.

By Robert S. Bird

Herald Tribune National Correspondent

I met Carver Neblett in about the same way you reach in and pull a number out of the hat. I dropped into what is called "Snick" headquarters in Atlanta and buttonholed for an interview the first typical, Negro Snick kid I found who was fresh off the firing line, so to speak.

Snick is the way they pronounce the initials of the Students Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee—SNCC.

These are the non-violent, Negro and white student commandos who are risking their lives in the Negro voter registration drives in rural Georgia and Mississippi with courage not easy to understand.

And these drives to get for Negroes in the Deep South the tool of voting power to improve their lot is becoming this year the most important breakthrough of any in the struggle for Negro rights. SNCC is one of several organizations, including the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE),

More on TEN NEGROES—P 8

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

that are active in this turbulent and dangerous field.

"But we go into more hell than any of the others," Carver said.

Their headquarters is in a very small building off Hunter Ave. in the Negro section out beyond Morehouse College. When you enter the door you find yourself in a cramped little warren of small, connecting offices, all busy with the comings and goings of students in all kinds of dress—boys and girls, white and Negro.

At a desk near the door I saw a white girl with scuffy sneakers on her feet and owlish spectacles over a nice-looking face, and an air of supreme calm amid all the hurly-burly. She absorbed the explanation of my mission faster than I could say it.

"Follow me," she said cheerfully, and led me into the labyrinth of offices to a corner where two Negro youths were chatting. She pointed to one of them and said:

"He's Charles Neblett. He's been working in Greenwood, Miss., but he's leaving today to go on tour with the Freedom Singers. The other one's his brother, Carver. He's working on voter registration in Terrell County and he's just in from the field. Maybe he's the one you want."

So I ended up the following morning with an interview with Carver, trying to pry out of him something he couldn't quite put into words.

It was typical of this action-minded boy that as this is being written he has taken time out to make the walk from Chattanooga to Mississippi with the band of ten Negro and white youths commemorating the killing of Baltimore postman William Moore. Moore was shot on a lonely road in Alabama while on a lone demonstration march on this same journey.

The Snick youth is a tall, rangy lad with a somewhat loungey, off-hand manner and a low but quick way of speaking. He has very alert eyes. He was wearing a bright red sports shirt and black slacks of collegiate-slim styling, and he was feeling mighty good in them.

"Can't wear these things on the job in Terrell County," he said, fingering his red shirt and grinning. "You gotta wear work clothes there."

Whence Comes Courage?

What I was searching for from him and others was, what is the nature of the dedication and strength these students have got that enables them to stand up to prolonged strain of white hatred, threat, beatings, arrest, jail, and even shooting?

Carver Neblett is nineteen, and a sophomore at Southern Illinois University, who has been on leave for more than a year. He was born into a share cropper's family in rural Tennessee. The family moved North six years ago, to Carbondale, Ill., but he was not able to rid himself of the resentments he had felt in growing up as a segregated Negro boy in the South.

When he was in his last year of high school in Pulaski, Ill., in 1960, his brother Charles, now 21, wrote him from Southern Illinois University that he was joining in a SNCC desegregation "action" in Cairo, Ill., and why not come along?

Carver went to Cairo, promptly got arrested, and went on a hunger strike in jail. That was the beginning of his conversion to the non-violence philosophy of "creative protest," and to what he calls the "Snick way of life."

He learned the non-violent techniques in endless SNCC workshop sessions, and found himself greatly moved by the power of the non-violence philosophy and by the examples of SNCC leaders who had been through the fire.

Although he had become well embarked on his studies at the university, he decided to quit school temporarily and go South to throw himself into the most perilous "action" of all.

Telling how the first student workers to enter a new rural area go in with nothing but the clothes on their back, placing themselves deliberately on the charity of the frightened Negro community, Carver said:

"Usually they don't know who we are, except they think that we're dangerous to them. Most of them never heard of SNCC, but they have all heard the term 'Freedom Riders,' and they tend to think that's what we are. They have been told by the whites that if any Freedom Riders

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In all these areas, Carver said, the Negro community in general has a pervasive feeling that they cannot go down any lower, that the only place they can go is up. He continued:

"Gradually you start dealing with the Negro people on several different levels. You go to the night clubs. You go to the churches. You go everywhere that people gather and talk. And very slowly they begin to respect you and to look on you as symbols of the respect which they themselves want and should have."

The slowest to respond in many cases are the Negro ministers of the local community, and it is they who have always been "set up on a pedestal," Carver explained.

"In the beginning they shy away from us. I guess they are afraid of their position in the community and afraid that their churches will be bombed. But SNCC knows how to use a little psychology on them. We get things going, and pretty soon the idea of freedom is in the air, and we're having mass meetings and people are getting involved, and the doctor and the lawyer and the field hand and the servant girl are all going to jail together.

"Then it is that we have become part of the community ourselves, and everybody is knit together and the whole Negro group is ready to do anything—anything—to get their goal."

Carver was not able to express very well the quality of the peril that envelops such a Snick-invaded rural Negro community like a chill miasma. But older and more mature Negro workers who help to guide these missionary students on the scene did provide me with moving accounts.

His Car Shot Up

One was Randolph T. Blackwell, the Negro field director of the Voter Education Project, a law graduate and specialist in government and economic studies, who was in a car with SNCC workers that was shot up outside of Greenwood on Feb. 28.

"I don't know how these kids are able to stand up to the strain and danger," he said. "As for myself, it seems like being in combat, where you move through the town expecting anything to happen and looking ahead of you and behind you both at the same time.

"But I have learned that it is helpful if you have in mind an absolutely clear understanding of the nature of your opposition. One of the experts taught me that it's not too difficult to stay in such a community if you start with the following assumptions:

"No. 1, that there are a lot of white people in the community who will want to kill you and who will try. No. 2, that the police are hostile to you and not your friends. No. 3, that the courts are not going to be fair with you. No. 4, that a sizable portion of the Negro community

up for the night and be careful in leaving because he was being followed.

He got back into his car with two other workers, Robert Moses and James Travis.

They drove to a near-by gas station, where they refueled the car and ate sandwiches. The white car with the three white men followed them and circled while they ate. Then, with Mr. Travis at the wheel, he headed his car out on the main highway toward Greenville, Miss., with the white car following them.

Attack Coming, but When?

All three were in the front seat. They knew they would be attacked. The only question was when. For a while there was too much traffic on the highway for the other car to come up beside Blackwell's. But they knew that when the white car began to pull up they could expect bullets.

Very soon that time came. The white car moved forward. Mr. Travis, at the driver's window, was in the most exposed position. Mr. Moses was in the middle and Mr. Blackwell at the right window. The car pulled up beside them. The gun appeared in the white car. One of the white men opened fire.

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Carver Neblett assured me he is prepared to take any risk whatever, fortified as he is by his non-violence philosophy and spiritual feeling, though up to now he has not been shot.

"No matter what happens to me I am going to participate in the movement for as long as possible, even when I go back to school," he said, simply. "I was not always non-violent"—he laughed at the thought—"but we won't go into that.

"I was brought up—all Negroes in the South are—with a fear of jail. But I don't care about jail now. Sometimes I get lonely there, or frustrated, but I think of our freedom song, 'Paul and Silas were bound in jail, had no money to go on bail, keep your eyes on the prize, hold on—' Or I think of what that poet said, about bars do not a prison make if a fellow's soul is free, and that gives me content. And I pray."

Some of the things that Carver was not able to explain helping greatly to produce a kind of mood for freedom in these Deep South areas. Freedom is not a word that is ever quite defined by them, but it is their mood.

"Another thing, since these are a very religious people they have a deeply religious idea of the fullness of time, a period when time does have meaning, when everything clicks. We almost have the feeling that this is the time in Mississippi."

It was this same Rev. Young, a co-worker in the movement with Dr. Martin Luther King jr., who made this interesting observation:

"The only place that the students are afraid to work is at Sen. Eastland's plantation. You can shoot at them in Greenwood or harass them anywhere else, but they're afraid to set foot on Eastland's plantation. They're almost sure they'd be murdered. I don't know—Sen. Eastland doesn't actually run it. And that's the problem with the plantation—they're run usually by lower classes of whites, low-mentality whites who are effective disciplinarians.

"But the thing about the students which makes them sure they'd get killed is that they wouldn't back down if they were confronted. They wouldn't run. If asked a question, they would answer it directly.

"You can be nearly beaten to death in Mississippi for not saying, 'Sir,' and this has become one of the students' silent forms of protest—to get away from this whole subservient attitude of the Negro. They sing all the time, 'Before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave.'"

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'Amounts to Conversion'

Still he tried to explain it, and this is what he said:

"I don't believe in approaching a person and asking him to accept non-violence as a way of life. It's something you have to come to yourself. But if you are on the demonstration line, the opposition will start engaging in things that are so unpleasant that you really have to use non-violence in order to survive.

"You see, we believe we can overcome hate with love, overcome violence with non-violence. And this is a tremendous force. It amounts to a conversion to a new attitude toward life."

Many Carver Nebletts are working today in the brooding rural countryside of the Deep South, where the War Between the States and the days of Negro slavery seem very close.

Some of the rural Negroes they are trying to rouse to a reaching and grasping for citizenship rights are almost childlike in their view of themselves and their world. These student workers are bringing them among other things

(Continued from page one)

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"But in any of these rural areas you are going to find a few dynamic Negro persons who will take you in and understand the situation. That's how we get the first toehold. These few members of the community give us food and a place to stay, and they know that we are doing nothing wrong but are working for the betterment of the Negroes.

What's to Lose?

"So what do we have to lose? The ordinary people at first think we are crazy in a funny way, that we are absolutely fearless, sort of inhumanly brave. We have to get that idea out of their head fast and make them understand that we are completely human, though not fearful in the way they are.

"How do we do this? In different ways. One is to persuade a frightened Negro family to let one of us sit in the living room with them and watch the television some evening. You don't say much but by the end of the evening they've got the feel of you and they begin to look on you as human beings like themselves."

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"And No. 5, that it will require great persistence and continuation of effort before the nation will wake up to the point where it will call on the Administration to live up to its national responsibilities."

Here is how the strain of peril falls on both Negro and white workers in such a danger area. It summarizes the account given to me by Mr. Blackwell:

On Feb. 28 Mr. Blackwell drove in a rented car to the SNCC office in Greenwood, arriving at 1 p. m. He noticed a white car with no license plates parked in front of a Negro cafe near the SNCC office which later was burned down. Three white men were in it. Just sitting. They were still in the car, still sitting, at 2 o'clock, at 3 o'clock, at 4 o'clock, at 5 o'clock, at 6 o'clock.

At 6 o'clock they switched on their lights and stayed there, just sitting. They were still sitting in the car at 7 o'clock, at 8 o'clock, at 9 o'clock. At 9:15 p. m. Mr. Blackwell, fully aware that trouble was in the offing, got into his car and prepared to leave.

The white car instantly pulled away and drove around the block, coming in behind Mr. Blackwell's car as he was leaving his parking place. It followed him, and so he drove around the block, returned to the office and warned the eight or nine student workers in the headquarters to close up for the night and be careful in leaving because he was being followed.

He got back into his car with two other workers, Robert Moses and James Travis.

They drove to a near-by gas station, where they refueled the car and ate sandwiches. The white car with the three white men followed them and circled while they ate. Then, with Mr. Travis at the wheel, he headed his car out on the main highway toward Greenville, Miss., with the white car following them.

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Some of the things that Carver was not able to explain about the spirit of people in these aroused communities—unable to express them because he is so totally immersed in "action" itself—were explained to me by a young minister of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is the Rev. Andrew Young, who is active in the program for teaching citizenship to the largely illiterate rural Negroes.

"The predominant mood of the masses of Negroes in Mississippi is religious," he said. "It's impossible not to see the religious parallels that have always been made since slavery days—'Let my people go.'

"The whole struggle of the Old Testament Hebrew people in the midst of adversity is continually quoted and is the foundation of their thought. Mixed now, however, with the new freedom songs.

In Spite of Fears

"You have the feeling that while these people do not get completely free of fear when we come in with outside help, they will go along in spite of their fear. And the lower classes are not nearly as controlled by their fears as the middle classes of Negroes. They are the ones who have been most successfully brain-washed by the segregationist whites.

"Then there are the ones who had got away for a while and had a taste of freedom in the Army. They are helping greatly to produce a kind of mood for freedom in these Deep South areas. Freedom is not a word that is ever quite defined by them, but it is their mood.

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'Amounts to Conversion'

Still he tried to explain it, and this is what he said:

"I don't believe in approaching a person and asking him to accept non-violence as a way of life. It's something you have to come to yourself. But if you are on the demonstration line, the opposition will start engaging in things that are so unpleasant that you really have to use non-violence in order to survive.

"You see, we believe we can overcome hate with love, overcome violence with non-violence. And this is a tremendous force. It amounts to a conversion to a new attitude toward life."

Many Carver Nebletts are working today in the brooding rural countryside of the Deep South, where the War Between the States and the days of Negro slavery seem very close.

Some of the rural Negroes they are trying to rouse to a reaching and grasping for citizenship rights are almost childlike in their view of themselves and their world. These student workers are bringing them among other things the rudiments of citizenship education.

In the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's "Citizenship Workbook," below sections on "New Words to Study" and "Be Polite," is a section on "Our America." It tells what all this voter registration business is about. It says in part:

"The Supreme Court building, where the Justices decide legal disagreements, is the symbol of law. The Capitol, where our Senators and Representatives make the laws, is the symbol of free, representative government.

"The White House, where the President lives and his Cabinet meets, is the symbol of our country in world affairs. We accept the results of elections and abide by the rulings of the courts.

"We in America know that voting is important for good citizenship, but we know that educating our children so they will vote wisely is a part of good citizenship, too. They have to know how to stand up for their rights.

"In America we want law and justice.

"We love our land—America!"

SUNDAY: Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor of psychology at City College, director of the Northside Clinic for Children and head of a new Harlem youth project called Haryou, takes a grave view of a new trend in Negro thought, affecting both the intellectuals and the masses.

File Jen Reynes

The Derby: Red Smith, Buchwald & Alexander
Chateaugay's Win in Words and Pictures—Sports Section 3

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

THE LATE CITY

Established 123 Years Ago. A European Edition Is Published Daily in Paris

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WEATHER

Today: Cloudy and warm with showers.

Tomorrow: Fair and cooler.

TEMPERATURE RANGE
Yesterday 58-86; Today 58-78.

HUMIDITY
Yesterday 3 p.m. 22%; Today 25-35.

Reports, Maps—Sec. 3, Page 10

Sunday, May 5, 1963

IN THE NEWS THIS MORNING

[FROM THE HERALD TRIBUNE'S WORLD-WIDE SOURCES.]

TOPIC A—

¶Happy. Gov. Rockefeller and Mrs. Margaretta Fitler Murphy were married in a ceremony attended only by their families at the home of his brother, Laurance Rockefeller, in Pocantico Hills, near North Tarrytown, N. Y. *The marriage could affect the Governor's chances, for better or worse, if he seeks the Republican Presidential nomination in 1964.*

IN THE HEMISPHERE—

¶Caribbean crisis. The Dominican Republic's pocket military force was poised to invade terror-ridden Haiti (which shares the island of Hispaniola) "at the slightest indication" that order has broken down. Dominican President Bosch proposed that Venezuela and Costa Rica join his republic in a "democratic Latin American force" to drive out Haiti's Dictator Duvalier. *A U. S. Navy task force steamed off Haiti to protect and evacuate some 1,300 American citizens, if necessary—not to invade.*

IN THE NATION—

¶Racial. On the third consecutive day of massive demonstrations in race-troubled Birmingham, Ala., Negroes throwing rocks and bottles fought hit-and-run battles with police, who used high pressure water hoses to disperse the crowds. *Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent two of his top aids on civil rights to the scene.*

¶Hot document. A House subcommittee reportedly is in possession of a document which lays down Administration guide lines for restricting the movements of U. S. correspondents covering the war in South Viet Nam. *One of its alleged main points: Keep American reporters away from areas where fighting is being done entirely or almost entirely by U. S. troops.*

¶Draft. The nation's Selective Service Boards are completing an inventory of their 4-F registrants. *Object: To determine the totally unfit and those who might be called in a national emergency.* A new classification (1-Y) has

Rockefeller Weds Mrs. Murphy, They Fly to Venezuela Today

Only Family At Pocantico Noon Nuptial

By Richard L. Madden
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Gov. Rockefeller and Mrs. Margaretta Fitler (Happy) Murphy were married yesterday.

The marriage, which could have a significant impact on Mr. Rockefeller's chances if he seeks the Presidency next year, took place at the home of the Governor's brother, Laurance, on the Rockefeller family estate at Pocantico Hills, near North Tarrytown, N. Y.

It ended months of speculation and rumors—and "no comments" from the Governor—about the romance between the 54-year-old Mr. Rockefeller and the 36-year-old Mrs. Murphy, both of whom were divorced recently.

Mr. Rockefeller and Mrs. Murphy were married in a noon ceremony attended by a few immediate members of their family. Only Rodman Rockefeller, one of the Governor's four children, and only Laurance, one of his four brothers, attended.

One source near the family said the other children stayed away from the wedding—not out of vindictiveness toward Mrs. Murphy—but because of their affection for their divorced mother. "It is a very deep, sad day for the family," the source said.

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¶Draft. The nation's Selective Service Boards are completing an inventory of their 4-F registrants. *Object: To determine the totally unfit and those who might be called in a national emergency.* A new classification (1-Y) has been given to 611,000 young men. *Meaning: Qualified for military service only in war or national emergency.*

¶Insurance. Prominent political figures in Connecticut (most of them Democrats) were listed as having received commissions on state insurance between 1959 and 1963. Among those named by the John P. Kelly Co. (agent of record for the state's insurance): *Three Federal officials, a top aid to Gov. Dempsey and the vice-chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee.*

IN THE WORLD—

¶No. 2 down. In a move unprecedented for the secrecy-shrouded Soviet, the Communist party's Central Committee confirmed that Russia's No. 2 man, Frol Kozlov, was ill (as Western news reports have said). A Moscow report: He had suffered a stroke, is partially paralyzed, will resign. *Why the unusual Soviet announcement? Good guess: To end wide speculation that Kozlov would succeed aging Premier Khrushchev.*

¶Tito. Secretary of State Rusk conferred with Communist Yugoslav President Tito in Belgrade. *Rusk gave Tito a letter from President Kennedy which was believed to renew assurances the Administration would seek to restore Yugoslavia's most-favored-nation trade status.*

¶New leader. Indonesia's President Sukarno made a triumphant entry into West Irian (formerly the Dutch colony of West New Guinea), said his country has no more territorial ambitions. *His promise: To fight colonialism "to the last drop of blood."*

¶Middle East. Egypt's President Nasser was in Algiers for a four-day visit, received a tumultuous, cheering welcome from a crowd of 100,000 persons. *The enthusiastic greeting in Algeria was in contrast to the political setback to Nasser's Pan-Arabic plans suffered in Syria. Premier Ben Bella said he wants Algeria to join the proposed UAR.*

IN THE CITY AND STATE—

¶Election law. Gov. Rockefeller has signed a bill which would prevent New York City from holding a mayoralty election in the same year that state and Federal offices are to be filled. *Aim: To prevent local issues from attracting a larger number of Democratic voters.*

¶Democrats. A key City Hall political strategist saw no hope for a settlement in the feud between Mayor Wagner and the Brooklyn Democratic organization. *City Hall's plan: Oust Kings County leader Stanley Steingut. How? Through ruthless use of patronage.*

IN SPORTS—

¶Derby. John Galbreath's Chateaugay took the lead near the top of the homestretch, raced to victory in the $151,400 Kentucky Derby at Churchill Downs in Louisville, Ky. *Chateaugay beat out Never Bend by a length and a quarter. Candy Spots (the favorite) was third. The winner paid $20.80, $7.80 and $3.60.*

¶Our teams. The San Francisco Giants hit six home runs, belted the Mets 17-4. *Home runs by Elston Howard (2) and Mickey Mantle (1) gave the Yankees a 3-2 victory over the Twins in Minnesota.*

SPECIAL FOR SUNDAY

¶Berlin has found a new and vital role other than being just a flashpoint in the Cold War. *The remarkable change in the world's most exposed and threatened city is reported in The Forum, Section 2.*

¶Happenings are happening all over—but what's a Happening? *An account of the perplexing art form is in The Sunday Magazine, Section 7.*

¶An ambitious maverick plans to make an aggressive entry into New York's highly competitive field of wholesale banking. *The story is in Business and Finance, Section 5.*

¶The U. S. House of Representatives, a mirror of the best and the worst in democracy, is the subject of a new book. *It's discussed in Books, Section 6.*

[Index in adjoining columns]

Associated Press

A SMILING COUPLE—Gov. and Mrs. Rockefeller after their marriage in Pocantico Hills.

At Pocantico Noon Nuptial

By Richard L. Madden
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

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It was reported last night that Mr. Rockefeller's first wife was in Williamsburg, Va., with one of the Governor's brothers, John D. Rockefeller 3d and his wife.

The Details

Announcement of the marriage came at 3 p. m. in a news release distributed simultaneously to the newspapers and the wire services.

The Governor and his bride will leave this morning by plane for a honeymoon at the Rockefeller plantation, Monte Sacro, near the town of Chirgua, Venezuela. The announcement did not say how long they would be gone.

On their return, they will make their home at the Executive Mansion in Albany and at the Governor's home in Pocantico Hills, the announcement said.

Mrs. Murphy won a divorce last month in Idaho from Dr. James Slater Murphy, an associate at the Rockefeller Institute in New York. They had been married 14 years. They have four children: James, 12; Margaretta, 10; Carol, 7, and Malinda, 3.

Mr. Rockefeller was divorced in March, 1962, from his wife of 31 years, the former Mary Todhunter Clark. They had five grown children: Rodman, Steven, Mrs. Robert L. Pierson, Mrs. William L. Strawbridge jr. and the late Michael C. Rockefeller, who was lost on an expedition in New Guinea last year.

The marriage ceremony was performed by the Rev. Marshall L. Smith, of the Union Church of Pocantico Hills. The announcement said the bride wore a pale blue dress of silk shantung, of straight line with a small bow at the neck. She wore natural-color shoes and white gloves and carried a bouquet of spring flowers.

Mr. and Mrs. Laurance Rockefeller were hosts at a luncheon following the 15-minute double-ring ceremony in the living room of their white-painted brick mansion.

The Rev. Mr. Smith read from the Book of Common

More on ROCKEFELLER WEDS—P 59

Tammany, Fulbright And Jews

By Jo-ann Price
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The executive director of the American Council for Judaism, Rabbi Elmer Berger, disclosed yesterday that Tammany Hall leader Edward N. Costikyan tried to prevent Sen. J. William Fulbright, D., Ark., from speaking to the group yesterday.

He said the New York County Democratic Chairman asked John M. Bailey, Democratic National Chairman, in a letter a month ago, to do what he could to persuade the Senator not to speak to the controversial anti-Zionist group, implying his appearance might cost Jewish votes throughout the state next year.

Mr. Fulbright went ahead anyway with the speech to the council's 20th anniversary conference at the Savoy Hilton Hotel, arriving late in the

More on TAMMANY—P 62

President Dismayed at Dogs

Battle of Birmingham Rages On

By United Press International

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.

Rock-and-bottle-throwing Negro racial demonstrators fought hit-and-run battles yesterday with Birmingham police, who used high-pressure water hoses to disperse the crowds screaming through the streets.

Police, backed up by firemen wielding the hoses, broke up a demonstration of 3,000 Negroes early in the afternoon, but hundreds of the demonstrators regrouped at a church and there was another encounter.

Carefully avoiding hitting the church with the streams of water, the firemen pointed the nozzles directly at the group.

But the Negroes retreated a short distance and suddenly began raining rocks and bottles at authorities.

It was a hurled rock that touched off the first clash earlier in the day. The object landed a short distance from City Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, who ordered the hoses brought into play.

President Kennedy was reported "dismayed" by the events, and the Administration sent in two Justice Department trouble shooters in hopes of working out a truce.

When the second clash broke out near the church, Police Chief Jamie Moore advanced alone toward the rock-throwing Negroes, but the demonstrators, numbering in the hundreds, fled to another section. The encounter, in which the bottles and rocks were hurled, lasted only a minute or two.

Other groups of Negroes began forming over a six-block area centering around a park where the 3,000 Negroes were dispersed earlier in the day.

Groups of 100 to 300 Negroes gathered during the afternoon, following a "lie down" demonstration by 30 Negro youths in the morning demonstrations. They fled as they were hit by the water blasts.

At least one firemen was injured when he was hit on the side of the face by a brick.

The clashes marked the third consecutive day of massive racial demonstrations here. More than 1,000 Negroes have been arrested, including 50 taken into custody yesterday. The midday temperature was 77 degrees.

Along 17th St., one of the leading Negro business thoroughfares, police and firemen

More on BATTLE—P 16

IN THE SUNDAY HERALD TRIBUNE

MAIN NEWS (Section 1) includes: Eugenia Sheppard's Women's Pages, 34-39. Society, Pages 40-53. Obituaries, Page 62.

THE FORUM (Section 2) includes: History in the Making, Times of London Crossword Puzzle, Chess, Columnists, Editorials, Education, Science.

SPORTS (Section 3) includes: Automotive, Boating, Marine, Stamps and Coins, Bridge.

THE LIVELY ARTS (Section 4) includes: Theater, Movies, John Crosby, Music, Records, Art, TV, Dance, Jazz and Week's Events. Also Travel and Resorts, Home and Gardens.

BUSINESS-FINANCE (Section 5) includes: Real Estate, Classified Ads, Auctions.

BOOKS (Section 6).

SUNDAY MAGAZINE (Section 7) includes: Eugenia Sheppard on Fashions, and the Herald Tribune Crossword Puzzle.

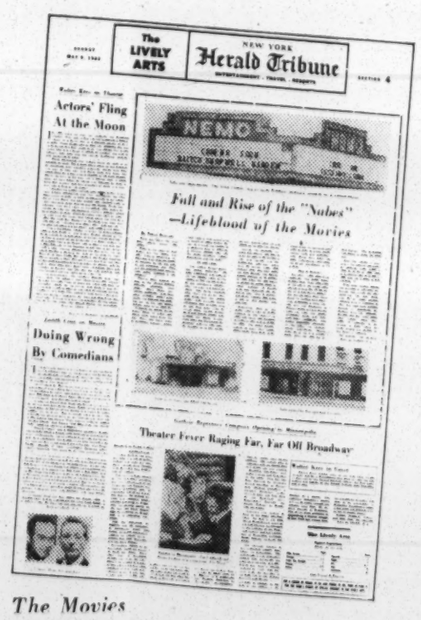
COMICS (Section 8—Pullout in Section 4).

TV-RADIO MAGAZINE (Section 9).* Other TV commentary on Page 8, Section 4.

THIS WEEK MAGAZINE (Section 10).

*BROOKLYN, LONG ISLAND** (Section 11).*

*Included in all copies of the Herald Tribune distributed in metropolitan and suburban areas.
**Included in all copies of the Herald Tribune distributed in Brooklyn, Queens, Nassau and Suffolk.



The LIVELY ARTS — NEW YORK Herald Tribune

Actors' Fling At the Moon

Doing Wrong By Comedians

Fall and Rise of the "Nabes" —Lifeblood of the Movies

Theater Fever Raging Far, Far Off Broadway

The Movies of the Masses

TEN NEGROES

THIS is the fifth article of the ten-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird on the Negroes' views of white America.

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

Photographs showing police setting dogs on Negro citizens in Mississippi and Alabama produced in the Negro world a kind of feedback reaction which white people can scarcely realize.

White America looked at the pictures and undoubtedly deplored the action as savage and wrong. But Negroes felt within themselves that the hour has long passed for looking and deploring, and that the white world's good will has been smothered by the hypocrisy prevailing in the nation.

The feedback reaction was against sacred American institutions—the American system of justice, for example, for those men with dogs wore the uniforms of an arm of the law; and the Church, which many Negroes believe has failed in moral leadership.

A confrontation of race crisis now challenges the country, and danger looms.

This is the calm but worried appraisal of an eminent Negro social psychologist and educator who is one of the country's most perceptive observers of racial tensions.

He is Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of

NEGRO,

Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

Professor Kenneth B. Clark

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

psychology at City College, co-director with his psychologist wife of the Northside Center for Child Development, director of the newly started "Haryou" youth program in Harlem, and author of the classic study of race "Prejudice and Your Child."

His research for the book was cited by the United States Supreme Court itself in it epoch-making, 1954 school desegregation decision.

"America is confronted with a stark crisis in race relation and it is no longer verbal and no longer academic," Dr. Clark told me. "From Greenwood, Mass., we saw pictures of police dogs attacking not criminals but human beings who were asking only for elementary rights as American citizens. Asking not for complex things such as social relations but only for the right to register to vote.

"It recalls to my mind those indelible pictures I saw just before the war of men in Nazi uniforms in Germany forcing old Jewish men to scrub sidewalks.

"Seeing people in uniforms who, in this case, were not Nazis but American police with dogs, unleashing them not on persons who were violating the law but on those who were seeking to have the law upheld—that is one example of the present crisis.

"Then there are the jailings of scores and even hundreds of Negroes in Birmingham merely because these people are insisting upon their unqualified rights as American citizens, that is another example of the nature of the present crisis.

"The crisis has now reached a point of confrontation, and I borrow a phrase in saying that it is an eyeball-to-eyeball one, this present situation in race relations in America."

Dr. Clark, a friendly, professional man not given to undigested thoughts and statements of alarm, has been searching deeply into what he believes may be a very basic shift in Negro attitudes in this country, and one with foreboding possibilities.

He discussed this with me at considerable depth, starting in his office in the "Haryou" project at the Harlem YMCA, and later during a drive up to Kent School, the boys' preparatory school in Connecticut, where I was invited to sit in with a group of students on a race-relations seminar conducted by Dr. Clark. His son, Hilton, is a recent graduate of the school.

"The perspective that dominates my thinking now is the problem of increasing alienation of a substantial part of the American Negro population from the American—well, I was going to say the American 'mystique,' but let's say the American habit, or the American perspective, or way of looking at things.

"Two years ago I felt, and said, that the American race problem would have to be resolved within the context of the fact that the American Negro is American.

Despair

"I said that his insistence upon his rights as an American citizen is his attempt to establish beyond doubt that he is an American, and he will settle for nothing less than the rights that the American Constitution and the American creed and American ideology grant or guarantee for other American citizens. This was the basic rationale of his push.

"I have not shifted this position totally yet. I have not reversed it. But it is certainly being modified.

"I say this because, as I read the things which Negro intellectuals are writing—James Baldwin and others—and as I watch the relationship between that and the black nationalist movements, I sense a stronger undercurrent of alienation and despair among the Negro people.

"This is not too clearly articulated yet except in the black nationalist and Black Muslim movements, where we find a total rejection of the American pattern as being incorrigibly hypocritical and corrupt and therefore unworkable in terms of a meaningful change in the status of the Negro. They seem to be coming into a terrifying and frightening thing."

I was talking with Dr. Clark at this point in his office at the YMCA, and I asked him to develop his view a little more deeply.

"If one dares to look for the common denominator of

Associated Press

GREENWOOD, MISS—". . . police dogs attacking not c riminals but human beings who were asking only for the elementary rights of American citizens . . . only for the r ight to register to vote. . ."

into many areas of the American scene, including into politics.

Nor did he except Negroes from this affliction. He described New York's Negro Congressman, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, as an exponent of "political slicksterism."

"He could become a symbol of a cynical disregard of any meaningful value system in the larger society by his exploitation of the prevailing hypocrisy, by his deliberate use of it," Dr. Clark said. "This seems to me to be the major contemporary danger in the country, and all the more dangerous because it is reflecting certain fundamental realities.

"Chief among them is the reality that the susceptible people in America have settled for racial hypocrisy and have been, in fact, for centuries parties to the perpetuation of these things."

Speaking about Congressman Powell, Dr. Clark said, "His greatest strength is that he can always make himself stronger simply by shouting, 'The whites are picking on me because I'm a Negro!' "

The psychologist pin-pointed a trend which other Negro men of affairs also had emphasized to me in these interviews—that Negro leadership today is in a crisis position along with race relations in general. He said:

"The confrontation now is clear, and what is required of the Negro leadership now is clear—namely, thrust and the push for full citizenship rights now. Responsible Negro leadership must dare to take the risks which they must take in order to achieve significant breakthroughs—not tokenism any longer, because tokenism is a part of what is precipitating the present alienation.

"If responsible Negro leadership is battle-weary and not able to mobilize itself and make the war significant—the movement in this direction of breakthroughs—then the result will be chaos as I see it.

"Chaos either in terms of overt social confusion, or what to me would be even worse—quiet dry rot. From the point of view of the national image, I think the latter would be worse."

The same points which Dr. Clark made on the need for a harder push and the greater insistence by Negroes that they be accepted as "human beings" also was emphasized to me by another Negro professional man. Dr. Clarence B. Jones, lawyer and general counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Inc., a legal aid organization headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King jr., had said to me during an extended interview:

Frustration

"Negro demands are greater now, and the Negro wants . . to be accepted now as a man, completely, in our American . . society. He wants to be able, really to be able, to walk down . . the street as if a big burden had been relieved from him—to be able to walk into a restaurant here in New York and know that the only consideration is whether the menu is good, and he has the money to pay. Not to feel that he is walking in and suddenly there is a concern that this is a

of racial controversies or crises. The bigots, the flagrant segregationists, alone could not be held responsible for a system of flagrant injustice and cruelty which seems to permeate our society. They, in order to have their way, would have to have the silent consent of our Christian churches. They need the alliance and the conspiracy of our labor unions and our labor leaders.

"They need and generally get the polysyllabic rationalizations of educators. They need the cynical connivance and conspiracy of our elected officials, North and South."

Cynicism

Analyzing the ways in which the Negroes have undertaken to meet the growing mood of despair and hopelessness, Dr. Clark said they have stepped up their traditional techniques of protest within the democratic processes, they are still lobbying, and their organizations are still trying to improve the plight of the Negro in America.

"But I think we ought to face the fact that our courts have been subverted and their edicts cynically evaded, ironically, even by those who have been sworn to uphold our laws. Negotiations have not worked in any effective way except in a few individual cases."

Saying that the traditional techniques have, however, been pushed aside lately for "more direct action techniques," dramatizing the injustices and bringing them to world attention, Dr. Clark discussed the Rev. Martin Luther King jr. in some detail.

Though praising Dr. King's efforts generally, the psychologist called Mr. King's "philosophy of love of the oppressor" as "psychologically unrealistic" and "guilt-producing" and "too close to the stereotype of the Negro for comfort, really."

His appraisal of the Black Muslims was that their philosophy is pure "racism."

"This is the mirrored image of the racism of the White Citizens Councils. It's a dangerous doctrine because the basic premises are true. I think this is the essence of the danger of the Black Muslim movement, the fact that they are not inventing nor for that matter are they even exaggerating or distorting the basic fact.

"White America has permitted a system of cruelty and barbarity to be perpetrated and perpetuated on citizens of dark skin color and the Muslims are very effective in saying this over and over again. They have the effectiveness of the simple target—statement of an undesirable fact. And they are dangerous also because hatred is an emotion that can be manipulated in the masses.

"Not just the Negro masses but one needs look at only recent history of the world to see how effectively hatred can be used to build powerful movements. There is no reason to believe that American Negroes are any more immune to the seductive lure of racial hatred than are other human beings."

Justice and equality for the American Negro must

Crime in Washington

Malcolm X On a Mission

By Sue Solet
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The second in command of the Black Muslim movement will return to Washington this week in a campaign to reduce crime among Negroes in the Nation's capital.

Malcolm X, deputy of Muslim leader Elijah Muhammed, said he would arrive in Washington on Thursday or Friday. He will initiate a "revival-type grogram" aimed at eliminating "the deteriorating moral condition of our people in Washington."

Mr. X accused police of breaking into Muslim mosques in Rochester, N. Y., and Newark, N. J. In Newark, he said, police tried to enter the mosque "on the pretext that there was a bomb in there." Muslims refused to let them in. "You could have had one of the worst race riots in Newark," he said.

"You will have a nasty situation from here on in," he said, "in any case where police try to break into our sanctuaries. It won't be like in Birmingham, Ala.—turn the other cheek. You won't have that with us."

In the 1960 census, Negroes comprised 54 per cent of Washington's population of 765,956. Police figures show that Negroes made up about 80 per cent of all arrests of adults last year.

Members of the Black Muslims sect are pledged not to drink, smoke, or carry weapons.

In Washington yesterday, Deputy Police Chief George R. Wallrodt said he had not spoken to Mr. X and did not know what his plans are. "We have a Black Muslim mosque here," he said. "In previous years they've held many meetings there. We've never had any trouble with them in this city."

Prepared For Campaign

Mr. X made his plans known from Los Angeles, where he is attending the trial of 14 Black Muslims accused of attacking police in a disturbance last April. He said he had been in Washington from last Sunday to Wednesday to prepare for the campaign.

"The government seems unable to correct the situation," Mr. X said. "Negro

Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

Malcolm X

and also by Negro leaders does nothing to solve the problem."

The Black Muslims, he said, speak "directly to the Negro in the community."

"Our goal is eliminating the frame of mind that makes us turn toward alcohol, dope, gambling and crime. We will spread a message among our people."

The campaign will be centered at "Mosque No. 4," the central Washington temple of the Black Muslims. The building, at 1519 4th St., N. W., holds 400 to 500 persons, Mr. X said.

Leader Ordered Him to Capital

Sunday revival meetings may also be held at a hall in the WUST radio station building at 815 V St., N. W. That auditorium holds an estimated 1,000 persons.

Mr. X said he would stay in Washington until Mr. Muhammed tells him to leave. He said the Muslim leader had ordered him to go to the capital.

The Los Angeles trial began on Tuesday. The 14 defendants are charged with assaulting police officers who stopped a car to question two members of the sect. In fighting that followed the incident, one Muslim was killed and two severely injured. Several policemen were badly hurt.

Mr. X said that he will give the facts of the trial to foreign correspondents and the five Negro Congressmen in Washington. "The deed that was committed out here

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"I say this because, as I read the things which Negro intellectuals are writing—James Baldwin and others—and as I watch the relationship between that and the black nationalist movements, I sense a stronger undercurrent of alienation and despair among the Negro people.

"This is not too clearly articulated yet except in the black nationalist and Black Muslim movements, where we find a total rejection of the American pattern as being incorrigibly hypocritical and corrupt and therefore unworkable in terms of a meaningful change in the status of the Negro. They seem to be coming into a terrifying and frightening thing."

I was talking with Dr. Clark at this point in his office at the YMCA, and I asked him to develop his view a little more deeply.

"If one dares to look for the common denominator of such seemingly different forms of Negro protest one gets dangerously close to identifying this as the rejection by the Negroes of the American promise."

"The Black Muslims state it categorically that way. In fact, they re-state it with such vehemence that it is easy to disregard the significance of it.

"But when you re-read what Baldwin was saying as he reacted to the Lumumba affair—on what was the meaning of the prompt attack on Ralph Bunche when Bunche attempted to apologize for the Negroes who disrupted the United Nations session—you found a 'Oh, the hell with you polite Negroes now' sentiment.

"You found a 'You had your chance to negotiate, to use the democratic processes, to use the courts, to use lobbying, legislation, and where has it gotten you? It's gotten tokenism, it's gotten moderation, it's gotten a new form of the same hypocritical adjustments that were standard before the Supreme Court decision. But it's gotten you no substantive change.' The conclusion is suggested that no substantive change is possible within the present power structure."

As to where identification with this kind of thinking is leading Negroes, the psychologist said:

"It could lead to lots of things. I am looking very hard at the possibility that it might be leading to increased forms of quiet, personal deterioration, despair and apathy."

Having noted evidences of this alienation of the Negro from the American "habit" among the intellectuals, and again among the masses at the bottom, who are giving most attentive ear to the Black Muslin preaching, I asked Dr. Clark about the Negro middle class which is growing in size.

"It is paradoxical," he said, "that although the Negro middle class is an expanding group, reflecting expanding prosperity and some advances in housing, still this trend of thinking in that group is not only not excluded but it's more profound there.

Primitivism

"It is true that on the surface the expanding middle class seems to be much closer to the middle-class American norm. But the irony is that this sense of alienation and despair seems to me as profound in this group, if not more so, as they approach closer to the so-called white norm.

"But its manner of expression is different. For example, you don't find this group with the Muslims. You find them, to the extent they take a stand at all, against the extremism, emotionality, fanaticism, primitivism, of the stark black-white approach of the Muslims.

"What you do find in your better-educated, middle-class Negro group is a confused, complicated despair of a different form. In a sense, the bigot is right when he says that to give the Negro anything merely makes him more impatient and insatiable for everything.

"As your middle-class Negro group approaches more equality, what remains to be done is more difficult to get done, because these include the areas of strongest defenses on the part of the more privileged status quo people. This includes housing and such things as total acceptance of the Negro as a human being in terms of his humanity rather than in terms of his skin color.

"If a man says to you, 'All right, you can come to this school,' that's not the whole battle, you know. When am I a man, just as another man, to this person? Or when is he constantly seeing me as a Negro with all the past inferences that go with this view of me?"

Dr. Clark turned to the failure of the Church, explaining that he was brought up as an Episcopalian and had served on the altar as a boy, but that when he got to college he began to sense a "hypocrisy" in the Church in its attitude toward Negroes and the race question.

In recent years, he said, "the hierarchy of the Church has been trying to get me back into policy discussions on this matter of race, and I've been working with the Department of Christian and Social Relations, analyzing the Church's position on it.

"I have reviewed and summarized a report, which I submitted to the Presiding Bishop, on the hypocrisy of the Church and the fact that the Church had been accessory to the Black Muslims by cutting the ground from under more responsible Negro leadership. This was done by its helping to perpetuate the hypocrisies which the Black Muslims exploit so effectively."

Later, in talking to the students at Kent, Dr. Clark said:

"Certainly the Christian Church has defaulted in its role as custodian of moral and ethical values and is now no longer relevant or significant as a factor in the amelioration of American racial tensions."

He spoke to me vigorously about American hypocrisy, saying that a kind of "slicksterism" is spreading insidiously

Negro men of affairs also had emphasized to me in these interviews—that Negro leadership today is in a crisis position along with race relations in general. He said:

"The confrontation now is clear, and what is required of the Negro leadership now is clear—namely, thrust and the push for full citizenship rights now. Responsible Negro leadership must dare to take the risks which they must take in order to achieve significant breakthroughs—not tokenism any longer, because tokenism is a part of what is precipitating the present alienation.

"If responsible Negro leadership is battle-weary and not able to mobilize itself and make the war significant—the movement in this direction of breakthroughs—then the result will be chaos as I see it.

"Chaos either in terms of overt social confusion, or what to me would be even worse—quiet dry rot. From the point of view of the national image, I think the latter would be worse."

The same points which Dr. Clark made on the need for a harder push and the greater insistence by Negroes that they be accepted as "human beings" also was emphasized to me by another Negro professional man. Dr. Clarence B. Jones, lawyer and general counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, Inc., a legal aid organization headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King jr., had said to me during an extended interview:

Frustration

"Negro demands are greater now, and the Negro wants.. ..to be accepted now as a man, completely, in our American.. ..society. He wants to be able, really to be able, to walk down.. ..the street as if a big burden had been relieved from him—to be able to walk into a restaurant here in New York and know that the only consideration is whether the menu is good, and he has the money to pay. Not to feel that he is walking in and suddenly there is a concern that this is a Negro, a black man, who is walking in. To be accepted as a man, that's it."

As to the urgency of the Negro demands, Mr. Jones had said:

"There is nothing inconsistent in my saying that the Negro wants his freedom now more than he wanted it yesterday, because there has been a passage of time between yesterday and today. And so he will want it even more urgently tomorrow than today because he didn't get it today."

In the seminar at Kent School, Dr. Clark summed up his picture of the present race crisis in there words:

"The crisis, I think, is a reflection of the profound frustration, despair, and the growing sense of hopelessness among Negroes that they can ever obtain justice, equality and democracy within the American system.

"There is a deep bitterness and disillusionment over recognition of the fact that white Americans can settle for the hypocrisy of tokenism as the price of social and racial peace. And awareness that the alleged gains in race relations within the past three or four decades are more illusory than real.

"Negroes are still segregated in schools, both in the North and the South. Job discrimination is still rampant and normative in the American economy. Indeed, the discrepancy in the economic status of the average white and the average Negro family is greater today than it was during the depths of the depression.

"Not that the Negro has not gained economically, but in terms of relative position with the whites the latest census material shows that there are much larger gaps.

"By all meaningful indices, the Negro is still and unquestionably of the downtrodden, disadvantaged group and he is systematically being robbed of his dignity as a human being, not only in the South but in many regions of America. And the major indictment here is that all of this is being done with the knowledge, and at times with the connivance, of respectable, moderate people who are not overtly bigots or segregationists.

"They are people who really want peace and don't want to be disturbed by direct involvement or knowledge

"But I think we ought to face the fact that our courts have been subverted and their edicts cynically evaded, ironically, even by those who have been sworn to uphold our laws. Negotiations have not worked in any effective way except in a few individual cases."

Saying that the traditional techniques have, however, been pushed aside lately for "more direct action techniques," dramatizing the injustices and bringing them to world attention, Dr. Clark discussed the Rev. Martin Luther King jr. in some detail.

Though praising Dr. King's efforts generally, the psychologist called Mr. King's "philosophy of love of the oppressor" as "psychologically unrealistic" and "guilt-producing" and "too close to the stereotype of the Negro for comfort, really."

His appraisal of the Black Muslims was that their philosophy is pure "racism."

"This is the mirrored image of the racism of the White Citizens Councils. It's a dangerous doctrine because the basic premises are true. I think this is the essence of the danger of the Black Muslim movement, the fact that they are not inventing nor for that matter are they even exaggerating or distorting the basic fact.

"White America has permitted a system of cruelty and barbarity to be perpetrated and perpetuated on citizens of dark skin color and the Muslims are very effective in saying this over and over again. They have the effectiveness of the simple target—statement of an undesirable fact. And they are dangerous also because hatred is an emotion that can be manipulated in the masses.

"Not just the Negro masses but one needs look at only recent history of the world to see how effectively hatred can be used to build powerful movements. There is no reason to believe that American Negroes are any more immune to the seductive lure of racial hatred than are other human beings."

Justice and equality for the American Negro must either come now "or we must gird ourselves for a kind of disaster which I think is too horrible to contemplate," Dr. Clark said.

And Fanaticism

"By horror I mean not that there would be civil war in America, but I think it could be worse. I think we could have in America an American version of what happened in Nazi Germany."

Later, Dr. Clark told me that it was his belief that the Black Muslims would not win mass converts to the movement, "but almost for irrelevant reasons."

"It would be extremely disturbing to me if the Black Muslims were flexible enough to modify an aspect of their program which, so long as they keep it the way it is, tends to block a mass following.

"These people are austere, humorless, rigid, fanatic in their basic style, in their approach. The Negro masses are not fanatic in this literal, rigorous sense.

"The Negro masses are flexible. They've had to be in order to survive, for one thing. They are people whose love of life has been deep enough for them to be able to survive in the face of overwhelming oppression and cruelty and barbarity, and almost a death-wish apparent among whites has been countered by a life-wish among the Negroes."

Negroes are not puritanical, but want to smoke, eat well, and drink, the psychologist said, and this is the opposite of the qualities which the Black Muslims try to mold in their converts. The Black Muslims say, "No, you must be more virtuous than Caesar's wife," he added.

"As long as they keep saying this, I don't think I would worry about their mass attraction," Dr. Clark said. "I'll start worrying when they modify their demands on the Negro members and make these demands more consistent with what the Negro is able to respond to. Then I'll really worry about the Black Muslims."

TOMORROW: A Negro professor and poet looks back over thirty years of effort to advance Negro rights.

comprised 54 per cent of Washington's population of 765,956. Police figures show that Negroes made up about 80 per cent of all arrests of adults last year.

Members of the Black Muslims sect are pledged not to drink, smoke, or carry weapons.

In Washington yesterday, Deputy Police Chief George R. Wallrodt said he had not spoken to Mr. X and did not know what his plans are. "We have a Black Muslim mosque here," he said. "In previous years they've held many meetings there. We've never had any trouble with them in this city."

Prepared For Campaign

Mr. X made his plans known from Los Angeles, where he is attending the trial of 14 Black Muslims accused of attacking police in a disturbance last April. He said he had been in Washington from last Sunday to Wednesday to prepare for the campaign.

"The government seems unable to correct the situation," Mr. X said. "Negro leaders there also seem unable to correct it. The constant criticism by outsiders

tered at Mosque No. 4, the central Washington temple of the Black Muslims. The building, at 1519 4th St., N. W., holds 400 to 500 persons, Mr. X said.

Leader Ordered Him to Capital

Sunday revival meetings may also be held at a hall in the WUST radio station building at 815 V St., N. W. That auditorium holds an estimated 1,000 persons.

Mr. X said he would stay in Washington until Mr. Muhammed tells him to leave. He said the Muslim leader had ordered him to go to the capital.

The Los Angeles trial began on Tuesday. The 14 defendants are charged with assaulting police officers who stopped a car to question two members of the sect. In fighting that followed the incident, one Muslim was killed and two severely injured. Several policemen were badly hurt.

Mr. X said that he will give the facts of the trial to foreign correspondents and the five Negro Congressmen in Washington. "The deed that was committed out here against us was so illegal and atrocious that they're afraid to tell the facts," he said.

Javits Predicts End To Racial Injustice

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R., N. Y., predicted yesterday that injustices to American Negroes will end, and end in a measurable period of time, for America will not tolerate it."

Mr. Javits was guest speaker at ta meting of the New York City Central Labor Council in the Hotel New Yorker.

Even segregationists, he said, must be aware that a better day is coming for the Negro, although now "the conscience of America must be deeply troubled by what is going on in Birmingham."

The Senator also criticized the Kennedy administration for not doing more to promote civil rights. He said he would "rather have a filibuster on the floor of the Senate and have it out rather than to have dogs at peoples' throats in Birmingham, Ala."

The purpose of the meeting, attended by some 600 delegates, was to discuss problems of youth and the aging in industry, as well as unemployment, public welfare and other issues.

Mr. Javits said that labor, management and government must join in a concerted effort to increase the nation's productivity as a means of ending "persistent unemployment."

He also said that the President's tax reduction plan was inadequate to meet the problems of unemployment, underused production facilities and inadequate growth.

"If we cut taxes without taking other important actions, the effect on the economic growth rate could be negative," he said.

"There is an added dimension which makes this so imperative—staggering manpower challenges face us during the current decade. More than 26 million new young workers will be coming into the American labor force by 1970—40 per cent more than during the 1950s.

JFK Dismayed as Battle of Birmingham Rages On

(Continued from page one)

made a building-to-building check in military fashion, clearing out pockets of resistance.

The demonstrations started shortly after noon and reached a climax when police brought up fire hoses and cordoned off the park where most of the Negroes had gathered.

There was a standoff for 15 minutes while the crowd jeered police and taunted Mr. Connor with shouts of: "Hey, Bull, where's your water?"

"Let 'Em Have It"

The hecklers referred to the use Friday of powerful streams of water to break up groups of segregation protest marchers.

Police answered the jeers by shouting over a megaphone: "All you people disperse. If you don't want to get drenched, you'd better get back."

Finally a rock came sailing through the air and landed at Mr. Connor's feet.

"Let 'em have it. Get that water on them," he barked.

Woman Knocked Down

Two pumping units then began methodically spraying the crowd. Some ran for the other side of the park. Others stood their ground and waved and shouted at police.

One Negro woman in a white nurse's uniform stood squarely facing the hose. Firemen turned it on her legs and the force of the water knocked her down and sent her skidding along a sidewalk.

Negroes, whooping and shouting, stood behind trees and threw soft drink bottles, bricks and stones at the firemen.

Trapped by Hoses

Four more hoses on the fringes of the park were brought into play, and the Negroes, trapped between torrents of water, grabbed each other and tried to keep standing in the face of the pressure.

One brickbat from the crowd rolled by Mayor Art Hanes.

"Get that one," he shouted, and the firemen turned their hose on a Negro standing behind a tree.

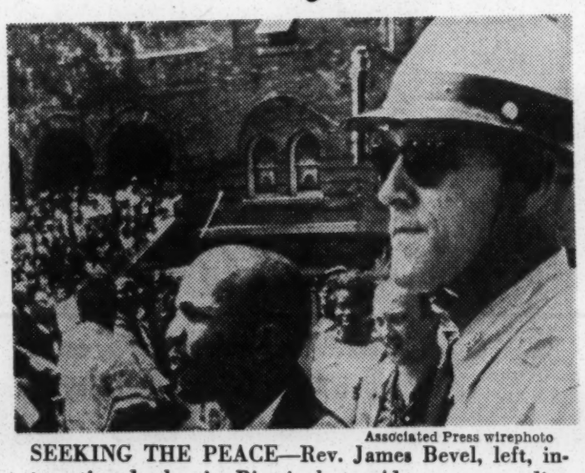
"Those Negroes are about as non-violent as a whirlwind," Mayor Hanes said.

Attack From Building

While firemen were busy hosing the demonstrators in the park, there suddenly came a rain of stones and bricks from the upper stories of a building adjoining the park.

Firemen swung their hose at the three-story building, causing the plate-glass windows to crash under the pressure. They played their hoses on all three floors of the building and adjacent parking lot for three minutes.

A police officer then walked



Associated Press wirephoto

SEEKING THE PEACE—Rev. James Bevel, left, integration leader in Birmingham, Ala., uses a police microphone in an attempt to disperse an enormous crowd of demonstrators yesterday, fearing a riot might ensue otherwise. Local officer keeps grim-faced watch at his side.

into the building and emerged later with a Negro man held in an armlock.

After working over the area with hoses for more than an hour, firemen turned off the water and stood aside while police cleared the park by marching slowly forward with six police dogs.

The demonstrators retreated to the steps and building of the 16th St. Baptist Church, but firemen followed them and hooked up hoses to a hydrant across the street.

They were standing aiming the nozzles at the church only 30 feet away when the Rev. James Bevel stepped into the street in front of the firemen and in a voice shaking with emotion said:

"Police Want Riot"

"Don't shoot the water. I'm going to move them."

Then Mr. Bevel and other Negro leaders set about to clear the idewalks in front of the church.

They drew considerable argument from a group that wanted to "met force with force." But Mr. Bevel pleaded with them to go home.

"They (police) would like to have a riot," Mr. Bevel argued. "By them coming this close to the church, it shows they want to start a riot. We won't give them this satisfaction."

"Let them (the police and firemen) come. Go home. They don't even want us standing at our church.

"How far do you want us to go?" someone shouted at Mr. Bevel.

"Go as far as Bull Connor says until the Federals get here," Mr. Bevel replied.

The Justice Department, in announcing it had sent in Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights, and Joseph F. Dolan, an assistant to the Deputy Attorney General, said their mission was to try to bring about a peaceful solution of the present racial troubles. The two are considered Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's top aides in the civil rights field.

The Attorney General himself canceled a speaking engagement today at the University of Virginia Law School in order to remain in Washington so he could keep in close touch with the Birmingham situation.

Meanwhile, 10 "freedom marchers," under almost constant harassment during their anti-segregation march through northern Georgia, discovered that the heckling didn't end with their arrest at Fort Payne, at the Alabama border.

Tossed into cells on breach-of-peace charges, the bi-racial group underwent further verbal abuse by the jail population. "The other prisoners have been aggravating them something awful," said one jail guard.

Six of the group were put in one cell and the other six, including two officials of a group that sponsored the walk, were in separate cells.

The guard said the group caused "no trouble at all. Not even any singing."

At least one of the marchers, under $300 bond each, tried to call a lawyer. Authorities said they might be tried tomorrow. If they are released on bond, the jailer's office said, and try to resume their walk "they'll be arrested again."

Carver Neblett, one of the Negroes held in the Fort Payne, Ala., jail, was the subject of an article in Friday's Herald Tribune in Robbert S. Bird's series "Ten Negroes."

FISCAL WIZARD PER JACOBSSON DIES

Stories of His Life and Times, and an Appreciation on Page 24

WEATHER

Today: Mostly sunny and cooler.

Tomorrow: Fair and seasonable.

TEMPERATURE RANGE
Yesterday 60-85; Today 49-65.

HUMIDITY
Yesterday 3 p.m. 32%; Today 35.

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NEW YORK

Herald Tribune

THE LATE CITY

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Monday, May 6, 1963

IN THE NEWS THIS MORNING

[FROM THE HERALD TRIBUNE'S WORLD-WIDE SOURCES.]

TOPIC A—

¶Middle East. New Arab threats against Israel foreshadowed violence, perhaps war. Israel looked to the U. S. for support, including cutting off aid to Egypt (of the UAR). *The Kennedy administration found itself in the middle—a hot spot.* Washington spokesmen ("speaking privately, of course") deplored pressure for anti-Nasser action. *Reasoning: This only would antagonize the Arab states, would not help Israel.* Behind-the-door: President Kennedy may wind up in a pro-Nasser role, could be hurt politically in big cities in next year's election. *Said U. S. officials (openly): Israel is in no peril, has enough weapons, forces and friends "including the U. S."*

IN THE WORLD—

¶Hitler. Out of the ashes of the past, the specter of Nazi Dictator Adolf Hitler flared briefly—the Russians Claimed they recovered the burned body of the German tyrant at his Chancellery bunker in Berlin 18 years ago. *It was a turnabout in the official Soviet position that Hitler may have escaped to Spain or Argentina. Latest claim: Identification was by dental means.*

¶Flying housewife. Mrs. Betty Miller, 36, was on the second leg on her solo flight across the Pacific from California to Australia. *From Hawaii her flight plan: 13 hours, 30 minutes, 1,700 miles.*

¶Air crash. The wreckage of a four-engine DC-6 Air Afrique passenger plane, was found on Mt. Cameroon (near the Nigerian border). *Death toll: 54. Lone survivor: A U. S. diplomatic courier, badly injured.*

IN THE HEMISPHERE—

¶Caribbean crisis. The Dominican Republic's pocket military force prepared openly to invade neighboring Haiti on the island of Hispaniola they share in the Caribbean only 60 miles from Communist Cuba. *A British Navy frigate moved into position off Haita (where U. S. task force units have been steaming to protect U. S. citizens).*

¶Venezuela. Gov. Rockefeller and his bride arrived in Caracas, journeyed to the Rockefeller ranch for their honeymoon. Within hours after their arrival, pro-Castro

'I'd Like to Say This Is Indeed a Very Happy Occasion'

Herald Tribune photos by MORRIS WARMAN

AND SO GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER introduced his bride of a day to reporters and photographers as "someone you've been looking for for quite a while." The place was Idlewild Airport at 8:45 a. m. yesterday. The beaming new First Lady, dressed in brown and blue, parried reporters' questions—"I'm very happy. I know you'll understand that I'm slightly overwhelmed." And then they dashed aboard a jet for a four-hour flight to Venezuela and a second plane ride that took them to their honeymoon haven at the Rockefeller farm at Monte Sacro. The full story of departure on Page 3.

Mideast War Peril: Israel Puts U. S. on Spot—The Involvement

Hitler's Death: Soviet Finally

Political Fight On Red, Arab

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¶Venezuela. Gov. Rockefeller and his bride arrived in Caracas, journeyed to the Rockefeller ranch for their honeymoon. Within hours after their arrival, pro-Castro terrorists started a half-million-dollar fire in an American-Venezuelan cardboard box factory in Caracas. *Authorities said the fire was not believed connected with arrival of the Rockefellers.*

IN THE CITY AND STATE—

¶Death penalty. New York has repealed the mandatory death sentence for first-degree (premeditated) murder and kidnaping. The Empire State was last in the nation to abandon the mandatory "supreme penalty" (effective July 1). *However, a jury (in a second proceeding after a trial) still may recommend death.*

¶No parking. Traffic Commissioner Barnes is battling another branch of the city's government—Mayor Wagner's site selection commission, which must approve the selection of land for off-street parking areas. Barnes said he submitted 18 proposed locations two weeks ago and no action has been taken. *His complaint: "No one wants us to relocate a single family or business or touch a blade of grass."*

¶Taxes. Budget Director Shea said a city income tax would be "fairer" than a sales tax—but officials had been informed that Gov. Rockefeller would not approve the plan. *Result: They must proceed with the Mayor's present tax program, which includes the sales tax.*

¶Birth control. Msgr. George A. Kelly, director of the Family Life Bureau of the Archdiocese of N. Y., said that although Roman Catholic opinion against birth control is in the minority, "evangelists of contraception have not won their day as completely as they would like." *His point: The U. S. has one of the highest birth rates in the Western World, even with artificial birth control.*

IN THE NATION—

¶Racial. About 2,000 singing and chanting Negroes marched past police lines to a small (Negro) park across from Birmingham (Ala.) jail, held services for hundreds of racial demonstrators behind bars. Police and firemen (under Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor) had high pressure fire hoses ready, did not use them. *Connor's explanation: "I said OK. It's their park anyway."*

¶White House view. President Kennedy said he is "astonished as President to see how difficult it is" to pass "progressive legislation" (aid to education, assistance for jobless young people, aid to mass transit). *Kennedy spoke to the Machinists Union, made no mention of their coming May 10 vote on a contract with Boeing, a major aircraft-missile firm.*

IN THE LIVELY ARTS—

¶American triumph. Metropolitan Opera tenor Jan Peerce brought tears as well as cheers to a capacity audience of 2,000 at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Moscow. *The New Yorker moved some to tears when he sang four Jewish songs. Note: Reports have indicated anti-Semitic action in the Soviet Union.*

IN SPORTS—

¶Our teams. The largest baseball crowd of the season (53,880) watched the Mets and San Francisco split a doubleheader at the Polo Grounds. The Giants won the first, 6-3, the Mets rebounded, 4-2. *The Yankees lost to Minnesota 4-1.*

TODAY IN THE HERALD TRIBUNE

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Herald Tribune photos by MORRIS WARMAN

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Mideast War Peril: Israel Puts U. S. on Spot—The Involvement

Hitler's Death: Soviet Finally Opens the File

BACK ON V-E DAY, the Herald Tribune carried the first eyewitness report in the West on the fall of Berlin. Delayed through military red tape and censorship, it finally slipped through as reported by then-Trib war correspondent, Seymour Freidin. Now a mystery in the Berlin ashes is sifted and cleared up.

THE STORY NOW

By United Press International

MOSCOW.

The Russians have broken 18 years of silence and admitted they recovered Adolf Hitler's burned body when they smashed into Berlin at the end of World War II, it was disclosed yesterday.

Up to now, the official Soviet position has been that Hitler may have escaped to Spain or Argentina.

The Soviet admission was made by Marshal Vasily Sokolovsky to Cornelius Ryan, American author of "The Longest Day," who has completed a two-week study of top secret archives of the Red Army's final assault on Berlin, in connection with a book he is writing on the fall of Berlin.

[In Paris, Mr. Ryan said upon his arival from Moscow, that the Russians had told him they secretely disposed of Hitler's body. The Associated Press reported. Asked where and how, he answered: "I'm saving that for my book."]

More on HITLER NOW—P 6

THE STORY THEN

By Seymour Freidin

Executive Editor, Foreign News

Even for the end of April so far north, the day was raw and the mid-afternoon light was fitful. Great gusts of wind tore words out of your mouth and hurled them into the cacophony of exploding shells, staccato automatic fire—and death by violence.

It was dying Berlin, a little over 18 years ago. The Red Army had stormed past the approaches. Russian soldiers, medals bouncing on their tunics, rooted out last-ditch Nazi defenders. They tore into bunkers and entrenched positions with guns erupting wickedly from concrete-reinforced slits just above ground.

Above the awful roar of battle, you could hear the wheeze that rends a building before it collapses with a crunch. It's a soughing sound, but you never forget it. This was a latter-day German Gotterdaemmerung.

More on HITLER THEN—P 6

The Inscrutable Reds

By David Miller

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

MOSCOW.

A tearful and wildly cheering audience welcomed Metropolitan Opera tenor Jan Peerce back to the Soviet Union last night at a recital that included Yiddish and Hebrew songs.

A number of Russians in the audience, however, refused to applaud any of Mr. Peerce's songs. Why they even attended the concert was not made clear.

Mr. Peerce, last here seven years ago, captivated the capacity audience of 2,000 at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory with arias and songs in Russian, English, French, German and Italian.

But some of the warmest applause came during his rendition of two Hebrew songs and two encores, both in Yiddish. The audience seemed delighted at the rare chance of hearing Jewish music sung professionally in Moscow's best concert hall.

Dozens of men and women in the audience daubed their eyes with handkerchiefs and hummed softly as Mr. Peerce sang music filled with emotion and memories of childhood. In the audience were two

More on PEERCE—P 17

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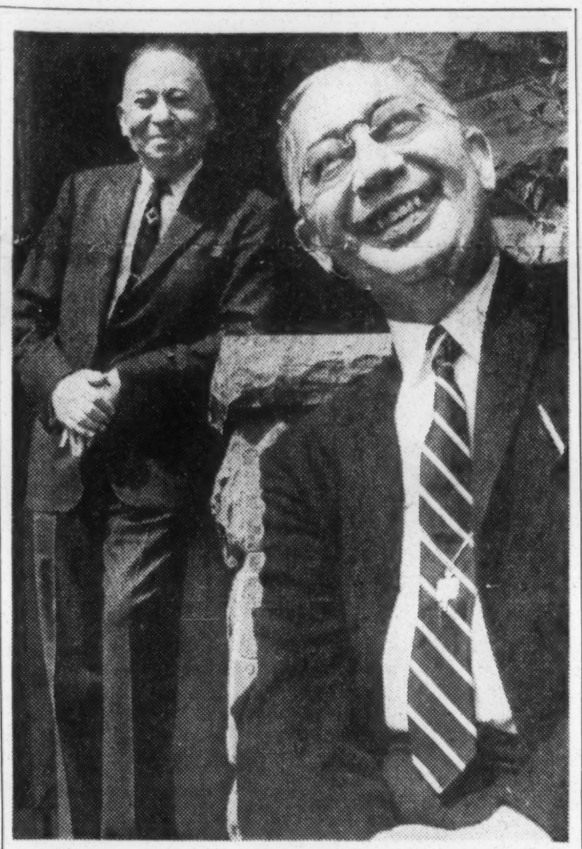


Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, left and Sterling B. Brown.

TEN NEGROES

This is the sixth article of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes", by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on the attitudes of Negroes toward white America.

By Robert S. Bird

National Correspondent

An Angry Young Man of the 1920s, a Williams College man who took his master's at Harvard, was arguing with another Angry Young Man of the 1920s, also a Williams man who had taken his doctorate at Harvard—both Phi Beta Kappa—that things really haven't changed much in 40 years despite all the dramatics on the current scene.

It was a wonderful conversation to listen in on because it was so rich in wit, irony, insight, contradictions, affection and nostalgia.

And because it dealt with a most serious subject, one usually filled with rancor—race relations in America. The two men were Negroes.

Sterling B. Brown, author, essayist and poet, and one of the giants in literary scholarship on the Negro, was the Angry Young Man of the 1920s who was trying to convince his friend—who needed no convincing whatever—that the supposed young "New Negro" of today is no different from the one of four decades ago. Nor are many other aspects of the race situation.

The two men were talking on two or three levels at the same time, having fun with each other and fun with me, the interviewer, but all the while getting across to me some serious and deeply-felt points.

Mr. Brown is professor of English at Howard University in Washington, D. C., the biggest predominantly Negro university in the country. Among his serious points were:

¶That the Negro youngsters of 40 years ago were

More on TEN NEGROES—P 10

1,000 NEGROES MARCH ON BIRMINGHAM

Story of the Intense Fight for Civil Rights on Page 10

Political Fight On Red, Arab Aid Brewing

THE LIKELIHOOD NOW of a violent storm sweeping the Middle East disturbs men-of-state and policy-makers. It would engulf Arabs and Israel and, sooner than later, the great powers. A great debate on the neuralgic state of the Middle East is building in Washington. Answers aren't easy, and passions won't vanish.

By Fred Farris

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

WASHINGTON.

The question of war and peace in the Middle East—created by new Arab threats against Israel—is stirring up a major controversy in Washington, and the Kennedy administration finds itself unwillingly in the middle. This became clear yesterday as the White House proclaimed its good intentions toward Israel, while increasing pressure came for more positive action to prevent Arab aggression.

The Kennedy administration's attitude toward Israel was indicated by a White House aid who said the U. S. is committed to Israel's integrity and did not intend to sit on the sidelines if it were under threat.

Myer Feldman, deputy special counsel to President Kennedy, said the U. S. would continue large-scale economic aid to Israel, as well as furnishing Hawk anti-aircraft missiles.

At the same time, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R., N. Y., announced he would introduce a Senate resolution this week recommending that the Administration go on record again in declaring that Middle East borders must be inviolable, and that Washington push negotiations toward a Middle East mutual defense treaty.

In other developments:

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee wound up a conference by declaring the U. S. must give a "firm security guaranty" to prevent any aggression in the area, and must grant arms aid to Israel "to ensure an arms balance." The United Arab Republic has publicized its rocket-weapons program.

Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion called for a joint U. S.-Soviet guaranty that Israel's borders will not be breached. As an alternative, he suggested a joint U. S.-Israel defense treaty.

A UAR Embassy spokesman, Mohammed Habib, said that "historically" Israel "has al-

More on MIDEAST—P 5

Birth Control Dispute

Birth control — for and against—has crystallized as a passionate, partisan sociological issue.

It was held high this way yesterday to public view and debate by two important channels of opinion whose impact is made locally and nationally.

One was religious—against—from a Roman Catholic.

The other—for—represented more than 60 prominent personalities in government, arts, education and business.

Presumably, their assessments were co-incidental. The timing was the same. For example:

Msgr. George A. Kelly charged that advocates of rigid separation of State and Church were the same people who favored "departments of welfare subsidizing fornication and adultery."

Unaware that Msgr. Kelly, director of the Family Life Bureau of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, so scathingly denounced birth control, the American Assembly:

Adopted a report calling for a Presidential commission that would report on the broad problems of demography in this country and overseas.

"Parents everywhere," said the report, "should be free to

More on BIRTH—P 11

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

animated by the same high spirit of revolt and demands for Negro rights as those of today.

¶That it is "the times" rather than the young people which have changed.

¶That even though race conditions are being improved steadily in the country, certain basic problems remain exactly the same.

¶Above all, that the Negro youngsters of today tend to be too impatient for speed in race advancement, and they need perspective as to what the Negro has done during the last four decades and more.

"Nobody does his homework any more on the literature and history of the Negro in the past, and on what we were doing in those days," Prof. Brown said.

Angry Old Men

His friend, who couldn't agree more, is also a titan in the world of scholarship—Dr. Rayford W. Logan, professor of history, author of many books, articles and scholarly papers dealing with historical aspects of the Negro in America.

Prof. Brown explained that he and his friend are really Angry Young Men who have become Angry Old Men. People call them "conservatives," he said, because they believe in a slower but more realistic approach than the "all," "here" and "now" demands for speed which Dr. Martin Luther King jr. is advocating in the civil rights field.

I got the impression that the professors don't mind being called conservatives because they stand for a more gradual approach, but they don't want to be called "moderates."

"My position in the 1920s was that I knew that segregation couldn't be changed swiftly," Prof. Brown said. "I knew the South. I didn't need any talk about 'all deliberate speed'—although I think it has been too deliberate. But I couldn't conceive of anybody believing that it could be ended just like that—." He snapped his fingers.

"I knew enough sociology for that. So I didn't see why there should be a radical-to-moderate viewpoint in this matter. My point about the 'moderate' view was—and is—that, if the door is open, either you go in or you stay out. I don't see anybody standing in the middle of the door, just standing.

"The Meredith case at the University of Mississippi is an example of what I mean. There you had extremists on both sides at work. One group wanted Meredith out of the university, another group of extremists wanted him in.

"I didn't see any moderate position there. What do you do as a moderate, leave Meredith standing in the hallway? I can't conceive of the moderate position. The mob says, stay out, Mr. Meredith, and President Kennedy and the NAACP says, get him in. If the 'moderate' says he knows it won't happen over night, I don't know of any Negro with any sense at all who believes it will hapen over night."

"That's my criticism of some of these Angry Young Men of today," interjected Prof. Brown's friend, Dr. Logan. "When they say, we want it now, that's nonsense for they're not going to get it now."

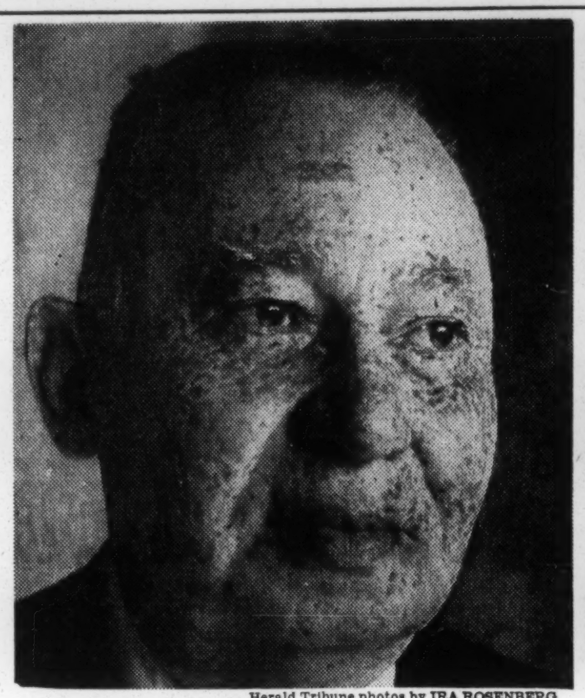
Going on to Dr. King's strategy in the demonstrations in the South, Prof. Brown continued:

"Dr. King can't say to the public that these things will come later. You see, he's engaged in demagoguery in a good cause—he's not a social scientist. And to get all those people stirred up, he can't go telling them that 'time will take care of these things.' He's got to keep them feeling this sense of urgency, and that is the way these youngsters here at the university feel, too."

"Will you pin that point down, Sterling?" asked Dr. Logan. He is a short, round-faced man in contrast to Prof. Brown, who is tall, erect and large-framed. "This is the role, I think, that we Angry Old Men should play."

Firm Stand

"Yes, this is the role we've got to play in the presence of men who are saying things which privately I don't think they believe themselves," the English professor answered. "One of us has got to take the position, and state it publicly, that you cannot do it now."



Herald Tribune photos by IRA ROSENBERG

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor of History
". . . they are not going to get it now . . ."

Sterling B. Brown, Professor of English
"I'm not belligerent . . . but I have had a gun pulled on me."

accounts for the widely held belief that what individual organizations are asking for 1963 is being asked for for the first time.

"To be specific, I don't believe that anyone has stated any better than Dr. W. T. B. DuBois at Harper's Ferry in 1906 what the Negro wants. He said at a commemorative gathering there:

" 'We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social, and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America.' "

Something New

Prof. Brown listened with absorption as Dr. Logan enunciated, almost with declamatory effect, those words.

"I am impressed, Rayford, you have actually memorized that," he said. "I will have to second the things you have said. The times are new and people can get more now than did the youngsters I taught back 30 years ago. But those other youngsters had the same drive, even if not the organization. Nor was the world ready to take them, nor was the Herald Tribune as ready to publish our interviews. This is all something new."

Turning to a consideration of the agonized writings of James Baldwin today, Prof. Brown said:

"Baldwin is writing with passion, and Baldwin has a big following, but even he is saying nothing that Prof. E. Franklin Fraser has not said, that Dr. Rayford Logan has not said, that I have not said—except that Baldwin says it in his style, and it is an excellent style.

"The point is, Baldwin is THE Negro writer of the moment. The New Yorker magazine wouldn't take an article by us. The magazines wouldn't trust a college professor, he's too stuffy. Baldwin will admit this. Nevertheless, Baldwin knows from whom he has learned. I think he's a very skillful propagandist.

"My resentment is that some of the critics talk as if they came upon this Negro problem last night. They know nothing of the whole literature of the '30s and '40s."

Dr. Logan took over at this point to pay a compliment to Prof. Brown.

"A lot of the so-called original literary criticism in 1963 has been all too frequently taken without credit to Prof. Sterling Brown, who wrote it in his books years ago."

One book to which both these professors had contributed they particularly wanted me to have. That was because of the theme and title, "What the Negro Wants," thanked the participants "for expressing their real opinions and making this book possible."

I asked about students' attitudes today, apart from their "hurry" to advance. Dr. Logan made an interesting point in contrasting the students of his day and those of today.

"We came from a community which was not rich but which had standards of respectability that did not result in the kind of problems which are all too common in Washington today," he said, referring to high crime rates and racial tensions. "We came from the best Negro high school in the United States, the old M. Street High School in Washington. Most of us went to New England colleges; Sterling and I to Williams, others to Amherst, Harvard, Bates, Wesleyan, Colby, and so on.

"But many of the students of Howard today are graduates of inferior schools in Washington, and you know the reasons why they are inferior. The Congressional people are just not giving the schools the money to construct the necessary facilities, to provide the teachers, and all the rest.

"But many of the students in the inferior schools are inferior students, comparatively speaking, because there have been three separate migrations of Negroes from the South into Washington. Many of the students today come from families which have suffered greatly in previous generations from the inequalities and inequities in the South.

"What amazes me is the fact that, despite these handicaps, many of our students perform very well. Some go off and get their doctorates at the best universities in the country."

I looked out the big bay windows of the study where we were sitting, and into the gathering dusk, and saw Dr. Logan and Prof. Brown, old warriors both, on a distant scene—one described in a paragraph in Prof. Brown's reminiscence in the volume, "The New Negro 30 Years Afterwards":

"Gay with youth, heady from attention, caught up along with much of America in ballyhoo, flattered by influential creators, critics, and publishers who had suddenly discovered the dark world at their doorstep, many Negroes helped to make a cult of Harlem. They set up their own Bohemia, sharing in the nation-wide rebellion from family, church, small town, and business civilization, but revolt from racial restrictions was sporadic. Rash in the spurt for sophistication, they typified one phase of American literary life in the '20s. A few magazines such as Fire and Harlem flared like rockets; good experiments jostled against much that was falsely atavistic and willfully

Powell Invites Muslim to Lead Capital Negroes

Special to the Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON.

New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell welcomed Malcolm X's forthcoming trip to the capital yesterday with an invitation to the Black Muslim to take over leadership of the Negro community.

"Malcolm X is moving from New York to Washington because there is no leadership here," Rep. Powell told an audience gathered to honor C. Sumner Stone, editor of the Washington Afro-American.

"Even those (Negroes) who occupy high positions do not represent the Negro Community," the Congressman told the rally at the Shiloh Baptist Church. "I shudder to think what Washington, D. C., would be like if the voice of Chuck Stone had been silenced."

Congressman Powell warned "objectively and calmly . . . that this town is going to be the scene of one of the worst race riots in the history of America unless two things happen.

"First, that the social factors which produce racial tensions are removed; and second, unless the Negro community, particularly the upper and middle class group, arouses itself to a new involvement with its less fortunate, economically exploited and emotionally deprived black brethren."

Rep. Powell used statistics usually employed by white racists when he pointed out that in Washington "80 per cent of the people on welfare are Negroes; 70 per cent of the illiterates are Negroes; and 90 per cent of the crimes are committed by Negroes. Unemployment among Negroes is three times that of whites."

The Congressman put much of the blame on the Washington Board of Trade. "The rate of school dropouts continues to escalate, and there is no place for the dropouts to find jobs if they are black. Industries and businesses controlled by the Board of Trade refuse to employ Negroes.

"I ask this question and demand an answer, or the white community stands self-convicted of the greatest crime: What is the Board of Trade doing to help solve the problems of unemployment, racial discrimination in housing and employment, crime and the rehabilitation of welfare recipients?

The Congressman said "Negroes are not excited about one Negro graduate who gets a Phi Beta Kappa key at the University of Georgia. What they want are hundreds of thousands of black boys and girls to go to the same schools and get the same quality of education as their peckerwood, rednecked neighbors' children do."

Finally, he warned:

"If nonviolent action does not bring the results, then there will be no way to channel this massive force of the black man."

Apartheid Enters the White Home

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP).

South African whites are to be limited to one African domestic servant living on their premises, Michiel Botha, Deputy Minister of Bantu (African) Administration and Development, told a national party meeting yesterday.

Many white families now have two or three servants, some more. The new legislation is part of the government's plans to move as many Africans as possible away from white living areas.

B'nai B'rith Urges Kennedy Act in South

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith urged President Kennedy yesterday to act with all his strength to protect Negro rights in the South and to exert moral leadership "to bring the

SH-H-H-H
MAYBE YOU CAN
HEAR THE NEW
FEDDERS

that, if the door is open, either you go in or you stay out. I don't see anybody standing in the middle of the door, just standing.

"The Meredith case at the University of Mississippi is an example of what I mean. There you had extremists on both sides at work. One group wanted Meredith out of the university, another group of extremists wanted him in.

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Firm Stand

"Yes, this is the role we've got to play in the presence of men who are saying things which privately I don't think they believe themselves," the English professor answered. "One of us has got to take the position, and state it publicly, that you cannot do it now."

"If these people who are being told they should have it now don't get it tomorrow, then they become desperate and run to the Black Muslims."

Dr. Logan nodded affirmation, saying, "This is very important, because we have it in Washington right now—the kind of disillusionment which makes for converts to the Muslims and to Communism."

We were gathered in the old 19th Century former residence of Howard University presidents, and a heavy rain was beating down on the campus outside our pleasant study. It helped to pull a curtain down around us and made it easier to go back 40 years in reminisence.

"I started out as a young fellow teaching at Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg in the 20s," Prof. Brown recalled. "Many of my students were young ministers who played on the football team, and they made trips on which they came to resent segregation more than ever.

"They would steal the signs, 'Whites' and 'Colored' for waiting rooms and bring them back to the dormitory rooms. They would try being surly to conductors on the trains. But they didn't have any discipline or organization such as CORE and SNCC give the students of today.

"There is a new behavior now, I must say, but the spirit is not new. You fought in those days and you fought alone. I'm not a belligerent person but I have had a gun pulled on me."

Rambling back through the years, Prof. Brown, who is 62, and Dr. Logan, 65, lingered with a mixture of bitterness and relish over their recollections of sleeping and eating in Pullman dining cars in the old days. There they were, distinguished scholars with degrees from leading colleges, gingerly kept out of sight in the railroad cars as if even the glimpse of them would be offensive to members of the "superior" white race.

"There was a compartment at one end of the train and the railroad company would give a Negro the whole compartment for the price of one ticket and one berth," Dr. Logan recalled. "But to keep up the fiction of inferiority, we were not permitted to close the door. The berth would be made up with the curtain hanging down just as if it had been in the open car. This was always called 'Lower 13.

"Then we could go back and eat in the dining room after the third call, not at the first call or the second call. But, you see, those white folks who lingered over their coffee at the end of the second call, who would have been, presumably, outraged at a Negro passenger coming in to eat, had to suffer our presence at a table when we came in after the third call.

Injustices

"But World War II did away with the third call for Negroes—only because there was too long a line, sometimes stretching out to another car. That's when the railroads decided to put up with us.

"They reserved two tables for us and we could go in any time. But the two tables were at the pantry end of the diner, and a green curtain was suspended from the ceiling to the floor around these tables so that the white passengers in the dining car couldn't see us eating."

"Do you remember, Rayford, the waiting room in the railroad station in Louisville?" asked Prof. Brown. "There were two doors side by side leading into the waiting room, one marked "White" and one marked 'Colored.' We had to go in the 'colored' door. But both doors led into the one waiting room and when you got inside you bought your tickets at the same window and mingled and rubbed shoulders with the white people.

"I was entering the waiting room with a white friend and he had to go in his door and I had to go in mine and just inside we joined up and continued our conversation. Oh, it was fantastic."

Both professors agreed that the full story of past injustices needed to be retold to the present generation which is so angry at even lingering traces of the commonplace mistreatments of yesteryear.

The idea of the "New Negro" was coming into first flowering in the 20s, they emphasized, and they gave me a 1955 booklet to which each of them had contributed an article commemorating the late Alain Locke's "The New Negro: An Interpretation," published in 1922. Howard's division of social sciences got out the paperback volume entitled "The New Negro 30 Years Afterward," in which distinguished Negro contributors re-created the yeasty ferment of the Negro Angry Young Men of those days, including the bursting new bohemia in New York's Harlem.

"There is practically nothing being asked for, or urged, or demanded by Negroes today that was not asked for, urged and demanded many years ago," Dr. Logan said. "The failure to realize this is a result of ignorance of the history of the Negro in a very large measure, and this cease to protest and assail the ears of America.'"

Something New

Prof. Brown listened with absorption as Dr. Logan enunciated, almost with declamatory effect, those words.

"I am impressed, Rayford, you have actually memorized that," he said. "I will have to second the things you have said. The times are new and people can get more now than did the youngsters I taught back 30 years ago. But those other youngsters had the same drive, even if not the organization. Nor was the world ready to take them, nor was the Herald Tribune as ready to publish our interviews. This is all something new."

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One book to which both these professors had contributed they particularly wanted me to have. That was because of the theme and title, "What the Negro Wants," and because of the fact that the publisher, W. T. Couch of the University of North Carolina, "disavowed" it in his introduction.

The volume was published in 1944 and Mr. Couch apparently thought that the editor, who was Dr. Logan, and most of the contributors, including Prof. Brown, were reaching too far.

"While I disagree with the editor and most of the contributors on basic problems," the publisher had written, he school in the United States, the old M. Street High School in Washington. Most of us went to New England colleges; Sterling and I to Williams, others to Amherst, Harvard, Bates, Wesleyan, Colby, and so on.

"But many of the students of Howard today are graduates of inferior schools in Washington, and you know the reasons why they are inferior. The Congressional people are just not giving the schools the money to construct the necessary facilities, to provide the teachers, and all the rest.

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Two scholarly, urbane and charming men who are pleased to call themselves Angry Old Men, and ought to be allowed that right.

TOMORROW—An "average" Negro girl of taste and refinement tells of the discriminatory restraints she feels living in New York, and compares them with the freedom she felt when she lived abroad.

Police Soften, Chanters at Jail

Associated Press wirephoto

QUIET SUNDAY—Negro teenagers seized in Birmingham as demonstrators relaxing, in custody, yesterday.

By United Press International

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.

Thousands of singing, chanting Negroes marched past police lines to the Birmingham Jail yesterday and sang and prayed for hundreds of racial demonstrators held there.

Police and firemen under the personal command of Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor had high-pressure fire hoses trained on the marchers for part of the six-block route, but did not use them despite taunts of "Turn the water on, Bull."

"We don't want to ruin their Sunday clothes," the police officer said.

The demonstration was the closest thing to a victory the Negro community here has won in a month of racial strife that has resulted in nearly 1,500 arrests. Many of those in custody are elementary school

"Lord, Lord, Lord"

About 2,000 of the demonstrators—dressed in their Sunday best—streamed from the New Pilgrim Baptist Church shortly after 7 p. m. (E D T) and marched singing and laughing down Sixth Ave. toward the jail.

Mr. Connor, standing in a tangle of fire hoses before a barricade of pump engines and policemen, halted the marchers about a block short of their destination. The Negroes fell to their knees and began to pray. One husky Negro woman yelled, "Lord, Lord, Lord," and keeled over in a faint.

One of the Negro leaders, the the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, held a brief conference with Mr. Connor. The commissioner motioned the marchers through, and a lusty roar went up from the crowd.

"They asked us to let 'em go to the park and hold services," Mr. Connor said. "I said OK. It's their park, anyway."

The Negroes assembled in the small park designated for Negroes across from the jail and sang "Above my head I hear freedom in the air."

The song and prayer service lasted about 15 minutes, and the Negroes then headed the half-mile back to their church.

Police kept the entire section of Sixth St. cordoned off during the demonstration.

Yesterday's action indicated a softening of the attitude of police toward the demonstrators who were dispersed by police dogs and fire hoses on two earlier occasions.

Kings Sees Victory

Dr. Martin Luther King jr., leader of the movement, predicted in Atlanta earlier yesterday that the Negro demands for an end to segregated lunch counters, better jobs and establishment of a bi-racial committee to work out a timetable for further desegregation soon would be met.

"The power structure of Birmingham is disturbed," Dr. King said. "In a few days we will have everything we are asking for and more."

Earlier yesterday Negroes attempted kneel-ins at 14 white churches. They were accepted at four and turned away at 10.

The Rev. Andrew Young of Atlanta and the Rev. James Bevel had announced that the mass march would be made on the jail after the meeting in the Negro church.

Mr. Young said Negroes were determined to let their children stay in jail until all are released at once. He conferred at the fairgrounds with Chief Deputy Sheriff Raymond Belcher.

Burke Marshall, Assistant U. S. Attorney General in charge of civil rights, remained in town over the week end and was reported conferring with public officials. He kept his activities secret. Negroes said he had not contacted them.

Mississippi Store Blast: Bias Bomb or Lightning?

By The Associated Press

CLARKSDALE, Miss.

Sheriff L. A. Ross said yesterday his investigation indicated lightning—not a bomb—tore a hole in the roof of a drugstore owned by Negro integration leader Aaron Henry Saturday night. He is sending fragments and other evidence to the FBI laboratory in Washington.

Mr. Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the blast felt "like a concussion." Molotov cocktails damaged his home last month.

"I'm suspecting nitroglycerin," he said. "I don't think it was lightning. However, if it was, I'd like to know how he (the sheriff) accounts for windows being blown out 30 to 40 feet away.

During a lightning and thunderstorm and heavy rain, Sheriff Ross said, eight to ten people in Mr. Henry's drugstore escaped injury when a blast dipped a hole reported as 14 inches in diameter in the roof.

Two young white men were arrested and charged with arson after Mr. Henry's home was damaged by explosives April 12. Rep. Charles Diggs, D., Mich., a Negro, was an overnight guest at the time.

larly the upper and middle class group, arouses itself to a new involvement with its less fortunate, economically exploited and emotionally deprived black brethren."

Rep. Powell used statistics usually employed by white racists when he pointed out that in Washington "80 per cent of the people on welfare are Negroes; 70 per cent of the illiterates are Negroes; and 90 per cent of the crimes are committed by Negroes. Unemployment among Negroes is three times that of whites."

The Congressman put much of the blame on the Washington Board of Trade. "The rate of school dropouts continues to escalate, and there is no place for the dropouts to find jobs if they are black. Industries and businesses controlled by the

B'nai B'rith Urges Kennedy Act in South

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith urged President Kennedy yesterday to act with all his strength to protect Negro rights in the South and to exert moral leadership "to bring the nation to an understanding of the evil that is abroad in our land."

A telegram to the President signed by Dore Schary, the league's national chairman, and Paul H. Sampliner, chairman of the national executive committee, said the greatest tragedy in the current Birmingham, Ala., turmoil is that "these incredibly brutal measures taken against citizens have not yet stirred the profound anger called for by our whole history and moral commitment."

The message added:

"When ferocious dogs and high pressure hoses are turned loose on citizens in peaceful pursuit of their fundamental constitutional rights, law and order have become a mockery."

Jackie Robinson On Hospital Board

Jackie Robinson, former baseball star and now an executive of Chock Full O'Nuts is a new member of the board of trustees of the Lenox Hill Hospital.

Benjamin J. Buttenwieser, chairman of the hospital's board, said that Mr. Robinson "will be extremely helpful because of his successful business and sports experience as well as his background in social, welfare and youth work."

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP).

South African whites are to be limited to one African domestic servant living on their premises, Michiel Botha, Deputy Minister of Bantu (African) Administration and Development, told a national party meeting yesterday.

Many white families now have two or three servants, some more. The new legislation is part of the government's plans to move as many Africans as possible away from white living areas.

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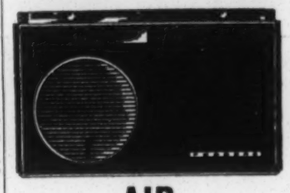

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TEN NEGROES

This is the seventh article of a 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of White America.

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

Who wouldn't wish for Eloise Calloway happy days and blessings true, golden joys and fortunes bright, and a heart that's ever light?

In most ways she already has nearly everything the average girl would want except a million dollars.

She's conspicuously attractive, has impeccable taste and a flair for dress. Her figure is superb with health and grace. Her voice is warm and her almond eyes lovely and upsetting. Her smile is radiant, and she hasn't a mean thought in her styled-hairdo head. She's 27, regularly dates several interesting men, and has a good secretarial job in lower mid-Manhattan.

She is also a Negro. And she is deeply discontented.

This you would never know unless she confided in you, for her mouth is framed in a gay greeting to the world. Miss Calloway believes that this deep-down-inside feeling of dissatisfaction comes from her profound urge to travel and live abroad. Not to live abroad permanently but, say, for a couple of years at a time. Then a spell back here at home, then more time abroad.

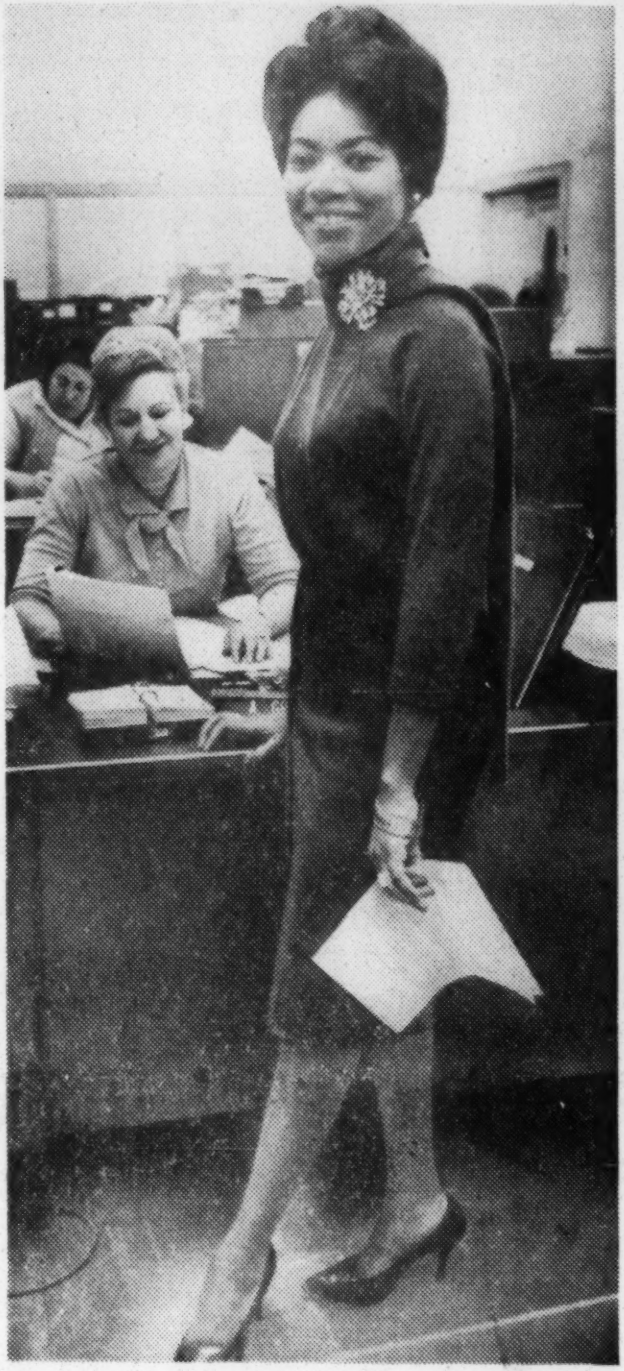
She is not just day-dreaming about this. Several years ago that deep restlessness impelled her to get a job with the foreign service, and she lived in Israel for two years as a secretary with a Point Four mission in the United States Embassy in Tel Aviv.

During those two years, her discontent vanished completely. She felt she was living in paradise. Then, after two years, the mission was phased out of Israel, its job accomplished, and she had to return to New York. The old feeling descended on her again when she got off the plane at Idlewild Airport a year and a half ago. And now, beneath the surface of her life, it bothers her more than ever.

I interviewed Miss Calloway at great length for this series on insights into Negro thinking and feeling, because I had known, when living in Israel myself, something of her popularity and happy times even though I was not acquainted with her personally.

My thought was that she would be able to draw an

More on TEN NEGROES—P 12



Herald Tribune photo by MORRIS WARMAN

Eloise Calloway in her office on E. 16th St.

". . . my color made no difference to them. . ."

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

interesting contrast between the experience of an "average" nice, American Negro girl living in another country and living here in New York. Though it turned out that she was not able to appraise the difference, she was able to discribe it vividly to me.

We were sitting in a restaurant in Greenwich Village one evening recently when she recounted to me her unforgettable experience of arriving in Israel—she's a sensitive and refined girl brought up in Harlem, educated in an integrated high school, with a year of study at City College.

She had high expectations from the start but it was a long trip, that 7,000 miles from New York to Tel Aviv, and it was 2 o'clock in the morning Israeli time when she arrived at the airport in Lydda, near Tel Aviv.

"It was in January and it was lightly raining but quite warm, and a group of people from the mission had come to the airport to meet me," she said. "I was introduced around to everybody and made to feel I was one of them right from the start. But I was terribly tired as well as happy, and it was a long drive from the airport to my apartment. I had never had an apartment of my own before.

"But I hardly had time to think about that then, I was so tired. All I wanted was to lay down my poor, tired, body and go to sleep—and that I did. I was told that I would have breakfast the following morning with one of the girls who worked at the mission.

"And then I woke up in the morning. At first I didn't know where I was—then it hit me, I was in Israel. I jumped out of bed and saw there was a balcony right outside my bedroom.

"I slipped into a negligee and went out on the balcony into a bright, sunny day, a gorgeous day. There were flowers everywhere. Everything was so green. It was a Sunday. I thought, 'My God, what a beautiful place.' I remembered about how far away I was from home, and it was a joyful feeling. I suppose that was because the sun was shining so brightly and everything was so green and beautiful and it was just, you know . . ."

Her voice trailed off in ecstatic silence just thinking about it. It was much later in our conversations that Miss Calloway mentioned to me that all thoughts of race and race problems had on that morning dropped away from her for the first time and were gone from her mind for the next two years.

I asked her how fast or slowly her social acquaintance began in Israel, and she indicated that it had started with a rush.

"As a matter of fact, it started the next day, on Monday, when I became very friendly with a white girl employed in the mission. She invited me to her apartment for dinner, and then one of the men in the mission invited me out. And they introduced me to Israelis, and Israelis invited me out.

"Very quickly I was going out on dates, going here and going there, to parties, to dinners—I didn't have a free night."

Miss Calloway's life in Israel was completely interracial, and largely international in the sense that her friends were both white Americans and Israelis.

I asked Miss Calloway to tell me what she enjoyed most in this life abroad, and she made it clear that it was this free social life and the joy of travel—for her diplomatic passport made it possible for her to move freely with her other American friends from the embassy staff across the borders into the nearby Arab countries. And these were unforgettable experiences, too.

But the key thought this Harlem girl offered in contrasting life in a foreign country with life in America was this:

"I guess mainly the thing when I was away was that I didn't come in contact with the racial problem. As a matter of fact, I'm not really in contact with that sort of thing now. I mean, I just read about it.

"But while I was away I didn't experience any of this racial—" she didn't complete the sentence. "I just sort of forgot about the whole thing, sort of left it behind. And I was treated on an equal basis along with the whites in Israel, and there was no such thing as discrimination. You were accepted as a human being.

"Then after I got back home, then I realized—I guess it just hit me much harder than it did before I went away."

She looked at me solemnly and thoughtfully for a

So when she returned to New York and to her old inner discontent she took up her former, familiar life in Harlem, but in the new job with the Air Force.

The girls do not double date. As a matter of fact, her roommates tell her she is too choosy about her men friends.

"I think I AM choosy," she said complacently, "I know what I want when I date a man. I like the ambitious type, well-educated, interested in lots of things, a man who knows where he is going."

From the complete inter-racial social life of Israel, she now dates only with Negro men. I asked her if it bothered her that she doesn't have more of an inter-racial social life now.

"Oh, no, no, no," she said. "It doesn't bother me at all that I am dating only Negro boys. It isn't that I want to date white boys in particular—as a matter of fact it doesn't make any difference what color they are. Color does not make the difference. If I feel like dating a white boy I will date one. It's not that I want to date one as badly as all that."

'Forgot I Was,' 'Negro'

"I have never been discriminated against, I don't think, except once or twice when I was looking for a particular job. I did experience discrimination in that field—but working on the job, I have never been discriminated against. It's not a feeling of discrimination that I have in New York. I don't know how to explain it but when I went away I completely forgot that I was a Negro, more or less.

"In Israel I was treated as something special, I guess, and when I came home I became an ordinary individual."

Why, I asked her, is she not married? She smiled brightly on that one.

"I don't know, i'ts just that I don't think I am prepared to get myself bogged down in married life yet. I certainly want to travel some more. My social life was far more interesting abroad than it is here. I had a much better apartment, I could entertain, I imagine I could get a nice apartment here, too, but it would be much more expensive."

She is currently dating three men regularly but is not involved in heavy romance with any of them. Nor do they konw each other. She did not want to discuss them except to say that she enjoys going out with all of them, and all of them treat her very nicely. One is a dentist, one a real estate broker, and one a police officer.

It is very evident that when Miss Calloway goes out for the evening she goes with a certain amount of style. She dresses exquisitely, and she has innate dignity.

On her dates she often goes to prestige restaurants downtown, she said, but even more often drops into one of the Harlem places—Carl's Corner, Small's Paradise, the Red Rooster, and places of that kind. She and her "date" have cocktails and dinner and talk mostly about the theater, entertainment subjects and such chit-chat, with occasional conversations on racial matters which are in the news. But not much of that.

"I like nice people around me, a nice decor, an intimate atmosphere and some entertainment or dancing, because I love to dance," she said.

On my own workaday date with Miss Calloway at the restaurant in the Village she was wearing a soft gray suit of genuine distinction and a black, armless blouse. She had a turquoise necklace and a turquoise ring on her finger and a gold bracelet. She can carry all this without seeming to be a bit overdressed.

I asked her about the origin of her jewelry. She said she had bought the ring in Cairo, the bracelet (made of small, thin gold coins) in Turkey, and the necklace came from Iran.

She does her shopping in Fifth Avenue stores, she said, and her intellectual reading fare consists of a national news magazine, the morning paper and the Atlantic Monthly magazine.

She has no intellectual pretensions but she visits a museum exhibit occasionally, likes good movies, and goes frequently to the theater and ballet with her "dates." As to marriage, that's a subject she always shrugs off as something for the future—after more travel.

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"Then after I got back home, then I realized—I guess it just hit me much harder than it did before I went away."

She looked at me solemnly and thoughtfully for a moment or two, and then she brightened up as if determined not to spoil my enjoyment of my chicken pie by talking killjoy talk. But I had heard often, in my weeks of interviewing, other Negroes also say they wanted to be treated as human beings.

The Explanation

"Exactly what does that phrase, being treated as a human being, mean to you," I asked Miss Calloway.

"The feeling that I got was," she explained, "that the fact I was a Negro—my color—made no difference to them over there. I felt freer. It didn't matter to them that I was a Negro."

As a matter of fact, Israeli friends told me that Miss Calloway was one of the most popular American girls among the younger set of any in Israel.

But in her reminiscence, it seemed to me that what Miss Calloway felt most of all was an atmosphere, an enchanting atmosphere which was certainly real but which may also have been in the nature of an escape.

"I used to love to sit at the cafes on Dizongoff Circle and watch the people pass back and forth," she said. "It was just wonderful."

But what, I asked, was so wonderful about it (although I knew it was wonderful)?

"I don't know," she answered with a faraway look in her fresh-as-morn eyes, "just watching, I guess. Watching the people walking up and down. Sometimes you'd see the same faces three or four times, passing back and forth. Oh, that carefree air about the Israelis, laughing and talking and meeting with their friends, and then sitting at the cafe themselves.

"They would sit there for hours and hours and sip their coffee or their soft drinks as if they didn't have a care in the world. Such a relaxed feeling! It made me feel good, it really did."

From time to time, members of the mission would plan excursions for week ends to Beirut in Lebanon, to Damascus in Syria, to the fabulous Old City of Jerusalem through the Mandelbaum Gate into Jordan, and once she went on a tour lasting for more than a week into Egypt, visiting Cairo and Luxor and the other fabulous places.

Everywhere she went she felt free and happy and very much alive.

But there was a nagging thought away in the back of her mind. She was attached to a dying mission. It was under directive to phase out of Israel by degrees, and even from the time she first went there the mission was in process of slow liquidation.

"I often did not have enough work to do and I felt useless. I often thought why don't I just request a move to another mission. But I liked Israel too much, and I never made the request. I just thought as each day came along, maybe it will get better. But it got worse and in December, 1961, I found I was leaving Israel."

It was far more difficult for Miss Calloway to explain how the matter of race has affected her now that she is back in New York—because she does not feel any specific, personal discrimination against herself.

What she feels is more the atmosphere of race distinctions, race troubles, and race outrages on the general scene. This atmosphere is all around her again. And it seems as if she has become, after her return, a kind of unwilling, indirect participant in a problem which is very unpleasant—for even her younger, student brother at Clark University in Atlanta is joining in race demonstrations.

It is evident that her life is much more circumscribed here, and that she is more of a "loner" than in earlier years before she went away.

In fairness to her, she did not say these things directly but this was the interpretation that I got from what she did say.

Although Harlem-born, her mother was careful to see that she got as much education as possible in integrated schools—first the Joan of Arc Junior High School on 93d Street, then the Washington Irving High School at 16th St. and Irving Place. She made many white friends in these schools and they did a lot of socializing while they were in school, but over the years they have lost contact with each other.

And her parents moved out to Long Island about eight years ago, leaving her faced with a choice to make about her own life and career.

She decided to stay in Harlem because she was "used to it," and she joined with two Negro girl friends in setting up an apartment together in lower Harlem. It is a big place with a bedroom for each girl, a living room large enough for all, and a working-size kitchen with a well-stocked larder. The girls have got along together fine for eight years—with time out while she sojourned in Israel.

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I had in the back of my mind as I talked with Miss Calloway a thing which Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, City College profesor of psychology, had said to me. He is an outstanding Negro psychologist himself.

Dr. Clark had said:

"Among the complexities of the American racial problem is the fact that problems of personal adjustment and personal difficulties which would be true for individuals without regard to race, we Negroes have complicated even more in this overriding racial problem of ours.

"It becomes extremely difficult at times to tell where one begins and the other ends in trying to understand the role of a particular person."

I repeated this view of Dr. Clark to Miss Calloway and asked her if she thought she was seeking an escape from the fact that she was a Negro girl.

She smiled and said in her gentle and lovely voice:

"I don't think so. I want to travel for very real reasons. I love travel. Take my trip to Egypt. I had read as a child about the pyramids and the Sphynx and riding on camels and all those wonderful things. And then I went to Egypt and I saw them, and I rode on a camel. And it was all much, much more wonderful, even, than imagining them when reading about it. Isn't that good enough reason for wanting to travel?"

I answered truthfully that I couldn't agree with her more. This much is certain: She will make some husband a wonderful traveling companion, and she will enhance the scenery wherever she goes.

TOMORROW: The Negro principal of a high school in the District of Columbia's racially troubled 2nd Precinct describes forward-looking programs being tried out.

Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, educator
One-third of her 9th graders are below 5th grade level

TEN NEGROES

THIS is the eighth of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of white America.

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

The growing horde of semi-literate and largely unemployable Negro youngsters who are being released from city school systems as "drop-outs" is being cited on all sides as a tragedy and peril for this country.

The problem is especially aggravated in the District of Columbia—in the heart of the nation's capital—where an unending debate centers on the situation.

One day recently I visited a high school in the slum-ridden and racially troubled part of Washington that lies just to the west of Howard University, scarcely 20 minutes' drive from the White House.

My idea was to talk with the Negro principal, Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, about the human side of her 1,700 pupils—avoiding altogether the morass of arguments in the vast, endless abstract debate that is going on.

Cardozo High School is a huge, four-story structure

More on TEN NEGROES—P 12

LIVE TV FROM JAPAN: TELSTAR II CAN DO IT
Our new satellite—the story, first page second section.

TEN NEGROES

5-8-63

(Continued from page one)

that looks like any of a hundred big city high schools built between the two World Wars.

It stands with a dominating look of importance in the neighborhood, which is itself not at all a noisome tenement area but a place of shabby single, double and multiple-family houses, many with their own tiny porches, lawns and yards. Rows of trees along the sidewalks attest to its former better-class status.

Dr. Washington is a warm, slightly plump woman whose high reputation as an outstanding school principal was described to me by several Negro educators and professional men who are worried about the general situation.

She is one of those extraordinarily busy women who are somehow able to make time for a visitor. She made me comfortable in her office near the front door of the school, ordered coffee for us both, and plunged right into the problem.

'Pathetic Despair'

"We have about 163 of the 450 ninth-graders who are below the fifth-grade level," she said. "They are products of the overcrowded educational situation. They have such despair it's just pathetic. And when we look into the community we find a great lack of jobs, broken homes, and parents who just don't think that education is the answer to their plight.

"The consequence is there is a lack of aspiration among the children, and we find a kind of acting out in the behavior of some of them—hostility toward other children and teachers—and among others a quiet acceptance, a withdrawal and a passive resistance.

"This is a real challenge in the field of education, the ability to understand and perceive the problem of these youngsters. And it is hard to expect this from a great many of the Negro teachers who come from middle class backgrounds.

"Some of these teachers who have come out here simply cannot relate to it because it's too close to them. Some Negro people can't handle it. It's too agonizing. Such teachers often feel that what they see in the school is just too symptomatic of the larger problem.

"Why is the pupil acting the way he is acting? Why doesn't he have respect for school? What are the things against which the child is being defensive? Such teachers understand all right, I think, but they identify with it personally and find themselves unable to face up and work through the problem."

Dr. Washington's high school is what is called a comprehensive mid-city school devoted to the development of students from a cross section of the city's population. She herself is an authority on problem youngsters. Author of "Background Factors and Adjustment," she earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from Howard University and her doctor of philosophy from the Catholic University of America. She is the wife of Walter E. Washington, and is the mother of a teen-age daughter herself.

The great part of the pupils at this school are in the two middle "tracks" or courses of study—the general track which can prepare pupils for college if they measure up, and one which brings them to a terminal point in their education and gives them skills for business jobs.

A lower track gives "basic" education to children who, though not necessarily below normal in ability or aptitude, are nevertheless functioning on the basic level.

But the study courses which seem to excite Dr. Washington the most, and are intensely "human" to hear about, are the Honors course for exceptionally talented youngsters from the Negro slums, and a course aimed at enticing potential male drop-outs to stay in school a little longer so as to become, at least, employable in the outside world.

'A Work-Study Course'

This last course in effect prepares boys to become maintenance men—janitors—but not ordinary ones. Rather knowledgable ones who are able to say how a particular floor covering ought to be cleaned and how one kind of paint differs from another.

Actually, this is an experimental work-study course for boys who are retarded in reading and mathematics. These are indicators which help to measure the youngsters handicapped in many ways by their background environment. They carry an extra load of subjects and are supported all the way through by the teachers in maintaining the highest morale. There are currently about 25 students in the Honors program, Dr. Washington said:

"The same teachers work with them right through their course—and these are teachers who like kids, who don't look down their noses at them, who expect the children to learn, and who are able to stimulate a response in the youngsters. For despite his despair, every child has an urge to learn.

"Also, underneath all a parent's problems and excuses, every parent is concerned about his child's education. He just doesn't want to be blamed for the obvious problems. And this is why we try to work with the parents, too.

"In the Honors program we provide a complete orientation job. We give support to scholarship talent. We work with the American Association of University Women in special programs to acquaint the youngsters with the theater, the art galleries, museums, and to learn about the colleges.

"Beyond the regular school counseling, many of these women holds teas in their homes to establish a rapport with the youngsters and to introduce them to the college idea.

I asked Dr. Washington to tell me more about the background aspects of these children.

"In some ways their background is distinctive," she said. With these exceptional pupils, there has not been the same kind of distorted childhood as with many of the other children. These are children who have experienced some success. Somewhere along the way they experienced a positive constructive relationship with some adult who was close to them. Everything wasn't hatred in the household.

"It was not necessarily a parent, but some one within the family, even if it was a broken family. Some adult—perhaps an adored grandmother—held the child to a high level of expectation, and this helped to produce the high motivation which the child has today."

A White Teacher Talks

The principal had telephoned to an Honors course teacher, inviting her to tell me a little about these bright pupils, and soon there appeared in the office Mrs. Joan Wofford, a young white teacher. It didn't require much more than a look at Mrs. Wofford to see that she must be practically perfect as a teacher for a bunch of brainy young kids from underprivileged backgrounds.

Mrs. Wofford has a built-in, upbeat grin; eyes that are so alert it seems surprising that they are also filled with warmth and enthusiasm, and as quick a mind as any one I ever talked with. She is married to a young Rhodes Scholar lawyer, and she was teaching in an upper-class white suburban high school in the Boston area when Dr. Washington persuaded her to come to Cardozo.

"Many of these youngsters are not caught up yet to the point where my pupils were in the white school," Mrs. Wofford said, "but they are every bit as bright and three times as excited. It's a thrill to work with them.

"They're not in the slightest bit blasé, as they were in my white school, and they are not hampered by the same preconceptions. In my other school they started out with a bias against Shakespeare, certain that he was boring. But these youngsters never heard about Shakespeare until they got into this program.

"Really, it's a thrill to see them react. I suggested to some of them that they try reading Plato, and a few days later I came into the classroom and found them all arguing heatedly, passionately, over Plato's ideas. Remember, they're only ninth-graders.

"These are unusual kids in another sense, considering the backgrounds of most of them. Somewhere they got the idea early in their school life that books could be interesting. Maybe there was a book or two at home, or perhaps somebody in the home was a reader, or a parent was terribly strict and made the child read.

"Even at this age level it is not too late to pull these children up to college level. But we don't have half enough money for books. They have a hunger for books. They're reading like mad. I buy paperback books for them, but we really need lots more books.

"They are so interested and

problem.

'Pathetic Despair'

"We have about 163 of the 450 ninth-graders who are below the fifth-grade level," she said. "They are products of the overcrowded educational situation. They have such despair it's just pathetic. And when we look into the community we find a great lack of jobs, broken homes, and parents who just don't think that education is the answer to their plight.

"The consequence is there is a lack of aspiration among the children, and we find a kind of acting out in the behavior of some of them—hostility toward other children and teachers—and among others a quiet acceptance, a withdrawal and a passive resistance.

"This is a real challenge in the field of education, the ability to understand and perceive the problem of these youngsters. And it is hard to expect this from a great many of the Negro teachers who come from middle class backgrounds.

"Some of these teachers who have come out here simply cannot relate to it because it's too close to them. Some Negro people can't handle it. It's too agonizing. Such teachers often feel that what they see in the school is just too symptomatic of the larger problem.

"Why is the pupil acting the way he is acting? Why doesn't he have respect for school? What are the things against which the child is being defensive? Such teachers understand all right, I think, but they identify with it personally and find themselves unable to face up and work through the problem."

Dr. Washington's high school is what is called a comprehensive mid-city school devoted to the development of students from a cross section of the city's population. She herself is an authority on problem youngsters. Author of "Background Factors and Adjustment," she earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from Howard University and her doctor of philosophy from the Catholic University of America. She is the wife of Walter E. Washington, and is the mother of a teen-age daughter herself.

The great part of the pupils at this school are in the two middle "tracks" or courses of study—the general track which can prepare pupils for college if they measure up, and one which brings them to a terminal point in their education and gives them skills for business jobs.

A lower track gives "basic" education to children who, though not necessarily below normal in ability or aptitude, are nevertheless functioning on the basic level.

But the study courses which seem to excite Dr. Washington the most, and are intensely "human" to hear about, are the Honors course for exceptionally talented youngsters from the Negro slums, and a course aimed at enticing potential male drop-outs to stay in school a little longer so as to become, at least, employable in the outside world.

'A Work-Study Course'

This last course in effect prepares boys to become maintenance men—janitors—but not ordinary ones. Rather knowledgable ones who are able to say how a particular floor covering ought to be cleaned and how one kind of paint differs from another.

Actually, this is an experimental work-study course for boys who are retarded in reading and mathematics. These are indicators which help to measure the youngsters who have a high degree of absenteeism from school and are heading for the swelling multitude of drop-outs starting out in adult life unable to find jobs for themselves.

"The idea of this course," explained Dr. Washington, "is to give these boys a good training in building maintenance and along with that to give them a positive concept of themselves. It is to lure back into classes for this kind of special training boys who were coming to school only sporadically or not all.

"We are already able to see a great change in many of these boys who have come back to learn the job of maintenance—the composition of different materials, how to clean windows, and practical things like that.

"As they learn from this course a new respect for the vocation of maintenance work, we see in them a new neatness in the way they dress. Most of them are doing part-time work. We are teaching them how to operate on a budget, and we have a school bank. It's amazing to see the change in them."

Actually, Dr. Washington's enthusiasm is based on the measure of what, potentially, can be done with these youngsters rather than on any mass program to help solve the larger problem. This is only experimental, and at present not more than 20 boys are taking the course. But it points in a hopeful new direction.

"We have two goals for potential drop-outs," Dr. Washington said. "Either to return them back into the main school life and try to get them to finish high school, or to enable them to make the transition from school to an actual job.

"In support of this employment effort we are writing to prospective employers in a beginning effort at job placement, we are teaching the pupils how to talk to people, and we are giving them needed help in reading. A few boys have responded enough to go back to taking four subjects in the regular school."

In the middle track groups, special encouragement is needed for pupils, too, according to this understanding principal.

"The average student in the college course track does not have high enough motivation and is not well book-oriented. Nor do they recognize the scholarship opportunities. So they need to be constantly stimulated and taught that college is achievable for them, that it is not beyond their grasp.

"Those who want to go from high school into business also have to be stimulated, and we really work hard to ease the transition for them from school into business jobs. Our aim is to make them acceptable for Grade 4 clerk-typist jobs in government, and to equip them for the Civil Service examination they would have to take."

But there is still another course of study in this school —and this is the one that is yielding the most spectacular results of all. More than that, it emphasizes in the most human terms possible the tragedy in neglect of these young Negro children from broken and impoverished homes.

The course is the top one in the school—the Honors course, now in its second year. For this, Dr. Washington has found it most important that the pupils have an integrated staff, and her teachers in this course are exceptionally well trained. This is for exceptional children, pupils who, though they may come from an environment of poverty, have an unusually high I.Q. and unusually high motivation .

These youngsters are top-notch college material, though special programs to acquaint the youngsters with the theater, the art galleries, museums, and to learn about the colleges.

"Beyond the regular school counseling, many of these women holds teas in their homes to establish a rapport with the youngsters and to introduce them to the college idea.

I asked Dr. Washington to tell me more about the background aspects of these children.

"In some ways their background is distinctive," she said. With these exceptional pupils, there has not been the same kind of distorted childhood as with many of the other children. These are children who have experienced some success. Somewhere along the way they experienced a positive constructive relationship with some adult who was close to them. Everything wasn't hatred in the household.

"It was not necessarily a parent, but some one within the family, even if it was a broken family. Some adult—perhaps an adored grandmother—held the child to a high level of expectation, and this helped to produce the high motivation which the child has today."

A White Teacher Talks

The principal had telephoned to an Honors course teacher, inviting her to tell me a little about these bright pupils, and soon there appeared in the office Mrs. Joan Wofford, a young white teacher. It didn't require much more than a look at Mrs. Wofford to see that she must be practically perfect as a teacher for a bunch of brainy young kids from underprivileged backgrounds.

Mrs. Wofford has a built-in, upbeat grin; eyes that are so alert it seems surprising that they are also filled with warmth and enthusiasm, and as quick a mind as any one I ever talked with. She is married to a young Rhodes Scholar lawyer, and she was teaching in an upper-class white suburban high school in the Boston area when Dr. Washington persuaded her to come to Cardozo.

"Many of these youngsters are not caught up yet to the point where my pupils were in the white school," Mrs. Wofford said, "but they are every bit as bright and three times as excited. It's a thrill to work with them.

"They're not in the slightest bit blasé, as they were in my white school, and they are not hampered by the same preconceptions. In my other school they started out with a bias against Shakespeare, certain that he was boring. But these youngsters never heard about Shakespeare until they got into this program.

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"Even at this age level it is not too late to pull these children up to college level. But we don't have half enough money for books. They have a hunger for books. They're reading like mad. I buy paperback books for them, but we really need lots more books.

"They are so interested and so unsophisticated that they will read anything—from Chaucer's Middle English and Shakespeare's poetry to 'To Kill a Mockingbird.' All of it is exciting to them."

The principal and Mrs. Wofford emphasized that these young people in the Honors course were simply picked right out of the general body of pupils.

"I can't believe that we couldn't up the number of kids of college caliber by one-third," Mrs. Wofford said. "But we would need money, books and counseling."

The Teacher Problem

Dr. Washington discussed the teacher problem in a school such as hers, where many of the pupils have fear and hostility. Washington public schools are reported to be plagued with physical violence by the pupils. But this principal says much of the trouble occurs when teachers fail to understand that the children have no way of curbing their anger, and the teacher responds with "power" instead of understanding. Instead of understanding the child, she said, these teachers speak back and exacerbate the situation.

"Everything depends on how the teacher handles her power," she explained. "Some teachers act as if the kids were a captive audience, held there by force. The teacher parades her power. The child recognizes this power and in turn tris to exhibit his own power, and the two get into a power struggle.

"A better way for a teacher to act would be to take the attitude, 'I accept you as a person, I value your worth, but I don't accept your behavior.'"

Having in mind the slum environment of these children in Cardozo High School, I asked, altogether separately, a professor of sociology in Washington, Dr. J. Franklin Edwards, about the effect of environment on the pupil.

"Many of these youngsters live under the most adverse conditions emotionally," he said. "Broken families, tense situations, poverty. Also, many of them are not getting enough to eat. A study was made on this here in Washington and they found that in the kindergarten and first grades, pupils who were not doing well had low hemoglobins.

"They just didn't have enough hemoglobin, and so they didn't feel well. But more than that, they had all kinds of emotional problems. They drooled and they cried easily. They were hypersensitive, they slept in their chairs. These were youngsters who should have been in the third grade, but were still in first grade."

In one aspect of home environment, Prof. Edwards agreed completely with Dr. Washington and Mrs. Wofford —that cultural poverty was handicapping these youngsters, and one sign of it was that they just didn't get to read early, and they went on through the grades increasingly handicapped.

"The 1,700 youngsters in this school," Dr. Washington told me, "do and must represent every facet of the general population. We have some superior pupils, and it is up to us to devise a program to try to identify these and give them as stimulating a course of study as possible.

"We must try to enrich academically their backgrounds and raise their sights. And this means working with the wamilies. Until the community can give this support to the school, until it can do this kind of thing, the problem will remain."

TOMORROW: The leading Negro magazine publisher of the country views the race situation from a self-made successful business man's viewpoint.

Herald Tribune

Ebony's publisher John H. Johnson

TEN NEGROES

THIS is the ninth article of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of white America.

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

Besides wanting their full civil rights and equality with white Americans, most Negroes would like to have —just as most white Americans would—mink coats for their women, beautiful automobiles, lushly decorated homes, talented careers, fascinating friends, trips around the world, castles in Spain, and all the rest.

Negroes are by no means excluded from this life of grandeur but, as in the case of the white population, only a small fraction of them manage to scale the heights.

The rest read about it and enjoy it in articles and pictures in Ebony, a slick-paper, prestige magazine for Negro readers modeled after the format of Life magazine.

The world depicted in Ebony is primarily a Negro world, but also an interracial world of glamour and achievement. Basically it is a real world for those who have reached it, although somewhat prettied up for presentation to the readers.

One Negro who has made the climb into this

More on TEN NEGROES—P 14

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TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

prestigious world is John H. Johnson, president of the Johnson Publishing Co. of Chicago. He and his wife created Ebony, and they, together with his mother, own and publish it alnog with three other magazines for Negroes and a new but expanding list of book titles.

It seemed to me, in seeking peepholes into Negro thinking and feeling, that the man who published Ebony might nave some interesting viewpoints, and I arranged to talk with him in his quietly sumptuous office in Chicago.

He is an impressive man of 45, brimming with physical and mental vigor, good cheer and friendliness. And he displays a frank simplicity of manner which invests him with special dignity and distinction.

He obviously enjoys his success. At the same time he seems to have forgotten nothing of his impoverished boyhood in rural Arkansas, and nothing of the early years in Chicago when he and his mother, a domestic who never got beyond the third grade, were on the relief rolls there. That was for a short time in the 1930s.

This gives him a real sense of identification with Negro youngsters who are at the threshold of their own careers, and he talked to me at length about it.

But before I touch on that, Mr. Johnson's view of the Negro world of glamor as depicted in his magazine Ebony, in articles and pictures about successful and interesting Negro people, ought to be given first.

"I think that all of us ought to devote all our effort toward improving the community and the world we live in," he said, "but I think at some point the Negro ought to have a right to be a human being in the fullest sense of the word. He ought to have the right to give a party, go to a country club if he likes, buy a mink coat for his wife if he has the money, take a skiing trip somewhere, visit the Riviera.

"Now I don't think the Negroes who are able to do some of these things are made alien to other Negroes, nor does it put them apart from the others. This is just another way of expressing his interest in being a human being.

"And I want to say this, I don't picture this world as a separate world. What we depict are Negroes who, through their own efforts, or by birth or accident or some other means, are able to acquire what all other people want. And it is exactly the same in the white world, where the majority enjoy reading about the people at the top.

"What I think I am doing is showing the readers that we have all strata in our society as in the general society. We're showing Negroes that some of us are able to make it. One of our most widely read sections is called 'Speaking of People,' and it deals with employment, really—new jobs that people have found for themselves."

Mr. Johnson's office is in the superbly decorated Madison Avenue executive style, with quiet-toned carpet and fabrics, richly upholstered furniture, inviting book shelves, a spate of foliage plants, and plenty of space for pacing up and down, which he likes to do as he talks.
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The World of Achievement

"If you examine my magazine you'll find not so much a world of glamor any more as a world of achievement," he world of glamor but we have gradually become more in- continued. "What happened was, we started out with the terested in people's achievements."

I asked him what proportion of the Negro population was represented in the glamor-achievement world of Ebony, and he answered:

"Oh, I would think it's perhaps 10 per cent. I know years ago Dr. W. T. DuBois used to talk about the 'talented tenth,' and I think that even if he said that many years ago it still holds true. I mean by that, about 10 per cent of the Negro people are those who are able to enjoy many of these advantages we're speaking about. I think the proportion is increasing as time goes by, but I would hold it to about 10 per cent now."

"That glamor world is not my world," he said, in answer to my question. "I think my world is a more realistic one. But it's true, we try to find the glamor side in our magazine even though not all the people we glamorize believe that this is all their world either.

"We are like the movies—just as they tend to embellish and adorn the normal, I think we do the same. This is not to misstate the truth but simply expresses the search for something that will capture the imagination. And this is not the whole world of the people who like to read about it,

ber of a highly respected Negro family in Selma, Ala., where her father was a physician. She became his beautiful and talented wife and co-worker and he left the company to launch Ebony.

In 1945, on a cash capital of $500 borrowed on his mother's furniture, Ebony made its appearance with 25,000 copies. Today its circulation is over 800,000.

After the magazine was well toward success, several years after it was started, Mrs. Johnson quit active work to devote herself to the home. The couple adopted two children, John jr. and Linda, and the family live in an integrated residential section of Chicago in a large and richly furnished apartment. Mr. Johnson owns the apartment house. He refuses to live in the country because, he says, he does not want to be reminded by too much landscape of anything from his rural Arkansas past.

'We Need All These Voices'

Getting down to a discussion of race problems, Mr. Johnson answered a question of mine about whether he feels personally integrated in the civic and business world of Chicago.

"No, I don't think so," he said. "I think integration encompasses the total activities of an individual, if you think of them in the broad sense. I get into these groups in the white world pretty much as a representative of the Negro community, even though I might not be identified as such. I don't think I am in there because I am a successful publisher. I think it's because I am a successful Negro publisher."

Speaking of the diversity of Negro organizations and personalities driving for diverse Negro goals, Mr. Johnson said:

"I think we need all these voices. We are living in an age of diversification. Even business is not able to make out with only a one-product development. The same way about the race relations problem. I feel there is no one way to do it. I don't think we can identify any one kind of leadership as the only one. Nobody quite understands why this is so, and nobody understands why a certain cola company that used to put its drink out in one size bottle now has to market in several sizes.

"There is something in the air that requires diversification of effort toward any accomplishment, and in the Negro field we need all of these people, even at the risk of appearing—well, whatever you want to call it. I think the Black Muslims are making a contribution to racial equality by simply challenging in a different kind of way. Obviously no thinking person who truly believes in democracy—and I believe in it—would follow a policy of hate, although the Muslims deny this policy. But the point I am making is, as James Baldwin points out, we have got to get white people to listen before we can convince them.

"I believe that the Muslims in their approach, despite the fact I don't approve of them are helping to get people to listen. If they get people to listen to us, then they make some kind of contribution.

"And if we must be critical of the Muslims then we must also realize that we, meaning the white population, are responsible for the conditions which created the Muslims in the first place. And the best way to get rid of them is not to criticize them but to improve the conditions of the black man, and make a mockery out of what they say by bringing about a real conversion to democratic practices.

"They are not going anywhere. They are going to keep preaching their philosophy as long as what they say is true, and as long as what they say is true it's going to grow."

The First Step—Confidence

Mr. Johnson is the pleasantest kind of man to interview. He is not only responsive to every question, but he grabs every idea and runs with it. He talks in a rather loud voice, as if he thinks better that way, pacing back and forth and looking always as eager as an interested boy.

"I think the first step toward overcoming a feeling of inferiority and low status is," he said, "to instill confidence in yourself through finding something in your background in which you can feel pride. I am publishing a Negro history series because I learned that Negro history is not

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Mr. Johnson's magazine reflects dramatically a change in the Negro people's image of color. And this was a development that Mr. Johnson talked about vividly—the disappearance of prestige distinctions in the lighter skin colors of Negroes.

"The color problem is no longer with us any more," he said. "I think what happened was, first, that black-skinned Negroes began gaining better opportunities for education and to gain achievement on their own, and then the rise of the newly developing nations in Africa, where black has come to mean something important, also helped to erase these skin-color distinctions.

"All those color distinctions began generations ago during slavery days when the slave owner kept certain slaves for his personal pleasure, and from these were born children of lighter skin who got more privileges than the field hands."

He picked up an issue of Ebony and leafed through for me, to show how in the color advertisements there were more of the darker-skinned models, both male and female, depicted in the ads than lighter-skinned.

"Negro people are no longer ashamed of their naturalness," Mr. Johnson said. "You will see many Negro girls who are no longer straightening their hair, and I think in general black skin has acquired a new meaning. It's not necessary any longer for Negroes of lighter skin to stay together on that basis. We used to have thousands of Negroes 'pass' over from Negro to white, but we no longer have that happening now."

100 Negro Millionaires

Back in a January issue of this year Mr. Johnson ran a feature with photographs and sketches of 100 Negro millionaires in the country. They included persons in a great variety of fields and it was a presentation which had tremendous impact on the Negro people, for even these 100 are by no means all the American Negro millionaires.

The publisher did not include himself, although he might well have done so on the basis of a financial rating.

"Dr. Martin Luther King jr. can talk abstractly about goals for Negroes," Mr. Johnson said, only half seriously, "but here they could see it.

"I have been blessed to have been able to achieve some of the benefits of capitalism, and I am in favor of capitalism. People often say to me, yes, you're in favor of it because in a minor way you are a capitalist.

"Then I say, no, I felt the same way when I was on relief here in Chicago, because I felt that if other people had it, there was always a chance that I might have it.

"One of my editors told me a story going around in one of the Negro colleges in Atlanta. He said that a student went to the dean and said, you know there are a lot of cliques around this college, and they won't let some of us in and I am very unhappy about it.

"The dean said, okay, I'll tell you how to stop this—but the boy interrupted him. He said, no, dean, I want you to tell me how I can get into one.

"Well, in effect that's the way people feel. I don't think they begrudge the world they see, they simply want it themselves. And this desire just spurs them on."

Going back to his own days of poverty, Mr. Johnson told me that his mother brought him to Chicago during the Century of Progress Exposition in 1933, ostensibly to see the exposition but actually, as he came to suspect later, to see if she could gain a toe-hold in Chicago and help him get some further education. He had finished the eighth grade in the country school in Arkansas, he said, and to keep him out of trouble his mother made him go through the eighth grade a second time. But she had ambitions for getting him to college.

His stepfather, a sawmill helper, remained in Arkansas while his mother got established in a servant's job in Chicago. She lost that job and they went on relief for a time.

Today his mother, Mrs. Gertrude Williams, rides around in a big chauffeur-driven limousine of her own, engaging in certain civic works in which she is interested and seeing to it that Mr. Johnson gets to church on Sunday.

While he was in high school in Chicago he got himself a clerical job in one of the biggest Negro-operated businesses in the North, the Supreme Life Insurance Company of America. He came to the notice of the president, the late Harry H. Pace, who urged young Mr. Johnson to go to college and work part-time.

He got into employee relations in the company, editing its house organ, and attended the University of Chicago and later Northwestern University. Meantime he rose rapidly in the company, and he met his wife, Eunice, mem-

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"I think the first step toward overcoming a feeling of inferiority and low status is," he said, "to instill confidence in yourself through finding something in your background in which you can feel pride. I am publishing a Negro history series because I learned that Negro history is not taught in most schools, and Negroes are not aware of the conspicuous gallantry and bravery they displayed in the Civil War.

"Our people have done many things of which they can be proud, and I think that we Negroes must first believe that we deserve equality before we can sell the idea to any one else."

He pointed to his big, important looking desk chair sitting behind his executive type desk, saying:

"I recall the first time we got this office. I came down the night before and sat in my chair so as to get used to it. I wanted to have a relaxed feeling"—he laughed uproariously at the thought—"when people came to see me on that first day. I just wasn't used to it, and I wanted to get used to it ahead of time.

"I think Negro people have to get used to equality themselves, personally, first, then once we're used to it and believe we really and truly deserve it, then we'll get it."

Mr. Johnson's Advice

He is deeply concerned about the lack of opportunity for bright Negro youths to acquire the necessary training in business that would enable them to gain promotions promptly. He said that if he had not happened to be put into a job in the insurance company he worked for, where he had an opportunity to learn the evaluation and decision-making processes from top executives, he never would have succeeded in business himself.

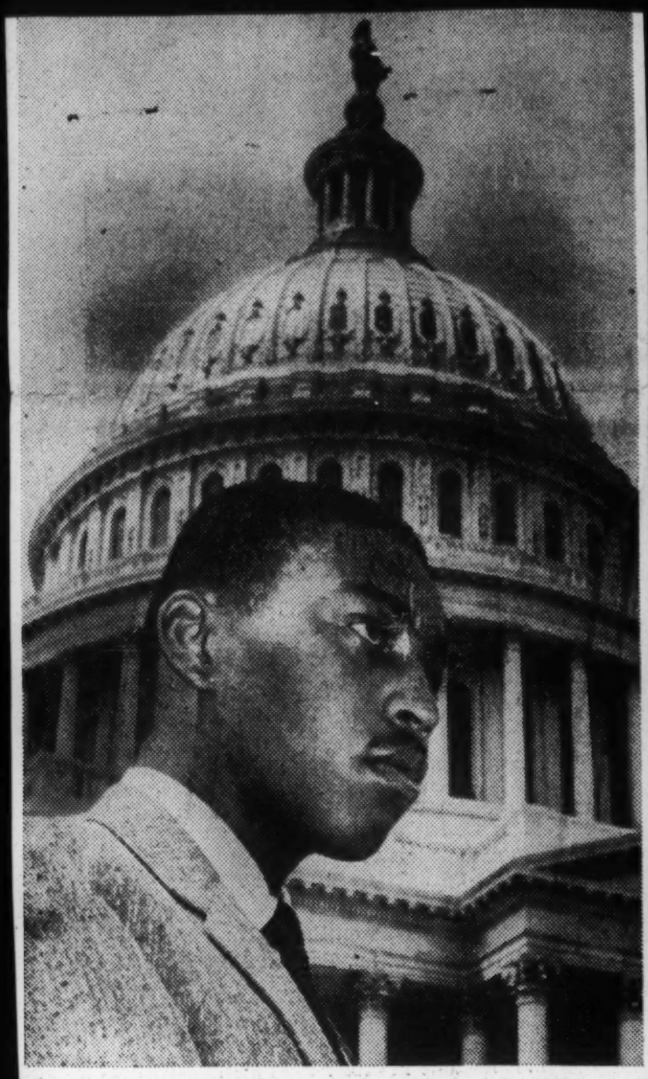
"This is the great void in Negro business life. What Negroes lack is an insight into how business operates, and experience and knowledge in how to deal with day to day problems. If I had not been able to sit in watching decisions being made and ask the men why they were doing things the way they did, I would never have learned how to do it. This must become a responsibility of leadership, to offer this kind of training opportunity to young Negro men."

This is his advice to young people:

"The United States Information Service did a movie on our company and they asked me the secret of my success. I said that if I have a secret it is that you set small goals and try to achieve them. Then after you achieve the first goal, you set another one within range of attainment and you try for that. You can't possibly see to the end all at once. The important thing is that you are making progress.

"I think the way people feel about my magazine is that perhaps they never will achieve as much as some of the people we depict, but this inspires them to do a little bit better than they are doing. And this is all I think any of us can hope for. As I go around the world, I find nobody has things quite the way he wants them."

TOMORROW: Three bright Negro college students discuss race problems in an uninhibited interview. One has a surprising ambition. The final article of the series.



Howard University student Vernon S. Gill

Bold ideas, even the Presidency

TEN NEGROES

5-10-63

THIS IS THE LAST ARTICLE of the 10-part series, "Ten Negroes," by the Herald Tribune's national correspondent Robert S. Bird, on Negroes' views of white America.

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

A Negro President of the United States within, say, a quarter of a century?

You are not likely to hear this arresting idea dropped casually into a conversation unless you are talking with a person who is young enough to feel unshackled by the past and bold enough to see a different vision of the future.

In short, a bold Negro youth. One well enough organized in mind and personality to have thought the notion through. A lad such as Vernon S. Gill.

In my dozens of interviews with Negroes in several parts of the country, not one of them ever broached to me the idea of a Negro President of the United States. But when I mentioned to several Negro men of affairs that young Mr. Gill has proposed the possiblity to me they did a double take, as if the thought had never occurred to them.

Then a couple of them were willing to consider the idea seriously, and to analyze it a bit.

Mr. Gill is a senior at Howard University, the country's biggest predominantly Negro university, in Washington, D. C., and is president of the student council in the college of liberal arts.

He is not only an exceptional scholar but a thoroughly healthy youngster, able to talk seriously or laugh uproariously to suit the occasion. And when you mention romance he whoops in most unscholarly fashion, for he says that's for him—and he's unemcumbered at the moment.

I had arranged to talk at length with several bright

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A PERSONAL APPRAISAL BY ROBERT S. BIRD
His Own Views on "10 Negroes" in Sunday's Herald Tribune

TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

students on the Howard campus on this particular day, and Mr. Gill showed up ahead of time. So we began the interview, which I had warned him would be somewhat searching of his thoughts.

He started off on a high, didactic plane, not so much answering my questions as delivering a classroom lecture on The Negro Problem with big, glossy words and everything but chalk, blackboard and pointer.

I heard him out for a while, deadpan, and soon he realized he was talking to a dead receiver. Then he apologized for "spouting off words," and we got down to what Vernon S. Gill really thinks.

We had covered quite a lot of ground when I got around to asking him what he saw for the future, and what inspired him to go ahead. He had already told me he wanted to study law and become a constitutional lawyer, and to engage in politics. All this was of interest because many, many Negro youths in Washington, ones who have come from deplorably poor homes and have been unable to take hold in school, are ending up as school drop-outs in a state of dangerous despair. This lad had none of that whatever—quite the opposite.

"I intend to go to law school in September, and then to go into the Army for a number of years—into military law, I hope—and after coming out of the Army to engage in politics and law," he explained.

"Now I think what inspires me at present is this—I believe that a person who does a job well, who seems at ease and cool while doing it, is an inspiring person. For example, the Kennedy brothers inspire me. And I believe in the utlimate worth of the individual and his abilities to use his whole potential—which I don't feel I have been doing."

A Secret Thought?

Mr. Gill was getting down now to, well, perhaps a secret thought.

"I don't expect that everything I envision will work out well, but I think there is a possibility from my own circumstances, and from my own abilities, to succeed even in national politics, for example," he said.

He looked at me with a level gaze and continued:

"Anyone who wants to be President, or wants to be in Congress, regardless of race, creed or color, is looked on with some suspicion as being sort of way up the clouds somewhere. But I do think this is a possibility."

He stopped to let the purport of this sink in. I was flabbergasted but I didn't blink an eye. You don't rule out, I inquired, the possibility of being President of the United States?

"President or Vice-President, no, I wouldln't exclude that. Seriously, I wouldn't. As ridiculous as it sounds, everybody wants their son to be President. I wouldn't discount that as a possibility for me. And I have said that to people. Some of them have thought I was sensible about it, and some have thought I was just being the son of a father whose ambition was to have his son become President."

So here was a young, bright, forward-looking, healthy Negro lad dreaming what used to be the American dream for any boy who thought himself lucky to be born in the United States of America. And not just dreaming it but thinking it out rationally. You don't hear white boys talking like this very often in these times.

I asked him what worries or fears might be lurking in the back of his mind about the future?

"The only fears I have are those of happenstance," he said, using one of those chromium-plated words on me. "Things might not go exactly as I envision them. Nothing will go exactly as you envision it, that's certain. But I want to get into a comfortable, rising groove in life and to be able to meet the situations as they come, and then move on to the next situation.

"I think any young person has a certain amount of fear about the instability of the future. But any particular fears, such as being run over by a car or that I might get defeated in a great election, or might have financial problems—those things don't disturb me."

Caucasian and Negroid

I asked him if he bumps up against discrimination [illegible]

Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY—Students Guy Draper, Jean Wheeler and Vernon Gill cross the lawn at Howard University in Washington. Gill, president of the student council of the college of liberal arts there, wants to enter national politics, and does not exclude the possibility that he could become President of the United States.

sent a cross-section of Negro youth, but a rather special group who undoubtedly will be heard from in the future.

For the next couple of hours all of us together canvassed a variety of questions dealing with the race situation. Such aspects as James Baldwin's anguished writings, President Kennedy's handling of race problems, the Black Muslims, intermarriage, the mood of Howard University students, and the like.

The others who participated were Miss Jean C. Wheeler, of Detroit, a liberal arts junior, majoring in chemistry with a full A average; Irvin Reid, of Charleston, S. C., a senior majoring in psychology, and A. Guy Draper, of Beverly Hills, Calif., a pre-law junior.

To hear these youngsters tell about the campus mood, this big university, with the bulk of its 7,000 students Negroes and with about 1,000 foreign students, is not especially caught up in the same turbulence of Negro student activity that is going on in the Negro colleges in the Deep South. Most of the Howard students were not—these four agreed—in a frame of mind to go out demonstrating. The majority are immersed in the university life but not in overt racial activity.

On President Kennedy

But these students follow developments in the news closely, and they had opinions on all subjects. Concerning President Kennedy, Mr. Reid gave the view that "over all, I don't see so much of a handling of the race problems by him as we were led to believe there would be during the campaign."

"I will have to agree with that," Mr. Draper said. "I think his recent actions have been nothing but political moves.

"It seems to me that what he said during the campaign, and many of the planks in the Democratic platform implied, that this race thing would be something that the Administration would get in and deal with. He has just backed away completely."

Mr. Gill disagreed. He said that while the President has backed away on occasion, he thought some of his stands were "more forthright than many Presidents." Miss Wheeler's opinion was that the President had come up against the hard realities and "he may yet demonstrate forcefulness."

After considerable argument on the matter, Mr. Reid summed it up with this observation:

"What we do agree on is this—considering that conditions are propitious and taking into account the efforts of [illegible]

militant nature of the movement comes about. They look on the white man as the enemy. Here they have a group of susceptible Negroes who now find themselves together. They have someone to lean on now, and the white man is the enemy."

"I often wonder," interjected Miss Wheeler, "whether this is a destructive force or even whether it is a self-destructive force. I don't have enough information about it to make a decision, but it seems to me that there's a growinng dichotomy between Negro people—and the movement is not dying down.

"The dichotomy is between the Muslims and the Negroes who consider themselves intellectuals. They don't want to be bothered with this because they think it sounds so irrational. But these people, the intellectuals who reject the Muslims, will not say that any motion is good, any activity which makes a difference is better than sitting around praying or waiting for legal action to be effected.

"I don't know whether Elijah and Malcolm X have so much power over the people that they can get them to do things which would be to the disadvantage of the whole group. But they do get gleams in the eye, and a lot of these people have been in prison. And they are the kind of people who feel that if you hurt me, I'll hurt you."

Mr. Draper likened them to the Communists in many ways.

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Intermarriage

I asked about the feeling on the campus about intermarriage with white persons. Mr. Draper took the ball on this.

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Caucasian and Negroid

I asked him if he bumps up against discriminatory situations in daily life which upset him or throw him off balance.

"There are occasions," he said. "It makes me think of what James Baldwin once said, that among the white population the suicide rate is high, and that once the Negro becomes free of discrimination and things caused by people around him—once he knows that he's not succeeding because of his own personal inadequacies rather than because of other people or discrimination—then the Negro suicide rate will go up, too.

"So when I find myself in one of these situations—and they don't happen often, particularly to me—my first reaction is to try to assay first if it was because of circumstances that the predicament occurred or whether my own inadequacy caused it or contributed to it.

"I think the Negro has a special problem in trying to assay how much of his own inabilities are involved in a situation. There is less of a problem of fault-finding with the Caucasian than with the Negro. Maybe we are cheating ourselves in this."

I asked him if he usually refers to whites as Caucasians.

"Sometimes, yes," he explained. "I think most people regardless of color use 'white' most of the time but personally I sometimes refer to the Caucasian race, and I refer to myself as Negroid. Often when I fill out a form I put down Negroid because that's the true racial designation. I wasn't saying Caucasian just because I'm talking with you. It's normal with me. It's the proper thing to do."

Now the other students were turning up to join us around our interviewing table in a small building on the Howard campus. None of them was exactly typical of the Howard student body. These were all on the exceptional side, intellectually and culturally, and they do not represent a cross-section of Negro youth, but a rather special group who undoubtedly will be heard from in the future.

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"What we do agree on is this—considering that conditions are propitious and taking into account the efforts of the civil rights movement, he has not kept up with what could have been expected of him, knowing his dynamic personality."

The Black Muslims

It was Miss Wheeler, an extremely bright talker, who began the discussion on the Black Muslims. She said:

"A good friend of mine who is a philosophy major has taken me to the mosque with him and I found their Black Muslim arguments to be very forceful. They really hit me. They use information that you can't deny.

"One of the things they say is that the white man has systematically destroyed the Negro, and they give examples, and good examples, too. For me, it's a matter you have of reconciling the uncomfortable feeling you have about the Black Muslims. It's my belief that they're worthwhile because they have given a great number of Negroes something to do with their time, something that makes them feel substantial and important.

"There's a fellow selling newspapers on the corner near me, and he says at regular intervals it makes him feel good to go to the mosque and see the ladies with their white robes and all so clean and proud of themselves, and the men saluting one another.

"I imagine the most impressive thing about it is that it has given substantiality to a group of people who formerly were shiftless and unimpressive."

"She's hit on the key thing," Mr. Draper said. "They take a group of people who have no meaning in their lives, who have had very hard lives, who come from the depths of dejection, and the Black Muslims give them something to live for. The Muslims give new meaning to these people and their lives.

"And then the next thing they do is they project their image of the white man. He is the enemy. So this is how the militant nature of the movement comes about. They look on the white man as the enemy. Here they have a group of susceptible Negroes who now find themselves together. They have someone to lean on now, and the white man is the enemy."

"I often wonder," interjected Miss Wheeler, "whether this is a destructive force or even whether it is a self-destructive force. I don't have enough information about it to make a decision, but it seems to me that there's a growinng dichotomy between Negro people—and the movement is not dying down.

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"But I think once the cause that leads to the decision is determined as being all right, the intermarriage is accepted. Even if the reason for the marriage is only symbolic, it's accepted.

"I think that for the Negro college person, he or she is looking for a particular type of person to marry. And we've reached the point where we have strong convictions on that, and race doesn't matter. What matters is their general personality, and interests. The average American college student is looking for an individual, strong-willed and strong-minded, and when he finds that individual he makes the decision. If the person is a member of another race, he may think twice, and then go ahead."

Some time after my discussions with these students, and Mr. Gill's surprising confession of an ambition to try for the very summit in American politics, I was in Chicago. And I harked back to this occasion.

While interviewing John H. Johnson, publisher of Ebony, a leading magazine for Negroes, I told him about Mr. Gill's plan to enter politics and perhaps become President of the United States. The publisher listened attentively. After all, he had risen from relief status to millionaire before he was 45. He did a quick mental computation.

"That would be 25 years from now," he said. "I think he will not be President, but I think he could be Vice-President of the United States. Yet I would want him to think he could be President. By shooting for the goal of President he may become one day Vice-President. We always have to set our goals a little higher than we are likely to achieve.

"I would not want to discourage this young man. I think being specific, confining it to to a period of 20 to 25 years, we could quite confidently assume that a Negro could be Vice-President of the United States."

A Judge's Thoughts

In the same city I asked Judge James B. Parsons, of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, what he thought of Mr. Gill's views. He is a man who studied law and went into politics and rolled up a vote of 1,127,000 in Cook County when he ran for Judge of Superior Court and won a few years ago.

"His thinking reflects a projection which is a responsible one," Judge Parsons said thoughtfully, "in that it recognizes change as it is going on. This is exceedingly difficult for persons who are not part of the change or those who are resistant to it.

"It's difficult to realize today that infants who are being born now may have the opportunity to live for upward of 150 years, or that children born to our children 25 years from now may live to 200 years of age.

"Change is a factor which we resist, and yet it is the most potent, most volatile factor in the entire American scene. Everything must be seen in the light of change and in the speed with which change is taking place."

This sense of change, mounting in speed and power, is felt all through the Negro world today. Its volatile potency may be working for a fine Negro boy who wants to be President of the United States, as it is for all his people.

SUNDAY, MAY 12, 1963

TEN NEGROES:

"It never occurred to me until I was deep in the interviewing of Negroes for the series that a preconception was hampering my understanding, for there is in truth only one kind of American."

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

Negroes say that it has always been hard for them to communicate their thoughts and feelings to white Americans, and that the fault has been mostly on the white side.

Not only has the white population been generally inattentive to Negro efforts to be heard and understood, they say, but even when the whites have tried to listen they have been impeded by an unreal image of the Negro.

The Negroes say it has been this image which the white people have heard speaking rather than the real Negro. And they contend that this artificial, ideological notion of the Negro, whatever its variations, has been deeply embedded in white American culture since slavery days. And that essentially it is a slavery image of the Negro.

All of this was impressed on me by Negroes during my earliest interviews for the series of articles on Negro thinking and feeling which I wrote under the title, "Ten Negroes," for publication in the Herald Tribune in ten installments between April 30 and May 10.

In the deep and enlightening experience I underwent during months of interviewing dozens of Negroes in many fields and in different parts of the country I became fully convinced of the truth of this Negro viewpoint, though not necessarily of all their other viewpoints, which are very diverse indeed.

A THREAT of boycott and segregationist retaliation yesterday took some of the gloss from the shaky peace engineered in Birmingham between business men and Negro leaders. There may be trouble ahead. For a report from the scene, read Charles Portis' story, on page 14.

Though I had spent much time in the last eight years on assignments involving desegregation conflicts, and had watched with sympathy the Negro struggle for civil rights and equality in riot-torn places in the Deep South and here in New York City, I learned that my own "hearing" of the Negro was being obstructed.

Take one seemingly simple but subtle point—their status as American citizens.

I had never doubted that the Negroes were in theory full American citizens in every respect and legally entitled to all their civil rights. I knew full well that they were being systematically impeded by white groups and institutions in attaining these rights, and privately I deplored that.

But I felt more or less unthinkingly that they were a separate group of Americans, one which was in a slow, sure process of winning full acceptance and participation.

It never occurred to me until I was deep in the interviewing of Negroes for the series that a preconception was hampering my understanding, for there is in truth only one kind of American. That is a *full American*, entitled to all rights, privileges and equal enjoyment of opportunities, and all the rest, without having to *earn* these and without having to *prove* himself.

Unless, perhaps, he is a convicted criminal.

Then the sense of outrage which the Negroes feel today dawned on me. The outrage of being required, seemingly

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TEN NEGROES

(Continued from page one)

forever, to *earn* their way to full enjoyment of their rights as Americans.

Now this becomes a hard point to develop clearly in words here. It's like talking about one's humility. The humility vanishes when you explain it and the words end up seeming merely pompous. Still, in this case the effort seems worth the risk.

I came to look on Negroes for the first time as just plain Americans like myself and like everybody else whose forebears came to these shores from some foreign land. They now seemed to be no different except as we all are different as individuals. The illumination which had dawned on me neutralized in my mind in a radical way the preconceptions and loaded overtones which looking on the Negro color had formerly cued off in my mind.

Like a young schoolboy who half believes an overheard cliche that all blondes are dizzy and unreliable but grows up to find that is pure nonsense, I came to see that Negroes are all kinds of Americans. Poor Americans and rich ones. Boring and fascinating Americans. Sloppy and fastidious Americans. Mean and courteous Americans—just like the rest of "us."

Further insights came to me when the articles began to appear in the newspaper and an avalanche of mail descended on me. Much of it was praise from Negroes and whites, but that is irrelevent here. More to the point is the fact that much criticism of the series came from Negroes.

Some told me with great annoyance that they knew all about the things "my" Negroes had revealed but the articles had said nothing whatever about what they, the letter writers felt.

Black nationalists condemned my choosing certain moderate viewpoints to be aired, and some moderates said I had overloaded the series with the extremist Black Muslim philosophy. A couple of important Negroes objected personally to having been left out.

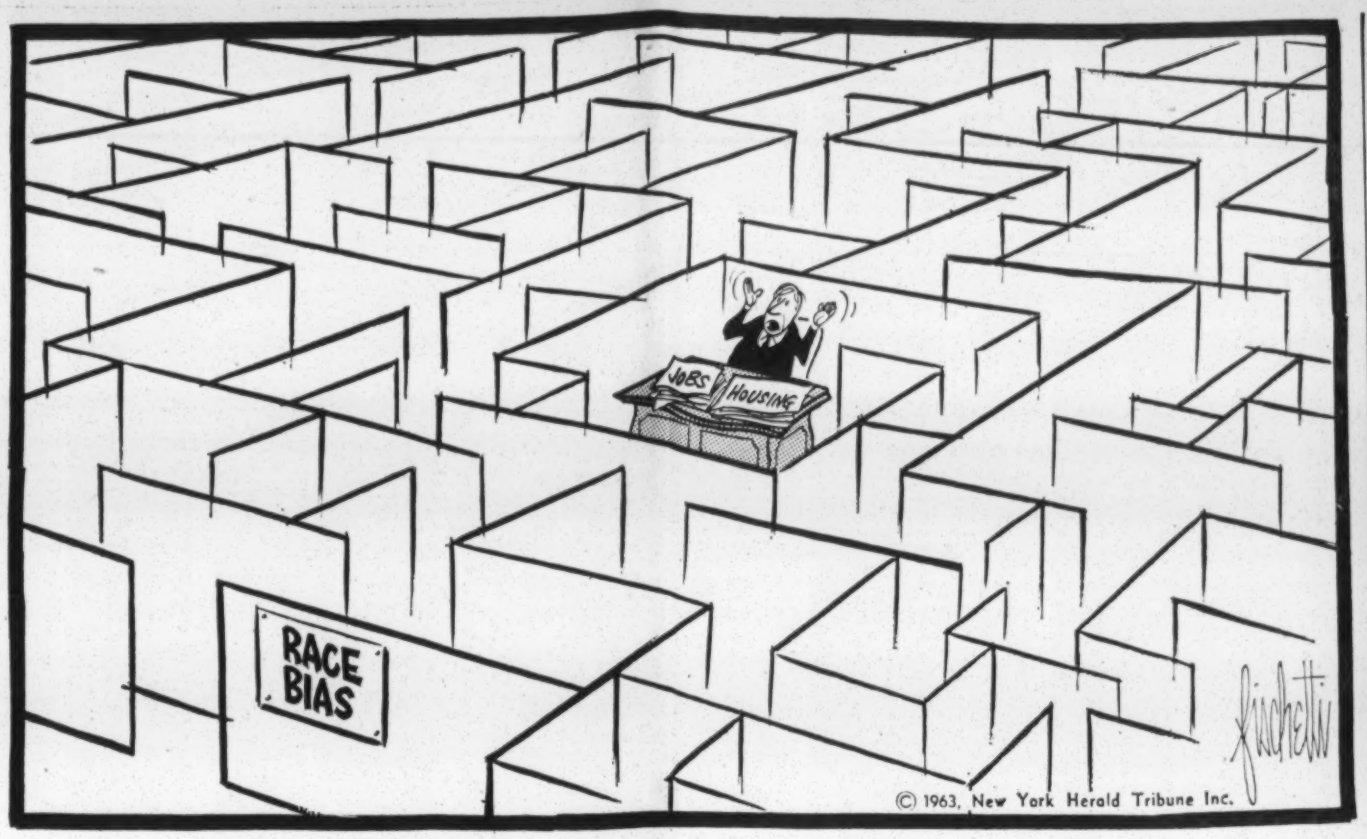
I began to see—indeed, feel—what numbers of Negroes had tried to tell me during the interviewing, that there are many Negro viewpoints and a great deal of conflict among the Negroes themselves over their diverse viewpoints.

An Angry Woman

All this criticism proved one thing to me, that the series had communicated something at least—for these Negro critics were certainly communicating to this white man in their angry letters.

One of the bitterest, angriest and most contemptuous letters—and one of the most literate—came from a woman. I telephoned her and asked her permission to use it with her name. In the nicest way, she agreed.

I believe her letter makes a good point, and one missing from the series, and that it is a fine example of a Negro person communicating fully to the white side. So I reproduce it in full here:



"We wouldn't THINK of using dogs against Negroes up North!"

brief about herself that I could use with her letter. She said that she is 25, was born in the South but lived later in Ohio, became a nurse and worked as one in New York, and now is employed by a pharmaceutical company.

For the sake of the interest—and criticism—shown in the mail response over how I put the series together starting from cold, here is the rundown:

The assignment was to do ten articles on the race decided that I ought to try to make my interviews really deep, extending over, say, three hours or so. And to record them on tape.

I fell far short of the 100 interviews but most of those I did do went pretty close into three hours and some much longer.

My choice of those selected for the individual articles was wholly arbitrary. Many Negroes who are important on the American scene I never approached, and never intended to—and for reasons having nothing whatever to do with my estimate of their worth, influence or anything reflecting on them.

They have their job to do and I have mine and I didn't think they fitted into the ten-article format as well as certain others, including a couple of altogether unknown persons.

I decided that the leaders of the two opposite extreme movements most spectacularly active on the American scene ought to be represented. But I didn't think the series needed other highly influential organization leaders. I mean people like Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, Whitney Young jr., head of the Urban League, Jim Farmer, of CORE; A. Philip Randolph, the Negro labor statesman, and many others equally active in Negro affairs. Or even Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

In this retrospective examination of the series I think reference ought to be made, however, to the fact that the popular reception among the Negro masses of the Black Muslim denunciation of white oppression on the one side and the successes of the non-violence demonstrations in the South on the other side have tended to make an old-line civil-rights organization such as the NAACP "harder" and more extreme in its public statements.

A Hardening

The NAACP some months ago got in a hassle with white "liberals" in the labor movement, accusing the white liberals of job discrimination. On top of this, Rep. Powell, who has gone extremist in the anti-white direction with a vengeance, jumped on the Negro NAACP leadership, calling

matory" but that they have no understanding whatever that these are news articles about problems which are daily occurrences with Negroes.

"We must portray what the Negroes feel, and in so doing we may be accused of exciting or inflaming the people, our readers," he said.

"I don't think the average white person has had the contact with Negroes that we must have in this country sooner or later," he added. "The question is one of communication, if we are really going to solve the problem. White people know nothing about it, and they really can't feel it. It's difficult to try to explain to them what we feel and what the Negro would like for them to understand.

"I know a number of executives who rarely come in contact with any Negro except their chauffeur or maid, and they more or less put all Negroes in the same category.

"I can go to some affair," he continued, "as John Sengstacke, the publisher of The Defender, and that's one thing. But walking in as a Negro, that's something else again. I'm treated differently, then. And this is the thing we're trying to correct.

"Wherever we go we want to go on the basis that we are qualified to meet the standards rather than on the basis of being a Negro or white. This is the difference we are trying to get over to the white people. That plus the fact that there are differences in people, and you can't put everybody in one classification just because they are colored."

At the very outset of my researches I went to Clarence B. Jones, general counsel of the Gandhi Society, a legal aid organization headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King jr., for orientation. He was immensely communicative in the best sense of the word, and it was he who discussed the white man's image of the Negro with me for the first time.

"It comes as a surprise, the intensity of James Baldwin's writings," he said, "because the white population has not known the Negro—has not known him in any way except in the way he has wanted to know the Negro.

"I would assume that if you have created an entire structure of how another individual is supposed to react and supposed to be, and you operate within the framework of that, it comes as a great shock to find that the image you have created is only an illusion, and does not correspond in any way with the actual factors."

"Whites have wanted to understand the Negro as someone who was content, so long as you treated him occasionally in a nice way and so long as you set aside a place for him so he would be a good and faithful person, and a good friend," he continued.

"The white man has simply heard himself for many

All this criticism proved one thing to me, that the series had communicated something at least—for these Negro critics were certainly communicating to this white man in their angry letters.

One of the bitterest, angriest and most contemptuous letters—and one of the most literate—came from a woman. I telephoned her and asked her permission to use it with her name. In the nicest way, she agreed.

I believe her letter makes a good point, and one missing from the series, and that it is a fine example of a Negro person communicating fully to the white side. So I reproduce it in full here:

Herald Tribune photo by TERENCE McCARTEN

Miss Melba Tolliver, who wrote the letter.

"Dear Mr. Bird:

"What happened? Did you find the lake of Negro opinion too chilly for the nice long swim you intended? You certainly dived in with all your might with the lead-off article on the Black Muslims. Then, as your series on the 'Ten Negroes' progressed, it seemed as if you decided to get out of that cold river of controversy as rapidly as you had dived in.

"What happened? Weren't you able to find any interviewees who could or would give you the real reasons for the bitterness, disenchantment, and despair of the Negro in America? Were you unable, in all your travel and investigation, to find just one Negro who could or would tell you what it's like to be an American Negro?

"I cannot believe that you could not find one Negro who could tell you what it's like to walk down the street in a predominately white community with all of the stares and whispering. I cannot believe that you could not find one Negro who could tell you of all the little things that happen to him every day of his life on his way to work or school. All of the small things that are a prelude to his work or school day. The things that he accepts, but not quite. The multitude of his 'small' things that sink into his unconscious self, but display themselves in his early morning scowl and his pre-coffee grumpiness. The 'minor' things that cause his white co-workers to wonder why Miss or Mr. Negro is so 'darned evil.'

"Mr. Bird, I would rather believe in the things stated in the United States Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 than believe that you could not find just *one* American Negro who could shed some real light on what it's like to be a Negro in the United States.

"For the past week I, and others like me, have been waiting patiently to see one white person, through a series of profiles on ten Negroes, enlighten other members of his race on the reasons why the Negro feels and acts the way he does. I, and others like me, have been sorely disappointed. Negroes have not been disappointed in the same way as whites have been. We have not been expecting you to tell us things that we did not know, for we are intimately knowledgeable about the things you wrote and did not write, as well as the most minute goings-on in the lives of most white people. Not, in the case of the latter, because we want to but because we have had no other choice.

An Accusation

"Yet, in all this time no one has wanted or tried to know anything about us. No one cares when they run those beautiful shampoo commercials that we have kinky hair, most of it black with no hopes of finding out 'whether blondes have more fun.' No one cares if our hands never become 'soft and white' no matter how many jars and bottles of 'Brand X' we use.

"I won't waste the time, Mr. Bird, to go on with this little story because the things I have just written about are only 1/100,000,000,000 of the many things that go into the making of a bitter, disenchanted, and despairing Negro.

"The invisible man that no one knows or cares about. The invisible man that the white world wishes would completely disappear and solve the 'American Dilemma."

"But we're not going anywhere, you know. We're here to stay. That's why I, and so many others, are disappointed, Mr. Bird. Because you had the opportunity to shed some light on America's 'dark problem' and you failed, you failed miserably.

"As we say 'uptown,' Mr. Bird, why didn't you 'come on down front and tell it like it really is?'

"Cordially,
(Signed) MELBA TOLLIVER."

"P. S. Miss Calloway wasn't too much help either when she said 'she forgot she was a Negro.' The majority of us are not seeking to forget, but rather a little remembrance on the part of white Americans!"

I asked Miss Tolliver if she would tell me something

My choice of those selected for the individual articles was wholly arbitrary. Many Negroes who are important on the American scene I never approached, and never intended to—and for reasons having nothing whatever to do with my estimate of their worth, influence or anything reflecting on them.

They have their job to do and I have mine and I didn't think they fitted into the ten-article format as well as certain others, including a couple of altogether unknown persons.

I decided that the leaders of the two opposite extreme movements most spectacularly active on the American scene ought to be represented. But I didn't think the series needed other highly influential organization leaders. I mean people like Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, Whitney Young jr., head of the Urban League, Jim Farmer, of CORE; A. Philip Randolph, the Negro labor statesman, and many others equally active in Negro affairs. Or even Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

In this retrospective examination of the series I think reference ought to be made, however, to the fact that the popular reception among the Negro masses of the Black Muslim denunciation of white oppression on the one side and the successes of the non-violence demonstrations in the South on the other side have tended to make an old-line civil-rights organization such as the NAACP "harder" and more extreme in its public statements.

A Hardening

The NAACP some months ago got in a hassle with white "liberals" in the labor movement, accusing the white liberals of job discrimination. On top of this, Rep. Powell, who has gone extremist in the anti-white direction with a vengeance, jumped on the Negro NAACP leadership, calling for ouster of the whites in leadership positions.

None of that seemed of interest to the series, especially since these persons have well aired their views in the news reports, and there is every indication they will be continuing to do so in the future.

In the case of the NAACP, this is not meant to diminish in any way the lustrous achievements of that organization over the years, achievements which are continuing at an accelerated pace into the present, in advancing Negro rights.

Federal Judge James B. Parsons, of the United District Court of Northern Illinois, told me in Chicago that the massive accumulation of NAACP briefs over the years had helped to build up much of the civil-rights laws of this nation.

Judge Parsons is one example of many Negroes whom I did approach for interviews, and who patiently gave me of their valuable time and who were not, in the end, profiled in the series. This was not for any lack whatever in the thoughts and feelings they communicated to me, but because of reasons of "fit" in the series, factors which lay altogether outside the content of their interviews.

Judge Parsons is one of those Negroes who believes that much progress is being made in race relations.

"There is no question," he told me, "that the Mississippi of this year is ten years in advance, so to speak, of the Mississippi of a year ago."

At another point he said: "I think that Negro novelist James Baldwin's point of view is very good. I think his view is that it's exceedingly difficult for you to become acquainted with what's really going on in this Negro-America relationship. One of the reasons it's difficult for you—thinking of you in terms of the 'White Man,' if there is a 'White Man'—is that it is a matter of tradition for the whites to think in terms of 'The Negro.' And there is no 'The Negro.' There are many 'Negroes.'

"You can't learn to communicate with Negroes academically. You can't sit around a desk and read books and learn how to do it. You have to get out and do it. And Negroes can't learn to communicate with white people across racial barriers. They have to get across the barriers and start living and working and thinking together and their communication becomes common.

Another man who leveled with me in a genuine effort to communicate was John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Daily Defender and affiliated Negro newspapers, and one of the more active Negro figures in Chicago.

Answering accusations which are often made against situation, each focalized around a particular Negro person who would speak his views in his own words. I decided that for each of the ten persons profiled in the series I ought to talk to ten others—a hundred altogether. I also the Negro press for being overly sensational, he said that white people "see headlines that they think are inflam-

The Writer

ROBERT S. BIRD
Our National Correspondent

Contrary to the popular impression of a professional journalist, Robert S. Bird is a slow man coming to grips with the typewriter. After spending 35 of his 57 years in this business, he has almost as many awards as grey hairs and he likes to worry out all the aspects of every problem before he sits down to write.

He's the kind of man in unrimmed glasses and neatly pressed suit who sometimes seems to melt into the scenery and not be there at all, but he can take his middling height and weight and Amesbury, Mass., accent and plant himself in front of a situation and not budge for all the officials in a bureaucracy.

Because he often carries a tape-recorder with him, he has been mistaken for an FBI official. He is not.

He is a reporter who started as a boy and kept going through crime reports, fire stories, political crises and international incidents to become one of the top men in his profession today. When he is at home—and he has been travelling constantly for the past five months to work on "Ten Negroes"—he lives in Greenwich Village with his wife, the former Hester Faison. His son, Robert jr., is a reporter for another newspaper. This week, Mr. Bird will be taking some time off to see them both.

and they more or less put

"I can go to some affair," he continued, "as John Sengstacke, the publisher of The Defender, and that's one thing. But walking in as a Negro, that's something else again. I'm treated differently, then. And this is the thing we're trying to correct.

"Wherever we go we want to go on the basis that we are qualified to meet the standards rather than on the basis of being a Negro or white. This is the difference we are trying to get over to the white people. That plus the fact that there are differences in people, and you can't put everybody in one classification just because they are colored."

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"Whites have wanted to understand the Negro as someone who was content, so long as you treated him occasionally in a nice way and so long as you set aside a place for him so he would be a good and faithful person, and a good friend," he continued.

"The white man has simply heard himself for many years—his own self talking. He has not let the Negro speak."

There was Dr. William Stuart Nelson, vice-president of Howard University, who traced for me, among many other aspects of race, the development in American culture from the slavery days of the image of inferiority which permeates white thought about the Negro this very day.

And there were many other Negro figures in different walks of life who patiently explained their inner thoughts to me on many aspects of the racial subject.

The conclusions I drew from all these interviews were clear enough to me at the end.

First and foremost, the Negroes want their rights without any further stalling. They are in no position yet to force a quick resolution of the struggle for their rights, but they no longer will accept the "rightness" of the gradualist approach.

An Attitude

And they want more than their rights, they want equality and freedom. These goals are not easy to spell out in precise definitions, but the people who have bespoken in their thoughts have tried to explain in their various ways what they mean.

If they, or Negroes in general, have failed to communicate what they mean by freedom and equality in America today this does not matter. They still want these enjoyments. Perhaps one way for a white to understand what they mean is to match in his own mind every freedom and opportunity for equality which he enjoys with the same for any Negro who is similarly endowed with intelligence, ability and other traits.

All this leads me to another conviction, that the push by the Negroes of America for these objectives is harder than it ever was, it will get even harder in the future, and the more the Negro gains in this intensifying struggle the more he will demand. And there will be no end to it until "equality" is achieved. Then skin color will carry no ideological meaning whatever.

The drive for advancement will become increasingly spectacular, for the conviction is abroad in the Negro world that white America needs to be shocked and shamed before the world into giving the Negro his rights.

There is, moreover, a buoyant new spirit rippling through much of the Negro world—pride of the black man. This comes in part from the spectacular emergence of the African people into nationhood and the presence in the world councils of the United Nations of their leaders and diplomats. Proud, highly educated, and black as black can be. Black men of kingly self-confidence, standing up straight, tall and level-eyed to the white man.

And partly this pride in race comes also from the yeasty ferment of the Black Muslim philosophy which pervades the entire Negro world. Though it is not converting Negroes in mass numbers yet, it is making them feel mighty proud of their Negro-hood, so to speak.

Along with this, pride of race goes out from the Black Muslim preachers who are holding the attention of masses of Negroes, a denunciation of the white man which is balm to Negro self-esteem.

An Escape Valve

The bulk of Negroes in the great cities of the country are especially happy to see the white man kicked around rhetorically. It is for these Negro people a wonderful escape valve for their long-smouldering resentments. It accounts for the popularity of Malcolm X, the Black Muslim spellbinder who is afraid of nobody and loves to engage in a chilling kind of brinksmanship in his speeches. And for the new extremist fling of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

Most of the Negroes I interviewed believe that there is a possibility—though by no means a probability—of outbreaks of violence among the urban masses in the future. They seem to feel that this will depend upon economic conditions and the degree of frustration which Negroes will be allowed to encounter through discrimination affecting the fundamentals of their life. Fundamentals such as food and shelter, education for their children, hope for the future.

Unemployment is the great danger, and tokenism in employment the big evil of today, most of them say.

Among the Negro leaders and men of affairs, and among large numbers of the non-despairing people, there is a feeling also of an approaching fullness of time for them, a sense of destiny, a feeling that the oppressive restraints are somehow about to give. Hopefully, a feeling that this will come about through a new awareness and show of good will by white America. But otherwise through a breaking of the restraints themselves.

WB ✓

April 25, 1963 ✓

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: A Report on the Civil Rights Advisory Board Meeting
Jackson, Mississippi-Wednesday, April 17, 1963
and
Field Trips to Mississippi and Alabama

I arrived in Jackson, Mississippi, and went directly to the Federal building for the Civil Rights Advisory Committee hearing that was scheduled to begin at 1:30 p. m. The hearing started at 2 o'clock with an introductory statement being made by the presiding Chairman, Mrs. Scutt, in which she pointed out that the hearing had been set in an effort to obtain information that the Advisory Committee wanted to supply to the Civil Rights Commission. She also indicated in her remarks that Mr. Bernhardt had come down from Washington for the hearing because of the special interest of the Commission in Mississippi events.

Twelve witnesses testified to specific acts in which they were involved concerning violation of their constitutional rights. Atty. Netlie, the staff attorney for the Commission, also made a preliminary report at this hearing, the contents of which will be spelled out later in this report.

The first witness to appear before the six members of the Advisory Committee was Mrs. Pigee, who testified to an incident in which a bomb was thrown into a church during the course of one of the mass meetings in Clarksdale, and about intimidation of Iowa students visiting in Mississippi. She was followed by Dr. Aaron Henry, who corroborated some of the remarks that had been made by Mrs. Pigee relative to the intimidation of the four students from Iowa. The joint testimony of Mrs. Pigee and Dr. Henry pointed quite specifically to the fact that the local police had solicitated and paid Negro men to physically attack the students. The main emphasis of Dr. Henry's testimony centered around the fire bomb that was tossed into his home during the time that Congressman Diggs was visiting Clarksdale. Dr. Henry was pointed in denying the suggestion in the local press that the persons that bombed his home on that occasion did not know that Congressman Diggs was present. He indicated that the coming of Congressman Diggs had been announced by the press the day before. A fact that was brought out in Dr. Henry's testimony that has not appeared too prominently in the press, was that there were in fact, four bombs, and not just one. Dr. Henry was insistent upon the Advisory Committee understanding the falsity of the press

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statement that the bomb was harmless, that his home had suffered damages above $1000. He also indicated that there was a very apparent interest on the part of the local officials to play down the incident, pointing out that in less than one-half hour after the assailants were arrested, Congressman Diggs was wired of the arrest in California.

Dr. Henry was followed by Mr. Charles Black of Clarksdale, who testified to the fact that he was personally offered $10 by Mr. Collins, the police chief, to attack the students and also that he had been offered money before in order to persuade him to attack the property of Dr. Henry.

Mr. Black was followed by Robert Moses, who entered testimony as to four shootings with major emphasis on the shooting of James Travis on February 28th. The hearing recessed for five minutes, and was reconvened by the chairman with the reading of a statement of the Advisory Committee that was also released to the press.

During the recess period, I spoke with Mr. Bernhardt, and indicated to him that I had come out to Mississippi as a representative of the Voter Education Project, and that while I did not plan to testify, that I would be delighted to be of any service that I could as one that makes frequent trips into Mississippi, and as one that was present in the car during the Travis shooting. He expressed his appreciation and indicated that if time permitted, I might be called to fill in or corroborate some of the things that Moses had testified to.

After the reading of the statement for the Advisory Committee, Mr. Wallace Davis testified. Mr. Davis is an employee of the City of Jackson as a meter-cap lifter. Mr. Davis testified to an incident in which he and three other persons had been brutally whipped by the sheriff in the registration office on or about February 1st, 1963, in Jackson, Miss.

Mr. Davis was followed by Rev. Tucker, who testified to the much-reported incident in which he was leading a group of citizens from the courthouse when dogs were set upon them.

Rev. Tucker was followed by Rev. Cenney of Ruleville, who testified to the fact that his landlord-employer refused to pay him for field services that he and his family had rendered because he had dared to participate in registration activities.

The Rev. Cenney was followed in testimony by Miss Fannie Lou Haymen

of Boliver County, who testified to the fact that on August 31st, she had led a group of citizens from Ruleville to the county seat to register, and that the bus on which they were riding had been turned around, and they had been harrassed by local authorities. She also testified to the fact that the city had engaged in various efforts to force her to remove her name from the registration book, and that she had been forced off of the land where she worked, and had to seek refuge at some three or four different places.

Miss Irene Johnson followed Miss Haymen, and testified that she had been under constant harrassment because of her registration activities by city officials, including such things as having her water cut off, and having her husband arrested.

Mrs. Johnson was followed by Mr. Bennett of Ruleville, who testified that his home had been shot into, and that the police seemed to have had considerable knowledge of the shooting, and that the knowledge seemed to point to the fact that this attack was based on his interest in voter registration.

Mr. Bennett was followed by Mr. Joe McDonald, a citizen of 73 years in Ruleville, who related incidents of intimidation on the part of the registration board, and the refusal of the city officials to register him for city elections.

By this time the evening had grown late. It was about 5:30. Mrs. Scutt called on Mr. Netlie, the staff attorney, to report to the Advisory Committee on his findings relative to the Jackson Airport. In this connection, Mr. Netlie indicated that an examination of the blueprints, as well as an examination of the physical facilities themselves revealed that the Jackson, Mississippi Jet Airport now under construction, does in fact contain duplicate eating and rest room facilities.

A complete typewritten transcript of this hearing has been arranged for, along with a tape recording. It was felt that a tape recording would be desirable in order to obtain insight into the militancy and the timidity with which this testimony was given. This transcript will be supplied to us by Meta Nicholson, court reporter, 836 North Jefferson, Jackson 2, Mississippi.

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Field Trips to Mississippi and Alabama

On the evening of April 17th, I visited in the home of Dr. John Salter, a professor at Tougaloo College. We talked in detail about the Jackson, Mississippi, boycott and the registration drive. Mr. Salter related to me his conclusion that the boycott of downtown merchants was proving to be more than 60% effective, and gaining momentum with each day. He also suggested that the boycott was serving well to initiate student interest in voter registration. On the same afternoon, a group of some fourteen students had been out in the Jackson community canvassing for voter registration.

The project is very young, and one cannot tell at this point what to expect. I am in contact with Dr. Salter, however, and expect to visit him again soon and obtain more information regarding this registration project.

****

On April 18th, at 10:45, I arrived in Hattisburg, Mississippi, and spent the early part of the day walking around, getting what I considered to be necessary feelings about the community. Hattisburg impresses me as being a city in which a successful registration drive could be conducted. There was not, in my way of thinking, the apparent division between the Negro and white community, nor did there appear to be the usual amount of hostility between the races.

At 2 o'clock Thursday, I made an effort to contact Mrs. Gray, but was unable to see her because she was on a trip to the city of Nashville, Tennessee, on church business. I contacted Miss Woods, the lady that reserves an office in her business for an anticipated registration drive, though there does not appear to be an active drive at the present time. Miss Woods spoke very highly of Mrs. Gray's efforts and abilities in the voter registration field. I look forward to visiting Mrs. Gray on my next trip to Mississippi. I left with Mrs. Gray's daughter, my card, and asked her to please communicate with me as soon as she is back in Hattisburg.

****

I arrived in Mobile, Alabama, ~~Friday~~ Thursday, April ~~20~~ 18th at 10 p. m., and made contact with some former students of mine. I talked with them socially about the city of Mobile, and of what they knew about registration activities in that community. My conclusion was that they had little knowledge, if any, of present activities. I am not sure, however, that these persons would be a good barometer for measuring the effectiveness of registration activities, as I only

talked with four persons.

At 10 o'clock FRIDAY morning, April 19th, I made an effort to see Dr. Goode and learn that he was out of town for the weekend. His office was able to supply me with the address of Mr. Thomas, the editor of the Beacon, the local newspaper. Mr. Thomas is associated with the Mobile County Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting. We spent several hours talking about the history of registration efforts in this community, and while Mr. Thomas is personally associated within the Coordinating Committee, I had the feeling that he was relating to me a farily objective picture of the history of these efforts. The most problematic part of that history seems to stem from a personality conflict between Mr. Leflore and Rev. LOWRY, who is no longer living in the city of Mobile. It was Mr. Thomas' feeling that a coordinated drive can possibly be conducted now including a good cross-section of the Mobile leadership. I proposed to Mr. Thomas that it might be desirable for persons out of Mobile, namely the VEP, to call on the leadership to sit down and map out a drive, rather than for some local organization to do it. It was our joint feeling that there was sufficient organizational jealously and competition to render any drive ineffective if any local organization assumed the responsibility of projecting the program. Mr. Thomas called in Mr. Montgomery, a citizen of long standing interest in voter registration, and presented this proposal to him which was very warmly received as being desirable. Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Thomas joined in preparing a list of what they considered to be the fifteen most influential citizens, supplying me with the names and addresses. We terminated our conference with the understanding that letters would be sent out from the VEP office, and that they would receive copies of these letters, too, so that it would not be felt that they were the promoters of this program.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WBV

May 17, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From : Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field Trip to Macon, Georgia

I arrived in Macon, Georgia, Thursday, May 9th, at 10 a. m., and went to the office of the Bibb County Voter Registration Committee. There I met with Mr. William Randall, the Executive Secretary of the project, and Atty. Jackson, who is acting as the project director, for a period of about three hours.

In the office, there were twelve other individuals who are working in the project. It was interesting to observe that these individuals all appeared to be above the age of 30, and some seemed to be as old as 55 or 60. It was equally interesting to learn that all of these individuals were volunteer workers. I looked at the list of volunteer sheets, and was able to determine that the committee now has an active list of 131 individuals who work in the project without pay.

I asked Mr. Randall to explain the nature of the committee's approach to get people registered. He explained that the Bibb County Committee is making use of five basic approaches, which are:

1. Courthouse workers
2. Block teachers
3. Citizenship classes
4. Canvassing after a study of registration rolls and city directory.
5. Church meetings.

Because all of these methods are fairly standard except the use of church meetings, we shall only discuss this exception.

Church Meetings:

I am informed by Mr. Randall that he and his committee came to recognize that one of the problems of working with ministers was that civic leaders, as a rule, try to take ministers out of the role that they are comfortable in, and fit them into a role that they (civic leaders) think the ministers should play. In this regard, Mr. Randall indicated that their approach is different. They ask the ministers to preach a sermon on religion and citizenship - this he is often willing to do.

Mr. Randall said that in many cases, very little is said. But, that he always follows the minister with a brief speech which he concludes with a request for volunteers to help canvass the immediate community the following week. These meetings have paid off well. I suggested to Mr. Randall that they might investigate the mobile unit plan of registering to see if they can use it.

The Bibb County Committee has registered about 1500 people since March 28th, and the committee expects to register 10,000 by the last of September.

Asked about their problems, I was told that there is at present, only two problematic areas:

1. They are not yest reaching the pool room group.
2. We are not able to reduce our records to separate organizations so that they can be used effectively.

The attached news clipping indicates something of the success of the Macon voter registration campaign.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

The Macon

Maxwell Wins In County Race

MACON NEWS — MAY 2, 1963

Bert Maxwell Jr., was elected a Bibb County commissioner in a special election Wednesday with 8,827 votes to 4,921 for his single opponent, Earl Zibberman Jr.

Maxwell is expected to take office at the next regular meeting of the board of commissioners at 4:30 p.m. next Tuesday, filling a vacancy created by the death March 13 of Commissioner Lawrence J. Brown.

Judge Walter C. Stevens, Bibb ordinary who conducted the election, mailed the certified returns to Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson Jr., shortly after the count was completed Wednesday night, requesting that a commission for the new official be issued if possible before next Tuesday.

Only 13,748 of the county's 45,598 eligible voters went to the polls in the special election. That was just 69 more than 30 per cent of those registered. But the turnout of eligible Negro voters, who went 93.55 per cent for Maxwell and gave him most of his 3,906-vote margin over Zimmerman, was about 44 per cent. It was the white registered voters, only about 26 per cent of whom voted, who pulled down the overall figure.

WB

May 20, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field Trips to Savannah, Georgia, Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Augusta, Georgia.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA:

I arrived in Savannah May 9th at 5:45 p. m., and went to the headquarters of the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters. There, Mr. Hosea Williams, project director, took me through his files in order to explain the nature of his operations. There were ten sets of files that were very orderly prepared, each of which represented a phase of the Crusade's work. One detailed the courthouse activities reflecting the work of some 30 individuals, and another file detailed the PTA and school activities, showing the name of the organization, the president, and days of meetings. Another file detailed the adult citizenship school which outlined the course of instructions as well as the number of classes being conducted. Others were files devoted to ministers, youth, and businessmen, each containing information that would be necessary to work effectively with these segments of the population in a registration drive. There was a file devoted to organizations in the community, another, volunteer workers, and another, transportation. One could not help but get the feeling that he was looking in on an organization of some real political sophistication.

Particularly well kept was the file that contained the list of all of the registered as well as non-registered citizens in Chatham County. As I talked with Mr. Williams, I was able to determine that the First Congressional District of Georgia is well on the way to establishing a sound political organization. There is voter registration activity in every county in the district. In Tatnall County, Mr. Randall is assisted by a Mr. D. J. Norwood, who has obtained from the registrar the privilege of taking registration cards out of the registration office, and into the community and fill them out. (A copy is attached.) Mr. Norwood indicated that in many instances, he registered quite a number of people after church. A real effort is being made to keep this fact out of the news because it is felt that only the registrar's ill health and possible lack of interest has caused him to extend this privilege and with publicity, it might be withdrawn.

On the evening of the 9th, I went with Mr. Williams to Bryan County where we met with a group of about 50 real grass-root farmers. The meeting began about 10 p. m. After the singing of some freedom songs, Mr. Williams delivered a 45 minute address. It was very interesting to observe the skill with which he communicated with the people.

Savannah, Georgia (Cont.)

The speech could only be lacking to that of a backwoods minister as he charged his audience some several times that "God was going to hold them accountable for not doing something to make the world better for the children that were running around in the church." He held his audience spellbound as he told them they were "going to Hell if they did not stand up and be counted", concluding with the idea that "I have been down here to talk with you three or four times - the next time I come, we are going to set up a permanent committee and go to work in voter registration."

After the speech, Mr. Williams presented me and Miss Fannie Neal. Each of us made brief remarks, the essence of which was "You the people of Bryan County are not alone in your struggle, and if you will go ahead, people all over the country will rally to your side." A detailed analysis of the First Congressional District's program is not given here for the reason that just two days before my arrival, Mr. Williams had presented an exhaustive report of the Southeastern Georgia program. That report is now in our files, a copy of which is also attached here.

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA:

On May 10th, I arrived in Orangeburg, South Carolina, about 11 a. m. I met with Dr. Thomas of the South Carolina State College. Dr. Thomas is the chairman of a statewide organization known as the Centennial Committee for Voter Registration. At the organization of this particular Centenial Committee, it was stated that the objective would be to conduct registration campaigns all over the state. The Centennial Committee is coordinated in its structure, and supposedly includes most of the local organizations and such affiliates as the NAACP, SCLC, and SNCC. Dr. Thomas indicated to me that he has been successful in establishing committees in Sumter, Clareton, Charleston, Bamberg, Orangeburg, Lexington, and Richmond counties. It was his contention that these counties are ready to go to work, and need only a minimum amount of financial assistance. He indicated with reference to finances, that as of this date, he had only received $100, and it came from the NAACP for work in Orangeburg. As he talked, I got the feeling that he might be becoming just a bit discouraged by the lack of financial support, occupying a chairmanship where it is assumed that financial assistance exists. I asked about numbers registered, and he indicated that there had been some registration in all of the counties, but that he could only be certain of two. He indicated that some 265 had been registered since April 1st to May 9th. He also indicated that some 1500 people had been registered in Charleston County since the organization had a statewide committee. Dr. Thomas pointed to Orangeburg as being a community of great possibilities and promise, in view of the

Orangeburg, South Carolina (cont)

fact that the registrar's office could process as many as 3000 people per day. He extended to me an invitation to attend a statewide meeting (NAACP) in Manning, South Carolina, on May 18th.

I was not able to see Mr. Robinson, the SNCC representative, in Orangeburg. I was told that he had not been in the city for more than a week.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA:

I arrived in Augusta, Georgia, May 10, 1963, at 5:30 p. m. There I spent about three hours talking with Rev. Postell, Rev. Hamilton, and Father Morris. I talked with these gentlemen concerning the three-week short-term program supported by VEP, and conducted between April 20th and May 4, 1963.

This program was designed mainly to take advantage of the use of mobile units. Rev. Postell said that the public was informed of the unit being in their community by the distribution of hand bills, and that to a limited degree, canvassers were used. He did not feel that the units had been used in a discriminiatory way, but felt that any shortcomings that the program had was in the main problems of an internal nature.

During the operation of the program, about 85 new voters were added to the rolls. It was the joint feeling of the three men with whom I talked that the drive could have been much more successful if the two organizations (Citizens Registration Council and the Citizens Voters League, Inc.) had cooperated together. It was their feelings that the CVL had not, in fact, given any support to the program.

Rev. Postell is still very much involved in the last drive and is still being embarrassed by the fact that there are debts that are still unpaid from the campaign of February 11 to April 1st. When I asked Rev. Postell about these debts, he indicated that there is a sum of $954 still unpaid, and that he has been unable to get the Finance Committee to meet to try to work out a plan for getting the money to pay.

As I talked with the people in Augusta, I got the feeling that this city is in bad shape so far as future work is concerned mainly because these men are not willing to look for shortcomings in what they have done in the past, and try to improve on previous campaigns. The three of them seemed to have lost complete confidence in the people. I feel that I heard much too much of what the people are not doing, or won't do.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

416 West Park Avenue
Savannah, Georgia

TO: Attorney Wiley A. Branton, Project Director, Southern Regional Council, Voter Education Project, Room 2061, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

FROM: Hosea L. Williams, President, Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, First U. S. Congressional District, 416 West Park Avenue, Savannah, Georgia

SUBJECT: A Report on the VEP Activities of the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters.

The First U. S. Congressional District of Georgia's present Voter Education Program began, December 15, 1962 under the auspices of the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters and financed by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

The main objective was to organize effective, active Voter-Education organizations in as many counties as possible, in the First U. S. Congressional District. At the beginning of this program, it was found that only two counties (Chatham & Liberty) had active organized structures. As of April 1, 1963 the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters are claiming seven organized counties (Chatham, Liberty, Tatnall, Wheeler, Emanual, McIntosh and Burke) as efforts financed by the V. E. P. of the Southern Regional Council.

On December 5, 1962, a Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters memorandum entitled "Operating Registration Drives in your County under the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council" were mailed to all contacts (150) in the First U. S. Congressional District *<u>See Attachment #1</u>. At a District meeting, Saturday, December 15, 1963, representatives from fourteen counties (out of 17) were informed of the $4,000.00 grant to the SGCV for the purpose of conducting a Voter Education Project for a four month period. A letter from Attorney Wiley Branton, Project Director of the Southern Regional, Voter Education Project, explaining the terms of the grant was read and explained to the group. All terms expressed in Atty. Branton's letter were accepted. The only controversal stipulations in the letter that caused lengthy discussion were, the limitation of the grant to nine counties and Atty. Branton expressed an opinion that not less than $3,000.00 should be spent in Chatham County. After a lengthly explanation by the district leaders, both terms were accepted by an overwhelming majority.

It was made very clear to each county, the requirements for a county to participate in the grant. (1) There must be a county-wide organized structure (non-partisan) with officers elected in an open county-wide public meeting. It was explained that the objectives of such organizations should be as follows: to get every eligible citizen registered to vote; get all registered voters to vote in every election; to interview all candidates; keep daily records on all public issues, public officials and make records available to the general public; to operate Adult Citizenship Schools for those who want to become first-class citizens; coordinate the political abilities of all individuals and organizations and reframe from partisan politics.

(2) EACH COUNTY MUST SUBMIT TO THE HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE OF THE SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION: TOTAL POPULATION, NON-WHITE POPULATION, WHITE POPULATION, NUMBER NON-WHITES REGISTERED, NUMBER WHITES REGISTERED, NUMBER NON-WHITES OVER 17½ YEARS OF AGE AND NUMBER OF WHITES OVER 17½ YEARS OF AGE, NUMBER OF NON-WHITES ILLITERATE OVER 17½ YEARS OF AGE AND NUMBER OF WHITES ILLITERATE OVER 17½ YEARS OF AGE; NAME OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION; NAME, ADDRESS, PHONE NUMBER AND POSITION OF ALL ELECTED OFFICERS AND A RESUME OF PROPOSED VOTER-EDUCATION PROJECT *SEE ATTACHMENT #2. AT THIS POINT, IT WAS VERY EASY FOR ANYONE TO SEE THE MAIN PROBLEM OF VOTER-REGISTRATION IN COUNTIES OF THE FIRST U. S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF GEORGIA O R G A N I Z A T I O N. MOST COUNTIES TRIED TO JUSTIFY THEIR ORGANIZATION, BUT IN ALL CASES EXCEPT TWO (CHATHAM AND LIBERTY), THE COUNTY ORGANIZATION WAS ONLY THEORETICAL, ON PAPER, OR A ONE-MAN SITUATION. FROM REPORTS OF CHATHAM AND LIBERTY COUNTIES, VOTER--EDUCATION WAS NEEDED AS MUCH OR GREATER THAN VOTER-REGISTRATION. REPORTS FROM ALL COUNTIES, EXCEPT CHATHAM, REVEALED A GREAT NEED FOR VOTER-EDUCATION BY BEING UNABLE TO GIVE VERY LITTLE OR NO STATISTICS. EACH COUNTY WAS INSTRUCTED TO RETURN HOME AND BEGIN ORGANIZING OR COMPLETE ALREADY ESTABLISHED STRUCTURES. THE MEETING WAS CLOSED WITH SEVERAL VOTER-EDUCATION SONGS.

CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS: DECEMBER, 1962, 11,200 NEGROES WERE REGISTERED TO VOTE. MARCH, 1963, 14,000 NEGROES WERE REGISTERED TO VOTE. THE V.E.P. OF CHATHAM COUNTY ACTIVATED AND ACCELERATED THE ALREADY ESTABLISHED STRUCTURES (BUSINESSES, ORGANIZATIONS, SCHOOLS AND P. T. A.'S, CHURCHES AREA AND BLOCKWORKERS, AND THE YOUTH COMMITTEES). A SURVEY OF ALL NEGRO BUSINESSES HAD BEEN MADE. A REGISTER WAS MADE WHICH CONTAINED THE NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NUMBER OF THE OWNER AND MANAGER; SERVICE OFFERED; AND THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES OF EVERY NEGRO BUSINESS IN CHATHAM COUNTY. NO USE WAS MADE OF THIS DATA UNTIL THE VEP BEGAN. SEVERAL PERSONS HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO THIS PROJECT BUT TIME, TRANSPORTATION, TELEPHONE AND OTHER REASONS ALWAYS PREVENTED THEM FROM SURVEYING THE BUSINESSES AND GET THE UN-REGISTERED, REGISTERED. UNDER THE VEP, A WORKER WAS ASSIGNED TO THIS PHASE OF PROGRAM. HE OBTAINED ASSISTANCES, RE-WORKED THE REGISTER, SURVEYED ONE-THIRD OF THE BUSINESS *SEE ATTACHMENT #3 AND WAS ABLE TO GET 204 PERSONS REGISTERED.

IN 1961, A SURVEY OF ALL NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS WAS MADE. A REGISTER CONTAINING THE NAME, ADDRESS, PHONE NUMBER OF THE PRESIDENT OR CHAIRMAN, AND SECRETARY; TYPED F ORGANIZATION, NUMBER OF MEMBERS, NUMBER OF MEETINGS PER MONTH, MEETING DATES, MEETING PLACE AND TIME OF MEETING. THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE COMMITTEE BEFORE THE VEP SUFFERED THE SAME ILL FATE AS THE PREVIOUS ASSIGNMENT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE. UNDER THE VEP, A WORKER RE-WORKED AT LEAST ½ OF THE REGISTERED (DUE TO NEW ORGANIZATIONS, CHANGES IN OFFICERS, ETC.), COMPLETELY SURVEYED 50 ORGANIZATIONS *SEE ATTACHMENT #4 AND REGISTERED 275 PERSONS.

IN 1961, A SURVEY OF ALL NEGRO CHURCHES AND MINISTERS WAS MADE. A REGISTER WAS MADE CONTAINING NAME, DENOMINATION, LOCATION OF ALL CHURCHES AND THE NAME, ADDRESS PHONE, DENOMINATION AND CHURCH OF ALL MINISTERS. THIS WAS ALMOST A USELESS FILE UNTIL THE VEP. A LEADING MINISTER LED THIS PHASE OF OUR PROGRAM. UNDER THE VEP HE WAS ABLE TO GET MANY OF THE CHURCHES TO SET UP ACTIVE SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEES *SEE ATTACHMENT #5. THE POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS IS HIGHLY RECOGNIZED BY THE MINISTERS OF THIS COUNTY, DUE TO THE GOOD-WILL DEVELOPED UNDER THE VEP. THIS COMMITTEE WILL SURVEY ALL CHURCHES AND ATTEMPT TO GET EVERY UN-REGISTERED MEMBER OF ALL CHURCHES, REGISTERED.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAS ALREAD HAD A SCHOOL AND P.T.A. COMMITTEE. THIS COMMITTEE WAS SUPPOSED TO GET ALL STUDENTS OVER 17½ YEARS OF AGE REGISTERED AND ALL MEMBERS ON THE P.T.A.'S OF CHATHAM COUNTY.

DUE TO THE LACK OF FINANCE, THIS COMMITTEE HAD ONLY SECURED INFORMATION ABOUT P.T.A. OFFICERS. UNDER THE VEP, THE SCHOOL AND P.T.A. COMMITTEE WAS ABLE TO ENTERTAIN AND ORGANIZE THE P.T.A. PRESIDENTS, BEGAN SURVEYING AND REGISTERING *SEE ATTACHMENT #6 P.T.A. MEMBERS AND REGISTERED AT LEAST 500 STUDENTS FROM THROUGHOUT THE SCHOOLS.

THE YOUTH COMMITTEE WAS FORMED UNDER THE VEP. REALIZING THE POWER, INTELLIGENCE AND INFLUENCE OF THE YOUTH, THE CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAD TRIED TO DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE YOUTH PROGRAM FOR SOME TIME. UTILIZING THE YOUTH IN "GET OUT THE VOTE" CAMPAIGNS HAS ALWAYS ALLOWED ORGANIZING THE YOUTH COMMITTEE TO SOME EXTENT. BUT AFTER A FEW WEEKS, THE ENTIRE YOUTH PROGRAM WOULD DWINDLE TO A STATE OF INEFFECTIVENESS. UNDER THE VEP, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAS THE LARGEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE YOUTH GROUP IN CHATHAM COUNTY *SEE ATTACHMENT #7. THEY ARE INTEGRATED INTO THE ENTIRE PROGRAM AND NOT ONLY GETTING VERY MUCH NEEDED EXPERIENCE BUT MAKING A VERY WORTHWHILE CONTRIBUTION TO THE OVERALL PROGRAM . ONE OF THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE YOUTH COMMITTEE IS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PENETRATE TO SOME DEGREE THE PUBLIC EDUCATION PROGRAM. THEY ARE SHOWING CITIZENSHIP MOVIES AND SOLICITING WORKERS IN ALL THE HIGH SCHOOLS AND P.T.A.'S. UNDER THE VEP, A WORKER IS MAINTAINED FULL TIME AT THE COURTHOSSE. SHE TAKES THE NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NUMBER OF EVERY NEGRO ENTERING THE COURTHOUSE. SHE ACCERTAINS WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE REGISTERED. EACH CITIZEN FOUND TO BE UN-REGISTERED, IS COACHED AND ENCOURAGED TO REGISTER *SEE ATTACHMENT #8. IF REGISTRANTS ARE REFUSED DUE TO ANY REASON, THE WORKER FINDS THE REASON AND REPORTS ALL POINTS OF VIEW TO HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE FOR CONSIDERATION. THE AREA AND BLOCKWORKERS ARE ABLE TO GIVE CONSOLATION TO PROSPECTIVE REGISTRANTS BY TELLING THEM "DON'T BE AFRAID, A NEGRO WOMAN IS STANDING IN THE COURTHOUSE TO HELP YOU". ANOTHER VERY GOOD PURPOSE THE COURTHOUSE WORKER SERVES IS THAT SHE IS ON THE SCENE AND CAN KEEP THE HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE INFORMED AS TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE PERSONNEL IN THE REGISTRATION OFFICE. MANY TIMES, THE ATTITUDES OF THE REGISTRATION CLERKS ARE THE EFFORTS USED TO INTIMIDATE AND HARASS REGISTRANTS. AT TIMES, THESE ATTITUDES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR UP TO A 50% TURN-DOWN. WHEN THE COURTHOUSE WORKER REPORTS ON HER RECORD THAT THERE WAS A HIGH PERCENT OF TURN-DOWNS DUE TO THE ATTITUDE OF REGISTRATION CLERKS, AN OPEN INVESTIGATION, COUPLED WITH POLITICAL PRESSURE, ALWAYS SEEMS TO TEMPORARILY RELEAVE THE SITUATION.

THE TELEPHONE COMMITTEE WAS ACTIVATED UNDER THE VEP. TELEPHONES WERE RENTED FROM A LOCAL COLLECTION AND PROMOTION SERVICE. THE TELEPHONE COMMITTEE RECALLED ALL PERSONS WHO HAD PROMISED TO GO DOWN AND REGISTER ON A CERTAIN DATE. THIS COMMITTEE ALSO MADE ALL CONTACTS FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND BUSINESS COMMITTEES.

THE AREA AND BLOCKWORKERS' COMMITTEE WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE. THE COUNTY WAS DIVIDED INTO 32 AREAS. WORKERS WERE OBTAINED TO THE EXTENT OF THE GRANT (LIMITED). IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AREA WORKERS TO SURVEY *SEE ATTACHMENT #9 ASSIGNED AREAS AND ATTEMPT TO GET ALL PROSPECTIVE REGISTRANTS REGISTERED. THE AREA WORKER IS RESPONSIBILE FOR BLOCKWORKERS IN THEIR AREA. THE HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE FURNISHED TRANSPORTATION TO AREA WORKERS FOR ANY PART OF THE VEP. THE CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS FILES (REGISTERED AND NON-REGISTERED) TOTALS ABOUT 20,000 NAMES, ADDRESSES AS THE RESULT OF THE AREA AND BLOCKWORKERS COMMITTEE. THE VALUE OF THIS COMMITTEE HAS LONG BEEN REALIZED BUT THE LACK OF OPERATIONAL CAPITAL HAS CAUSED THE COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE INACTIVE UNTIL THE VEP GRANT WAS MADE.

THE HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE HAS BEEN ONE OF THE CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS MAJOR VEP ROAD BLOCKS. GENERAL SUPERVISION, TRANSPOSING OF DATA, FILING AND CATALOGING DATA, TRANSPORTATION, OFFICE SUPPLIES, OFFICE EQUIPMENT AND OFFICE SPACE.. THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROGRAM FAR SURPASSES THE CAPACITY OF THE HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE. IT IS

TATTNALL COUNTY, GEORGIA

VOTER'S REGISTRATION RECORD

NAME	ADDRESS	DIST.

DATE OF REG.	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	DATE OF BIRTH	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	AGE	COLOR	SEX

DATE AND YEAR VOTED

OATH OF VOTER

I do swear, or affirm, that I am a citizen of the United States; that I am 18 years of age, or will be on the..... day of.....19....; that I have resided in this State for one year, and in the County for six months, immediately preceding the date of this oath, or will have so resided on the.....day of this Calendar year; that I believe I posssess the qualifications of an elector required by the Constitution of this State; that I am not disfranchised from voting by reason of any offense committed against the laws of this State. I further swear, or affirm, that I reside in the.....District, G. M., or in the.....ward of the City of..... at number .....on.....Street; that my age is.....; that I was born.....; that my Mother's maiden name is or was.....; that my occupation is.....

I further swear or affirm that I have correctly answered thequestion appearing elsewhere on this card under the words "Question propounded to applicant."

Sworn to and subscribed in the actual presence of:

....

(Deputy) Registrar. Signature of Voter.

The Tattnall Journal, Reidsville, Georgia

QUESTION PROPOUNDED TO APPLICANT

1. Have you ever been convicted of a felony or crime involving moral turpitude? If so, name the offense, the place of conviction and the approximate date.....

.....

.....

TO BE FILLED IN BY DEPUTY OR REGISTRAR

1. The applicant read (could not read) Article.....Section.....Paragraph.....of the Constitution of Georgia intelligibly (untelligibly).

2. The applicant wrote (could not write) Article.....Section.....Paragraph.....of the Constitution of Georgia (United States) legibly (illegibly).

3. The applicant stated that due solely to physical infirmity he could not read Article.....Sesion.....Paragraph .....was read to him and he explained it intelligibly. (Could not explain it).

4. Applicant was this day served with notice to appear before Registrars on.....day of.....19.....

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THEHEADQUARTERS TO POST ALL SURVEY AND REGISTRATION REPORTS. ALL REGISTERED VOTERS ARE PLACED ON AN INDEX CARD AND FILED ALPHABETICALLY. ALL UNREGISTERED CITIZENS ARE POSTED ON TWO INDEX CARDS; ONE CARD IS FILED ALPHABETICALLY AND THE DUPLICATE IS FILED ACCORDING TO ADDRESS. THIS IS DONE SO THAT THE AREA WORKER, BLOCKWORKER AND HEADQUARTER'S WILL HAVE A RECORD OF THE UNREGISTERED. WHEN THE AREA WORKER AND/OR BLOCKWORKER GETS THE UNREGISTERED, REGISTERED, THE NAME IS REMOVED FROM THE UNREGISTERED VOTERS ALPHABETICAL FILE TO THE REGISTERED VOTERS ALPHABETICAL FILE. HEADQUARTERS MUST ACCEPT ALL TRANSPORTATION APPOINTMENTS FOR REGISTRANTS, FURNISH ALL NEEDS LIKE BABY-SITTERS, COACHING FOR REGISTRANTS AND TRANSPORTATION FOR AREA AND BLOCKWORKERS. HEADQUARTERS IS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL FORMS, BLANKS, LEAFLETS, NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS, CHURCH AND TELEPHONE COMMITTEE ANNOUNCEMENTS, COMMITTEE, BOARD AND COUNTY MEETINGS, PROGRAMS, PUBLIC RELATIONS, AND VEP REPORTS. STUDENTS HAVE CARRIED ON MANY OF THE HEADQUARTER'S FUNCTIONS BUT THEY HAVE TO BE CLOSELY SUPERVISED. IN THE FUTURE, IT IS A MUST TO EXPAND THE HEADQUARTER'S PERSONNEL, FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT.

UNDER THE VEP IN CHATHAM COUNTY, MANY ADVANCES HAVE BEEN MADE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE WHITE COMMUNITY OPENLY EXPRESSED REAL CONCERN OVER NEGRO REGISTRATION. TWO WHITE GROUPS GOT SO CONCERNED, THEY ACTUALLY TRIED TO CARRY ON REGISTRATION DRIVES, BUT THEIR ATTEMPTS WERE UNSUCCESSFUL. THE REGISTRATION OFFICE FIRST EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER SO MANY NEGROES SHOWING UP AT THE REGISTRATION OFFICE AT THE SAME HOUR. THEY WENT SO FAR AS PLACING ALL NEGROES IN ONE LINE AND KEEPING ONE OPEN FOR WHITES. A MEETING WAS GRANTED TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER. THE REGISTRARS CLAIM THEY DID THIS BECAUSE ALL THESE REGISTRANTS WERE THE RESULTS OF THE SAME EFFORT (CRUSADE FOR VOTERS). THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS COMPLAINED THAT THIS WAS A DENIEL OF EQUAL RIGHTS. BY PLACING ALL NEGROES IN THE SAME LINE, MANY HAD TO WAIT FOR HOURS TO REGISTER WHEN A WHITE PERSON COULD USE THE OTHER LINE AND WALK RIGHT UP TO THE OTHER WINDOW AND REGISTER WITHIN A FEW MINUTES. AFTER A LENGTHLY DISCUSSION, THE REGISTRARS AGREED TO LET, FIRST COME, FIRST SERVE.

NEXT WE NOTICED THE REGISTRATION CLERKS WERE REQUIRING MUCH MORE OF THE NEGRO REGISTRANTS THAN THE WHITES. NEGROES WERE REQUIRED TO READ CARDS CONTAINING 3,4, 5 AND SOMETIMES 6 LINES, WHILE WHITES WERE GIVEN CARDS WITH 1 AND 2 LINES. SOMETIMES NEGROES WERE REQUIRED TO READ 2 OR 3 CARDS WHILE WHITES WERE NEVER ASKED TO READ OVER 1 CARD. FROM 20 TO 40% OF THE NEGROES WERE BEING REJECTED AND REQUIRED TO PASS GEORGIA'S "UN-PASSABLE" ILLITERATE TEST FOR MISPRONOUNCING ONE WORD OR STUMBLING OVER WORDS LIKE MILITIA, INSURRECTION, PROSECUTIONS, DISPARAGE, ETC. AT THE SAME TIME, VERY FEW, IF ANY, WHITES WERE BEING TURNED DOWN. A MEETING WAS REQUESTED WITH CITY COUNCIL, ANOTHER WITH THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS AND STILL ANOTHER WITH THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS. THE MAYOR OF SAVANNAH MET WITH THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS AND SAID HE WOULD USE HIS CONTACTS AND INFLUENCE TO CORRECT THE UNJUSTICES, BUT HE COULD NOT DO ANYTHING OFFICIALLY. HE ALSO ASSISTED THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS IN GETTING A MEETING WITH THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS. THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS MET WITH THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS AND INVITED THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS. THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS SAID THERE WAS NOTHING OFFICIAL THEY COULD DO, BUT BECAUSE THE REGISTRATION OFFICE WAS HOUSED IN COUNTY PROPERTY, THEY HAD A GREAT DEAL OF CONCERN AND WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO ASSIST THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS. THEY REPEATEDLY STATED IN THE PRESENCE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS, "WE HOPE THIS MATTER CAN BE CLEARED UP". AT ONE

POINT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REGISTRARS SPOKE UP VERY HEATEDLY AND SAID "I'LL TELL ALL OF YOU NOW, OUR JOB IS TO SEE TO IT THAT EACH REGISTRANT IS TESTED CORRECTLY. THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS DONE AND WHAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO". THE COUNTY ATTORNEY SPOKE UP AND SAID "WE ARE STILL VITALLY INTERESTED IN HOW THE MEETING BETWEEN THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS AND CHATHAM COUNTY BOARD OF REGISTRARS TURN OUT."

THE FOLLOWING DAY, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS RECEIVED AN INVITATION TO MEET WITH THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS. KNOWING THE BACKGROUND OF THE BOARD, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO MR. JACK MINNIS, RESEARCH DIRECTOR OF THE VEP. MR. MINNIS ACCEPTED THE INVITATION. PRESENT AT THIS MEETING WERE THE THREE REGISTRARS, CHIEF REGISTRATION CLERK, TOP EMPLOYEE IN THE REGISTRATION OFFICE, MR. JACK MINNIS OF THE VEP HEADQUARTERS, MRS. ETHEL LEE (A NEGRO WOMAN WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN AND AROUND THE COURTHOUSE, TRYING TO GET NEGROES REGISTERED TO VOTE), MR. SAM WILLIAMS (NEGRO BUSINESSMAN), MR. W. W. LAW (PRESIDENT OF THE NAACP), REV. P. A. PATTERSON (REPRESENTING THE INTER-DENOMINATIONAL MINISTERIAL ALLIANCE AND HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS.

ATTORNEY CHARLIE DEBELE, CHIEF REGISTRAR, OPENED THE MEETING (IN HIS PRIVATE OFFICE) BY GETTING EVERY ONE TO INTRODUCE THEMSELVES. THEY WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT MR. MINNIS' PRESENCE. THEY FELT SURE HE WAS FROM THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT. THEY ASKED HIM, "ARE YOU A LAWYER?" THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS MADE A REQUEST TO THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS FOR THEM TO USE THEIR AUTHORITY TO STOP THE REGISTRATION CLERKS FROM TURNING NEGROES DOWN UNJUSTLY. WE EXPLAINED THAT THE CLERKS WOULD DENY A NEGRO THE OPPORTUNITY TO REGISTER IF HE OR SHE MIS-PRONOUNCED ONE WORD. WE TOLD THEM THAT THE CLERKS REFUSED TO ALLOW NEGROES TO TAKE THE LITERATE TEST, ONCE THEY WERE TURNED DOWN. THIS WAS IN VIOLATION OF THE GEORGIA LAW. THE CLERKS HAD A HABIT OF TELLING NEGROES, "YOU CAN'T READ AND WRITE WELL ENOUGH, SO YOU WILL HAVE TO PASS THE ILLITERATE TEST BEFORE YOU CAN REGISTER". WE EXPLAINED THE ATTITUDE OF THE CLERKS TOWARD NEGROES, OVER AGAINST THE CLERKS ATTITUDE TOWARD WHITES. WHEN A NEGRO WALKED UP TO THE WINDOW, THE CLERK'S HAD A HABIT OF BEING VERY, VERY HOSTILE, SNAPPY AND SHORT. AS STATED BEFORE, THE CLERK WOULD GIVE THE NEGROES CARDS TO READ CONTAINING 10 TO 30 WORDS. IN MANY CASES, IF THE NEGRO READ THE CARD WELL, THE CLERK WOULD REACH BACK AND GET A CARD WITH HARDER WORDS. SOMETIMES THE CLERK WOULD REQUIRED THE NEGRO REGISTRANT TO READ AS MANY AS THREE CARDS BEFORE THEY WOULD FINALLY TURN THEM DOWN. WE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN HOW THE ATTITUDE OF THE CLERKS WOULD CONFUSE AND UPSET NEGRO REGISTRANTS, UNTIL THEY COULD NOT READILY REMEMBER THEIR BIRTH DATES OR MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME. THIS WAS ANOTHER BIG REASON FOR THE CLERKS TO REJECT MANY NEGROES. NATURALLY THE REGISTRARS EXPRESSED IN DETAIL THEIR DIS-BELIEF OF ALL ACCUSATIONS. THE REGISTRAR'S WENT ON TO PROVE WHAT NICE, CHRISTIAN, AMERICAN, DEMOCRATIC CLERKS THEY HAD. THEY WENT SO FAR AS SAYING, WE JUST DON'T BELIEVE OUR CLERKS WOULD TREAT NEGROES ANY DIFFERENT FROM THEIR OWN COLOR.

HAVING DEALT WITH THE REGISTRARS BEFORE, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ARE SURE THE PRESENCE OF A STRANGE WHITE MAN (MR. MINNIS) WAS THE CAUSE THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS EVEN HEARD OUR COMPLETE COMPLAINT. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD WAS ALSO AWARE THAT THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING. THE CHIEF CLERK DENIED ALL THE CHARGES. AT ONE POINT SHE TOLD THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS "WHAT YOU NEED IS ANOTHER CLERK" IN A VERY HOT AND LOUD TONE OF VOICE AND GOT UP AND HURRIED OUT OF THE MEETING ROOM. BEFORE THIS DRAMATIC ACT, THE CHIEF CLERK EXPLAINED HOW THE CLERKS BENT OVER BACKWARDS TO PASS NEGROES.

SHE EXPLAINED HOW NEGROES TAKE SO LONG TO REGISTER. HOW THEY HOLD UP THE LINE AND PET THEM. AT THIS POINT, THE CHIEF REGISTRAR SAID, "I KNOW YOU ARE TELLING THE TRUTH BECAUSE I HAVE DONE THE SAME THING UPON MY VISITS TO THE REGISTRATION OFFICE". HE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN AN EXAMPLE. "I HAD AN OLD COLORED WOMAN ABOUT 65 OR 70. SHE WAS JUST NERVOUS. I TOLD HER, COME ON NOW GIRL, TAKE YOUR TIME AND DON'T BE SCARED." WHAT THE CHIEF REGISTRAR FAILED TO UNDERSTAND (AS MR. MINNIS EXPLAINED), CALLING A WOMAN 65 OR 70 YEARS OLD GIRL WAS AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE CHIEF REGISTRAR'S RESPECT FOR NEGROES. ANOTHER OF THE REGISTRARS, DR. WILLIAM WEICHSELBAUM, WAS MOST CRITICAL OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS' COMPLAINTS. HE DISPLAYED A VERY HIGH TEMPER. AT ONE POINT, HE BITTERLY CALLED THE PRESIDENT OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS A LIE. IN A PREVIOUS MEETING WITH THE OFFICIALS OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS, DR. WEICHSELBAUM SAID HE WANTED TO SEE ALL INTELLIGENT CITIZENS REGISTERED, BUT HE WAS NOT GOING TO HELP ALL THESE NEGROE S GET REGISTERED JUST SO THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS COULD LEAD THEM BY THE NOSE ON ELECTION DAY. IN THIS PREVIOUS MEETING WITH THECRUSADE FOR VOTERS, DR. WEICHSELBAUM SAID "I WANT YOU TO BRING TO MY OFFICE A NEGRO WHO HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN BY THE REGISTRATION CLERKS FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO READ AND WRITE, BUT YOU SAY CAN READ AND WRITE AND SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN TURNED DOWN." THIS WAS DONE. THE DOCTOR HEARD THE PERSON READ. THE REGISTRANT READ 4 OR 5 PARAGRAPHS OF A NEWSPAPER. FINALLY THE REGISTRANT MISPRONOUNCED ONE WORD, THAT A COLLEGE GRADUATE MIGHT HAVE MISPRONOUNCED. DR. WEICHSELBAUM, JUMPED UP AND MADE A MOUNTAIN OUT OF A MOLE HILL. HE COOLED DOWN AFTER HE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT "WINSTON CHURCHILL MIGHT MISPRONOUNCE ONE WORD". AT THIS PARTICULAR MEETING, DR. WEICHSELBAUM PROMISED HE WOULD BE AT THE REGISTRATION OFFICE THE FOLLOWING WEDNESDAY AND WOULD TEST ALL THE REGISTRANTS THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS BELIEVED TURNED DOWN UNJUSTLY. WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON CAME, THE REJECTED REGISTRANTS WAITED ON THE DOCTOR WHO NEVER SHOWED UP. THIS INCIDENT WAS ONLY EXPLAINED TO VERIFY ONE OF THE REGISTRARS (DR. WEICHSELBAUM) ATTITUDE AND FEELINGS TOWARD NEGRO REGISTRANTS.

THE OTHER REGISTRAR (MRS. E. A. LEONARD) WAS MUCH MORE CONSIDERATE IN WORDS. HE EXPLAINED TO THE CHIEF CLERK, THE LAW ALLOWED A PERSON TO TAKE THE LITERATE TEST MORE THAN ONE TIME. HE SAID, "I TRUST AND HOPE, NO CITIZEN IS BEING DENIED THE RIGHT TO REGISTER AND I WANT STAND FOR THIS." HE ALSO SAID "I FEEL EVERY HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO REGISTER."

THE HOTTEST POINT OF THE MEETING WAS GENERATED WHEN MRS. LEE, AN EX-COURT WORKER, EXPLAINED TO THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS HOW THE CHIEF REGISTRATION CLERK TRIED TO DRIVE HER OUT OF THE COURTHOUSE (THE SHERIFF AND ONLY THE SHERIFF HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENFORCING THE LAW WITHIN THE COURTHOUSE) AND WALKED UP TO HER AND SNATCHED SEVERAL ILLITERATE TEST FORMS FROM HER HAND. THESE FORMS, WHICH CONTAINED THE ILLITERATE REGISTRATION TEST, HAD BEEN GIVEN REJECTED REGISTRANTS. MRS. LEE WHO WAS THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS COURTHOUSE WORKER AT THAT TIME, WOULD ASK THE REJECTED REGISTRANTS FOR THEIR NAME AND ADDRESS SO THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS COULD SOLICIT THEM IN ONE OF ITS ADULT CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS. THE ADULT CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL TEACHERS, TEACH THE REJECTED REGISTRANTS THE ANSWERS TO THE ILLITERATE TEST. IN TALKING WITH THE REJECTED REGISTRANTS, MRS. LEE WOULD EXPLAIN THAT THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAD ALL THE ANSWERS AND WOULD TYPE THEM ON THE BLANK IF THEY FELT THIS WOULD HELP. AT THIS POINT, MOST OF THE REJECTED REGISTRANTS WOULD LEAVE THEIR BLANKS WITH MRS. LEE. THE CHIEF CLERK NOTICED MRS. LEE TALKING WITH THE REJECTED PERSONS. AT FIRST SHE TRIED TO SCOLD MRS. LEE FROM THE COURTHOUSE.

After Mrs. Lee ignored her, she burst up to Mrs. Lee and snatched the forms from her hand and said "you have no business in this building or with these blanks and I want you to get out of here and leave these Niggras alone". All of this, the registration chief clerk denied. She did admit, "asking this girl not to interfere with registration.

Mr. Minnis had not made a comment during the whole meeting. The chief registrar observed this and asked Mr. Minnis to state his opinion. Mr. Minnis stated he was just an observer but would like to make an observation if permitted to do so. The Board of Registrar's agreed they would like to hear the opinion. Mr. Minnis said, "I feel true communication and consideration is lacking between the Negroes and Registration officials." He gave one example, dealing with the incident of the 65 or 70 year old woman related by the chief registrar. Mr. Minnis reminded the chief registrar that he had admitted calling a 65 or 70 year old Negro lady GIRL. Mr. Minnis asked the registrars how would you feel if you heard a Negro man call a 65 or 70 year white woman GIRL? How do you think that 65 or 70 year old Negro woman felt when you called her GIRL, Mr. Debele? Then Mr. Minnis went on to say, Negroes have dignity, "they have a chip on their shoulders, because us white people put it there. How many white people ever smile or treat Negroes with common courtesy? I notice in this meeting, these Negroes address each of you as Mr., Dr., Mrs. etc, but you address them by their first name and you call me Mr." said Mr. Minnis. "Lady and gentlemen, can't you see how easy it would be to transfer this attitude into the registration of Negroes? I don't believe Mr. Debele would call a 65 or 70 year old white woman GIRL. Would you Mr. Debele?" The members of the Board and the chief clerk did the unbelievable thing; turned a deep RED color and froze at the same time. At this point, Mr. Minnis suggested a solution to the problem. He stated, "I feel sure all of you realize there is a problem and I believe you are willing to do your best to dissolve it. I believe I know a very easy way. HIRE A NEGRO REGISTRATION CLERK. Just the sight of a Negro in the registration, would rid many Negroes of this fear we all admit they develop. We admit some Negroes are just nervous in the presence of white people. I am sure the attitude of the white clerks are responsible for some of the Negro registrants becoming nervous. Now, just picture a Negro walking up to that registration window and being greeted by another Negro. Do you believe this alone would give comfort? I think you could settle the problem by hiring a Negro registration clerk." There was no great resentment expressed but the registrars and clerk got red and redder, mum and mummer.

By now the whites were really ready to close the meeting. The final agreement was that the Crusade for Voters would find all the registrants turned down unjustly and bring them down to the registration the following Wednesday afternoon. At this time the registrars would be there to test these registrants and would allow Hosea L. Williams, president of the Crusade for Voters, to stand inside of the registration office and observe closely. The registrars agreed to test every applicant without knowing whether this was their first or second trip. The meeting closed and one of the registrars invited Mr. Minnis to dinner. Mr. Minnis was unable to accept due to a previous commitment.

The following Wednesday Hosea L. Williams got an excuse to leave his job without pay at 12:00 noon, arrived at the registration office at 1:00 P.M. ready to observe. Williams' walked up to the registration window and asked the clerk, "May I come inside?" She said, "For what?" This was the chief clerk, she was in the meeting when the registrar's agreed to let Williams observe. Williams informed the clerk of the agreement. The clerk replied, "I have not been informed of this, you will have to see

ATTORNEY DEBELE." "MAY I SPEAK TO ATTY. DEBELE," SAID WILLIAMS. "NO", SAID THE CLERKK. "HE IS NOT IN". "BUT HE PROMISED TO MEET ME HERE", SAID WILLIAMS. "WELL HE IS NOT HERE; THEREFORE YOU WILL HAVE TO STAND BACK FROM THIS WINDOW", REPLIED THE CLERK. WILLIAMS GETTING HOTTER AND HOTTER REQUESTED "WILL YOU CALL HIM, TELL HIM I AM HERE AND WANT TO COME TO OBSERVE INSIDE AND ASK HIM WHAT TIME HE WILL BE OVER HERE?" THE CLERK WENT OVER TO THE DESK BITTERLY AND MADE A CALL. SHE RETURNED TO THE WINDOW WHERE WILLIAMS WAS STANDING WITH A 'CHESHER CAT' SMILE ON HER FACE. "ATTY. DEBELE IS NOT IN HIS OFFICE AND HIS SECRETARY DOESN'T KNOW WHEN HE WILL BE BACK", RESPONDED THE CLERK. YOU COULD SEE THE EXPRESSION CHANGE ON HER FACE, AS HER ATTUTUDE RETURNED TO NORMAL (BITTER). "I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING ELSE TO SAY TO YOU SO STAND AWAY FROM THE WINDOW AND DON'T DISTURBE ME OR THESE PEOPLE".

WILLIAMS RETURNED TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE HALL WHERE THE COURTHOUSE WORKER WAS AND WAITED UNTIL 1:30 P.M. HE DECIDED TO CALL ATTY. DEBELE'S OFFICE HIMSELF FROM A PAY PHONE THAT WAS IN HERRING DISTANCE OF THE REGISTRATION CLERK. WILLIAMS DIALED THE REGISTRAR'S PRIVATE OFFICE AND ASKED TO SPEAK TO ATTY. DEBELE. THE ANSWERER OF THE PHONE WANTED TO KNOW WHO WAS CALLING. AFTER SHE LEARNED THE CALLER, SHE STATED, "ATTY. DEBELE IS OUT OF THE OFFICE FOR THE AFTERNOON". WILLIAMS THEN CALLED DR. WEICHSELBAUM, THE OTHER REGISTRAR WHO HAD PROMISED TO MEET THEM AT THE REGISTRATION OFFICE THAT WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. AFTER FINDING OUT WHO WILLIAMS WAS, DR. WEICHSELBAUM'S SECRETARY INFORMED WILLIAMS "THAT THE DR. IS BUSY AND WILL BE LEAVING THE OFFICE FOR THE REGISTRATION OFFICE AS SOON AS HE FINISHED WITH WAITING PATIENTS". WILLIAMS ASKED, "HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE BEFORE THE DR. WILL BE FINISHED WITH HIS PATIENTS?" THE SECRETARY DID NOT HAVE ANY IDEA. SHE STATED, "IT MIGHT BE 1, 2 OR THREE HOURS. I JUST DON'T KNOW". AND HUNG UP. WILLIAMS LOOKED AT THE CLOCK ON THE WALL, WHICH SHOWED 2:00 P.M. AS WILLIAMS LEFT THE PLACE LOOKING AND FEELING WHIPPED, THE CLERKS LOOKED OVER WITH A FACE OF GAIETY. WILLIAMS STOOD OUT IN THE HALL AS SEVERAL OF THE FAST REJECTED REGISTRANTS WALKED UP TO THE REGISTRATION WINDOW AND REGISTERED WITHOUT A BIT OF TROUBLE. WILLIAMS NOTICED NOT ONE SINGLE PERSON WAS TURNED DOWN WHILE HE WAS DISTANTLY OBSERVING. BY 2:30 P.M., WILLIAMS CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT NEITHER OF THE REGISTRARS WOULD SHOW UP. HE ALSO REMEMBERED HE WAS ON LEAVE WITHOUT PAY AND RETURNED TO HIS PLACE OF LIVELIHOOD.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS WHOLE EPISODE BE UNDERSTOOD. DURING NEGOTIATION, THE REJECTION OR TURN-DOWNS OF NEGRO REGISTRANTS DROPPED FROM 30 TO 40% TO 2 - 5%. TURN DOWNS REMAINED ABOUT 5% FOR ABOUT 30 DAYS. THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ARE SURE MUCH O F THIS WAS DUE TO PRESSURE FROM THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS. THEY DEFINITELY DISPLAYED THEIR INFLUENCE, FOR MORE THAN ONE REASON. ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS WAS A COMING SPECIAL SENATORIAL ELECTION. THEY WANTED TO DEVELOP A CLOSER FRIENDSHIP WITH THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS; FEELING THIS WOULD GIVE THEM A BETTER CHANCE AT THE NEGRO VOTE. THEY HAD PUBLICLY ENDORSED A CANDIDATE FOR THE SENATORIAL RACE AND HAD MADE SOME INQUIRIEES CONCERNING NEGRO SUPPORT.

BELIEVING THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS GREATLY DESIRED NEGRO SUPPORT IN THE SENATORIAL RACE, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS APPROACHED THE COMMISSIONERS WITH SOMEWHAT OF AN INTEREST. A MEETING WAS HELD BETWEEN THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS AND THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS. WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS PROVIDED SALARIES FOR THE REGISTRATION CLERKS, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ASKED IF IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE COMMISSIONERS COULD PROVIDE A SALARY FOR AN ADDITIONAL REGISTRATION CLERK. THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ASKED IN THE SAME BREATH, IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSIONERS TO PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL REGISTRATION CLERK. THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ASKED "WILL YOU SEE YOUR INFLUENCE TO SEE THAT THE REGISTRARS HIRE A NEGRO CLERK?" THE COMMISSIONERS TRIED TO ACT AS IF THIS REQUEST BEFUDDLED THEM. WE WERE ABLE TO INTERPRET THE ACT BECAUSE WE

KNEW THE MAYOR OF SAVANNAH HAD PREVIOUSLY APPROACHED THEM WITH THIS IDEA. THE MAYOR HAD DONE THIS AT THE ADVICE OF MR. MINNIS AND THE DIRECT REQUEST OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS. THE COMMISSIONERS READILY AGREED THIS WOULD BE A GOOD WAY TO OFFSET THE REJECTION OF NEGRO REGISTRANTS. THEY ALSO CLAIMED THEY WOULD MEET OUR DEMANDS BUT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE IN THE FALL OF 1965 (SMILE). REMEMBER, THIS WAS JANUARY OF 1963. THIS THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS COULD NOT BUY. THE MEETING CLOSED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO PREVENT UNJUSTLY REJECTION OF QUALIFIED REGISTRANTS.

OUT OF THE THREE YEARS THE CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAS BEEN IN OPERATION, IT HAS BEEN VERY HARD TO GET MASS COMMUNITY SUPPORT. UNDER THE VEP, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAS BECOME OF AGE. DUE TO THE AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS THROUGH THE VEP, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS OBJECTIVES, OPERATION, ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND VALUES HAVE BEEN COMPREHENDED BY THE MASSES. EFFORTS OF THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES HAS OBTAINED FOR US NOT ONLY FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, VOLUNTARY WORKERS BUT ALSO GOODWILL AND COMMUNITY SENTIMENT.

ONE SET BACK I HAVE TO ADMIT IS THE TEMPORARY CONFLICT WITH THE NAACP. BEFORE APPROVAL OF THE $4,000 GRANT, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS RECEIVED $100 PER MONTH FOR OPERATIONAL EXPENSES FROM THE SAVANNAH BRANCH OF THE NAACP. THIS $100 PER MONTH WAS GRANTED TO THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS BECAUSE THE NAACP SPONSORS COUNTY-WIDE MASS MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY AFTERNOON. DUE TO THE GREAT INFLUENCE THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS CONTRIBUTES TO THE MEETINGS BY KEEPING THE GENERAL PUBLIC INFORMED POLITICALLY, IT WAS DECIDED BACK IN 1961 TO SHARE THE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS WITH THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS AT A RATE OF $100 PER MONTH (THIS WAS ABOUT ½ OF THE COLLECTION). THEREFORE, THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS NEVER HELD A SUNDAY MEETING, BUT CONDUCTED ABOUT 2 OUT OF EVERY 5 OF THE NAACP'S MEETINGS. THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ALWAYS MAINTAINED A SECRETARY IN A COUNTY HEADQUARTERS' OFFICE. THE $100 PER MONTH SUBSIDIZED THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS INDIVIDUAL, BUSINESS, AND CHURCH CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH AMOUNTED TO ABOUT $125 PER MONTH.

AFTER THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS MADE PUBLIC THAT IT HAD RECEIVED A $4,000 GRANT FROM THE VEP FOR A THREE MONTH VOTER-REGISTRATION PROGRAM, THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE LOCAL NAACP MET AND VOTED TO STOP SHARING ITS FUNDS WITH THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS. OFFICIALS OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS OBJECTED DUE TO THE FACT THE GRANT WAS FOR ONLY THREE MONTHS, BUT THE NAACP BOARD VOTED 20 TO 10 TO NO LONGER SHARE ITS FUNDS WITH THE CCCV.

THE PASSING OF THE NAACP'S "STOP SHARING FUND MOTIONS" ACTUALLY MATURED THE CCCV. THE SITUATION DEMANDED THAT THE PUBLIC BECOME INFORMED (WITHOUT A BIG DISPLAY) AS TO THE REAL NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS. THIS WAS DONE WITHOUT DAMAGE TO ANY INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION. THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS "EXECUTIVE BOARD" VOTED TO CHARTER THE ORGANIZATION *SEE ATTACHMENT #10 AND LATER APPLY FOR TAX EXEMPTED STATUS. WE TRUST THIS "MATURITY" OF THE CCCV WILL ALLOW THE ORGANIZATION TO DEMAND THAT OF THE PUBLIC WHICH IS RIGHTFULLY ITS, FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS HAS BEEN ABLE TO DEVELOP AMONG NEGROES, UNDER THE VEP, WAS DISPLAYED ON FEBRUARY 13, 1963 SENATORIAL RACE. IT JUST SO HAPPENS THAT CHATHAM COUNTY'S VEP HAD JUST REACHED ITS PEAK. A NEGRO, ATTY. E. H. GADSDEN QUALIFIED WITH ONLY TWO WEEKS TO CAMPAIGN. HE HAD VERY LITTLE MONEY AND INEXPERIENCED PERSONNEL TO WORK WITH. IN MY OPINION, HIS CAMPAIGN COULD NOT HAVE BEEN RUN LESS EFFECTIVE. AT HIS FIRST PUBLIC MASS MEETING, EXACTLY 20 WAS IN ATTENDANCE. AT HIS SECOND AND LAST MEETING, THERE WERE NOT MORE THAN 75 IN ATTENDANCE. I FELT THE CAMPAIGN WAS GEARED AT THE CLASS AND NOT THE MASSES. THIS USUALLY MEANS POLITICAL SUICIDE, BUT NOT FOR A NEGRO CANDIDATE IN CHATHAM COUNTY. NOW, CHATHAM COUNTY IS NO DIFFERENT FROM ANY OTHER COUNTY, BUT THE NEGROES WERE VERY CONSCIOUS OF THEIR DUTY TO

VOTE IN EVERY ELECTION DUE TO THE VERY ACTIVE VEP OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS AT THAT TIME. OUT OF 52,000 REGISTERED VOTERS, 32,000 VOTED. THERE WERE THREE WHITE CANDIDATES (TRIBBLE, GRAYSON, AND BAKER). TRIBBLE POLLED 14,000, GRAYSON 6,000 AND BAKER 4,000. THESE WHITE CANDIDATES SPENT "MUCH" MONEY IN CAMPAIGNING. THE NEGRO POLLED 8,000 VOTES WITH LITTLE MONEY AND A VERY POORLY OPERATED CAMPAIGN. HE (THE NEGRO) POLLED ABOUT 500 "NON-NEGRO" VOTES. ABOUT 12,200 NEGROES WERE REGISTERED. ABOUT 58% OF THE NEGROES VOTED (POOR I ADMIT) BUT ABOUT VERY GOOD WHEN THE HISTORY SHOWS ABOUT 30% OF THE NEGROES VOTE IN MOST SPECIAL ELECTIONS. NOT ONLY WAS THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES VOTING IN THIS SPECIAL ELECTION INDICATIVE OF THE VEP'S EFFECT BUT 98% OF THE NEGROES VOTED THE SAME WAY.

THE VEP MAGNIFIED THE POTENTIALS OF THE CCCV TO THE EXTENT, PUBLIC OFFICIALS BECAME MUCH MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS THE COURTHOUSE WORKER. A PERSON WAS PLACED IN THE CONFINES OF THE CHATHAM COUNTY COURTHOUSE AS A COURTHOUSE WORKER IN FEBRUARY, 1961. AS HAS BEEN STATED, FROM JANUARY THROUGHOUT MARCH, COURTHOUSE TRAFFIC IS EXCEPTIONALLY HEAVY. THIS IS DUE TO CITIZENS BUYING TAGS, MAKING TAX RETURNS, PAYING TAXES, ETC. OUR COURTHOUSE WORKER ONLY GREETS CITIZENS AND ASK IF THEY ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE. IF THEY ADMIT TO BE NON-REGISTERED, THE COURTHOUSE WORKER TRYES TO GIVE THEM GUIDANCE, MORAL SUPPORT AND INDUCE THEM TO REGISTER. THE WORKER DEFINITELY DOES NOT DISTURB, OR IMPEDE UPON ANY CITIZEN. THE DEPUTY REGISTRAR (TAX COMMISSIONER), A KNOWN SEGREGATIONIST, TRIED TO MAKE THE WORKER LEAVE THE COURTHOUSE. AFTER REFUSING TO OBEY THE SEGREGATIONIST, THE SHERIFF WAS ASKED TO ARREST THE COURTHOUSE WORKER. THE SHERIFF INFORMED THE TAX COMMISSIONER THAT THE WORKER WAS NOT VIOLATING NO LAW. THERE WAS A LAW ON THE COUNTY BOOKS, TO THE EFFECT THAT NO FINANCIAL SOLICITATING COULD BE MADE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE COURTHOUSE. AFTER THE DEPUTY REGISTRAR FOUND OUT HE COULD NOT HAVE THE WORKER ARRESTED, HE FRAMED THE WORKER. HE, HIS SON AND ONE OF HIS EMPLOYEES SWORE OUT A WARRANT CLAIMING THE COURTHOUSE WORKER (A NEGRO MALE TEENAGER) ATTACKED HIM. THE COURTHOUSE WORKER WAS ARRESTED, JAILED, TRIED AND FOUND GUILTY OF ASSAULT AND FINED $100.00.

AT THE NEXT MONTHLY MEETING OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS THEY PASSED A NEW LAW "THERE SHALL BE NO SOLICITING OF ANY KIND IN THE CONFINES OF THE COURTHOUSE". WE WERE NOTIFIED THAT IF ONE OF OUR WORKERS RETURNED TO THE CHATHAM COUNTY COURTHOUSE, HE OR SHE WOULD BE PLACED UNDER ARREST, TRIED AND FINED FOR VIOLATION OF A COUNTY ORDNANCE PREVENTING SOLITICATION OF ANY KIND WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE COURTHOUSE (INCLUDING REGISTERED VOTERS).

AFTER OUR VEP GOT UNDERWAY, WE SENT ANOTHER WORKER TO THE COURTHOUSE IN JANUARY, 1963. AFTER TWO DAYS THE CHIEF REGISTRATION CLERK TOLD THE WORKER SHE COULD NOT BE ASKING PEOPLE WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE REGISTERED WITHIN THE COURTHOUSE. THE WORKER IGNORED THE CLERK. THEN THE CLERK SAID "IF YOU DON'T LEAVE OUT OF THIS COURTHOUSE IMMEDIATELY I WILL HAVE YOU ARRESTED". THE WORKER STILL IGNORED THE CLERK. THE CLERK WENT BACK INTO HER OFFICE, CALLED THE CLERK OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS AND REQUESTED THAT THE WORKER BE PLACED UNDER ARREST FOR VIOLATION OF A COUNTY ORDINANCE. THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS CLERK GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE COUNTY ATTORNEY (JOHN SOGNIER). THE COUNTY ATTORNEY GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS (MR. WILLIAM LYNES). MR. LYNES CALLED THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS OFFICE AND NOTIFIED THE SECRETARY THAT THE COURTHOUSE WORKER WAS VIOLATING A COUNTY ORDINANCE BY SOLICITING REGISTERED VOTERS WITHIN THE COURTHOUSE. THE SECRETARY INFORMED THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS THAT THE WORKER WAS NOT SOLICITING REGISTERED VOTERS BUT GIVING ASSISTANCE TO REGISTRANTS AND ESPECIALLY THOSE COMING TO THE COURTHOUSE THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE VEP. THE CHAIRMAN WANTED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THIS VEP. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED IT IN DETAIL AND EXPERENES INFORMED HIM OF OUR GOAL. AT THIS POINT, THIS POLITICIAN (THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS) WANTED TO TALK TO OFFICIALS OF THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS ABOUT

THEIR WORKER'S ACTIVITIES IN THE CONFINES OF THE COURTHOUSE. A MEETING WAS SET FOR THE FOLLOWING AFTERNOON.

PRESENT AT THIS MEETING WERE THE COUNTY ATTORNEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS AND THREE MEMBERS OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS. THE COUNTY OFFICIALS WERE VERY FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE. THEY CONGRATULATED THE CRUSADE FOR VOTERS FOR BEING ABLE TO GET SO MANY NEGROES TO COME REGISTER. THE COUNTY ATTORNEY STATED "EVERYTIME I PASS THE WINDOW (REGISTRATION) 7 OR 8 NEGROES ARE THERE REGISTERING." WE EXPLAINED, THIS IS THE MAIN REASON A WORKER HAS BEEN PLACED IN THE COURTHOUSE, TO GIVE THESE PROSPECTIVE VOTERS GUIDANCE AND MORAL SUPPORT. AT THIS POINT THE CHAIRMAN POINTED OUT THERE IS A LAW ON THE BOOKS AND WE WERE VIOLATING IT. WE INFORMED THE COMMISSIONERS, WE HATE TO RESORT TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE BUT WE FEEL THIS COUNTY LAW DISALLOWING CITIZENS TO HELP OTHER CITIZENS GET REGISTERED WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL, AND WE WOULD IGNORE IT UNLESS THE COMMISSIONERS MADE SOME ADJUSTMENT. WE ALSO INFORMED THE COUNTY OFFICIALS THAT IF THEY JAILED OUR WORKERS, WE WOULD HAVE TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM AT THE NEXT ELECTION. THE COMMISSIONERS INFORMED US THEY WOULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED NOR WOULD THEY RESPOND TO A THREAT. BUT THEY DID ASK US TO REMOVE OUR COURTHOUSE WORKERS FOR ONE WEEK. THIS WOULD GIVE THEM TIME TO CALL A SPECIAL MEETING AND CONSIDER THE MATTER.

WE REMOVED THE WORKERS FOR ONE WEEK. AFTER A WEEK'S TRUCE, THE COMMISSIONERS NOTIFIED US THAT THEY MET AND AGREED TO ALLOW THE WORKER AS LONG AS THE WORKER'S EFFORTS DID NOT IMPEDE COURTHOUSE FUNCTIONS. WE ASKED THEM WHAT ABOUT THAT ORDINANCE PREVENTING OUR WORKER FROM TRYING TO GET CITIZENS REGISTERED TO VOTE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE COURTHOUSE? THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION WAS, JUST FORGET THAT ORDINANCE, WE WANT REMOVE IT FROM THE BOOKS BUT WE WILL FORGET IT IS THERE. I AM SURE, HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE VEP, THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS WOULD HAVE JAILED OUR COURTHOUSE WORKERS.

ANOTHER PLACE OF SHOW, SHOWN BY OUR VEP WAS THE REGISTRATION OF 500 STUDENTS. THE VEP SCHOOL AND PTA COMMITTEE ALONG WITH THE YOUTH COMMITTEE HAD GONE INTO THE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS AND DONE A FAIR VOTER-EDUCATION PROGRAM, COOPERATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS WAS THE ONLY THING BLOCKING THE REGISTRATION OF THE STUDENTS ABOVE 17½. THE SOTOMMA CLUB (WHITE GROUP) TOOK HIGH SCHOOL REGISTRATION AS A PROJECT. THEY SENT REPRESENTATIVES TO EVERY HIGH SCHOOL TO SPEAK TO THE FACULTY AND STUDENT BODY. THIS IS ALL THE NEGRO SCHOOLS (PRINCIPALS) NEEDED.-(PROMPTED BY A WHITE MAN, WOMAN OR GROUP) AFTER THE WHITES SPOKE ON VOTER-REGISTRATION IN THE SCHOOLS, WE RETURNED AND SHOWED CITIZENSHIP MOVIES AND OFFERED TRANSPORTATION. WELL, 72% OF THE NEGRO STUDENTS REGISTERED, WHILE ONLY 30% OF THE WHITE STUDENTS REGISTERED.

ANOTHER PRODUCT OF THE VEP WAS THE ASSOCIATION AND UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPED BETWEEN COUNTIES OF OUR U. S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT. WE HAVE BEEN AWARE OF THE NECESSITY FOR SUCH ASSOCIATION FOR SOME TIME BUT THE LACK OF FINANCE AND ORGANIZATION PREVENTED SUCH. THE SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS (FIRST U. S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT) HAS BEEN ABLE TO ORGANIZE TO THE POINT, ONE COUNTY PARTLY UNDERSTANDS THE VALUE OF A COORDINATED (COUNTY TO COUNTY) PROGRAM. IN OTHER WORDS, SOME COUNTIES UNDERSTAND HOW THEIR PROGRAM AFFECTS THE VEP IN THE OTHER COUNTIES. SOME OF THE COUNTIES UNDERSTAND IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF THEIRS TO AID OTHER COUNTIES IN THEIR VEP.

THE INVIDIDUAL HAS BEEN ENLIGHTENED SO MUCH BY THE VEP WE HAVE LESSENED THE STEREOTYPE IDEA "NEGROES CON'T HAVE INTELLIGENCE ENOUGH TO REGISTER IN LARGE NUMBERS". MANY HAVE STOPPED SAYING ALL THE "INTELLIGENT NEGROES ARE ALREADY REGISTERED AND NOW YOU ALL ARE SCRAPING THE BOTTOM OF THE BARREL". MANY NEGROES ARE GOOD PROSPECTS BECAUSE THE VEP GOT THEIR FRIEND OR NEIGHBOR REGISTERED AND THEY WENT BACK AND TOLD THEM HOW EASY IT WAS. THE VEP HAS AWAKENED SOME WHITES, EVEN THE NEWS MEDIA. THEY BEGAN TO REALIZE NEGROES ARE BECOMING POLITICALLY MINDED AND THE POLITICIANS MUST ACT MORE AND MORE FAIR TOWARD THEM.

ONE OF THE GREATEST VALUES CHATHAM COUNTY RECEIVED FROM THE VEP WAS THE DEVELOPING OF PATRIOTIC WORKERS. I AM SURE MANY WORKERS STARTED OUT IN THE PROGRAM FOR THE LITTLE EXPENSE MONEY INVOLVED. BUT ONCE THEY GOT INVOLVED, ORIENTATED AND DEVELOPED A DESIRE TO GIVE COMFORT TO THE LESS FORTUNATE. MANY MONEY SEAKERS BECOME DEDICATED AND TURNED OUT TO BE WELL-EQUIPPED FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

AS FOR ORGANIZATION, THE CCCV HAS BEEN ABLE TO BEGIN GRASS ROOT ORGANIZING THROUGH THE VEP PROGRAM. BY THIS, I MEAN THE ESTABLISHING OF DISTRICT PRECINCT AND BLOCK STRUCTURES THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAJOR PORTION OF OUR GET-OUT-THE-VOTE CAMPAIGNS. THIS EFFORT HAS BENEFITED GREATLY THROUGH THE SOLICITATION EFFORTS OF THE VEP CANVASSES. ALL VEP WORKERS WERE INSTRUCTED TO TAKE ALONG VOLUNTEER WORKER BLANKS *SEE ATTACHMENT #11 AND SOLICIT WORKERS FOR VARIOUS EXECUTIVE BOARD STANDARD COMMITTEES ALONG WITH THEIR VEP DUTIES.

LIBERTY COUNTY CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL: ON MONDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 20, 1963, I MET WITH THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE LIBERTY COUNTY CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL, AT WHICH TIME THEYMET ALL THE REQUIREMENTS NECESSARY TO BECOME ELIGIBLE FOR A $125.00 VEP GRANT (UNDER THE TERMS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS *SEE ATTACHMENT #2. ON WEDNESDAY JANUARY 22, 1963, A VEP CHECK FOR THE AMOUNT OF $125 MADE OUT TO THE LIBERTY COUNTY CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL WAS GIVEN TO THE PRESIDENT, MR. RALPH QUARTERMAN (P. O. BOX, ALLENHURST, GEORGIA - TR 6-3743). MR. QUARTERMAN WAS ALSO GIVEN COMPLETE INSTRUCTIONS AND NECESSARY FORMS AS TO THE REQUIREMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE VEP. MR. QUARTERMAN LET ME BELIEVE THAT LIBERTY COUNTY WOULD BEGIN WORK IMMEDIATELY. ON FEBRUARY 10, 1963, I RECEIVED VEP FIELD REPORTS, VEP FORMS #4 AND 2 VOUCHERS, VARIFYING THE EXPENDITURE OF $50.00. ONE OF THE VOUCHERS SHOWING THE EXPENDITURE FOR $10.00 WAS SIGNED BY MR. QUARTERMAN HIMSELF, THE OTHER EXPENDITURE OF $30.00 AND $10.00 ($40.00) WAS SIGNED BY A WORKER, MRS. MAGGIE WILLIAMS (RT. 1, BOX 91, McINTOSH, GEORGIA). AN INVESTIGATION PROVED THAT THE LIBERTY COUNTY CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL HAD REALLY NOT STARTED ITS VEP, BUT MRS. WILLIAMS WAS TEACHING AN ADULT CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL CLASS WHICH MR. QUARTERMAN WAS SUPERVISING. AFTER EXPLAINING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ADULT CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL AND THE VEP, THE LIBERTY COUNTY SITUATION WAS CLEARED UP. MR. QUARTERMAN EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE VEP GRANT COULD BE USED FOR THE OPERATION OF THE ADULT CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS. THE MATTER WAS CLEARED UP AND AS OF APRIL 1, 1963, THE LIBERTY COUNTY CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL HAS THEIR $125.00 IN DEPOSIT IN A SEPARATE CHECKING ACCOUNT. I WILL RE-INVESTIGATE THIS MATTER TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE LIBERTY COUNTY CITIZENSHIP COUNCIL WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE SGCV, VEP AND USE THE $125.00 ACCORDING TO TERMS OF THE VEP.

WHEELER COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS: ON FEBRUARY 4, 1963, THE SGCV ORGANIZED A WHEELER COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS IN ALAMO, GEORGIA, UNDER ITS VEP.. REV. A. GORAM (P. O. BOX 422, ALAMO, GEORGIA) WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN. THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE VEP, WHEELER COUNTY WAS ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH A LONG SOUGHT GOAL. THIS WAS THE 1ST TRULY ORGANIZED, NON-PARTISAN, VOTER-EDUCATION PROGRAM ESTABLISHED IN THIS COUNTY. AT THIS TIME WHEELER COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS IS IN THE PROCESS OF COMPLETING ITS ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR ACTION UNDER THE VEP.

BURKE COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS: MY FIRST CONTACT WITH BURKE COUNTY WAS ON JANUARY 6, 1963. I MADE A TRIP TO WAYNESBORO, GEORGIA AND MET WITH AN INTERESTING GROUP OF CITIZENS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MR. HERMAN LODGE (1139 QUAKER ROAD, WAYNESBORO, GEORGIA). THE PURPOSE OF THIS MEETING WAS TO TRY TO COORDINATE THE LEADERSHIP OF BURKE COUNTY AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO ORGANIZE A VEP AND JOIN THE SGCV. THE MEETING WAS A PARTIAL SUCCESS. SEVERAL MEETINGS WERE HELD AMONG THE NEGRO LEADERS OF BURKE COUNTY

AFTER MY VISIT. ON FRIDAY NIGHT, MARCH 29, 1963, A DELEGATION OF NEGRO LEADERS FROM BURKE COUNTY, RERRESENTING VARIOUS COUNTY-WIDE ORGANIZATIONS, MET WITH ME AT THE HEADQUARTERS OFFICE OF THE SGCV. THIS BURKE COUNTY DELEGATION WAS LED BY THE CAPABLE AND ABLE REV. M. J. ELLIS (BOGGS ACADEMY, KEYSVILLE, GEORGIA), CHAPLAIN OF BOGGS ACADEMY. THIS MEETING WAS HELD IN SAVANNAH, INSTEAD OF BURKE COUNTY DUE TO THE FACT THESE COUNTY LEADERS WANTED TO SEE AND WITNESS THE SET-UP OF THE SGCV. AFTER TWO HOURS OF ORIENTATION, IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS DELEGATION WOULD ORGANIZE A BURKE COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS UNDER THE VEP AND JOIN THE SGCV'S STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY.

EMANUEL COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS: AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE ON JANUARY 14, 1963 TO LAUNCH THE EMANUEL COUNTY VEP, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AN ALREADY ESTABLISHED ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS THE EMANUEL COUNTY VOTERS LEAGUE. UPON ATTENDING A COUNTY-WIDE MEETING, I WAS ABLE TO DETECH A GREAT AMOUNT OF DISSENTION IN THIS ORGANIZATION. AN INVESTIGATION OF EMANUEL COUNTY PROVED IT NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH A COMPLETE NEW ORGANIZATION IN ORDER TO ATTAIN THE DESIRED DEGREE OF COUNTY PARTICIPATION UNDER THE VEP. THIS LED ME TO REQUEST THE EMANUEL COUNTY LEADERS TO CALL A GENERAL COUNTY-WIDE VEP MEETING. THIS MEETING WAS CALLED ON FEBRUARY 20, 1963. AFTER EXPLAINING TO THE CITIZENS OF EMANUEL COUNTY THE SGCV - VEP, IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY VOTED TO ORGANIZE A COMPLETELY NEW STRUCTURE. A COUNTY-WIDE MEETING WAS CALLED IN EMANUEL COUNTY ON FEBRUARY 25, 1963 AT WHICH TIME THE EMANUEL COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS WAS ORGANIZED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR. JOE BINES (RT. 2, SWAINSBORO, GEORGIA).

MCINTOSH COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS: MCINTOSH COUNTY WAS FOUNDED FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WITHOUT AN ORGANIZED VOTER REGISTRATION EFFORT. THROUGH THE SGCV-VEP A COUNTY-WIDE MEETING WAS HELD ON FEBRUARY 28, 1963 FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXPLAINING IN DETAIL THE VEP. ON MARCH 4, THE MCINTOSH COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS WAS ORGANIZED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR. BRITT JOHNSON (P. O. BOX 351, CRESCENT, GEORGIA).

TATNALL COUNTY CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE: ON JANUARY 10, 1963, THE TATNALL COUNTY CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE FULFILLED ALL REQUIREMENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SGCV-VEP. A CHECK OF $125.00 WAS MADE OUT TO THE TATNALL COUNTY CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE AND GIVEN TO THE PRESIDENT, MISS PEARLIE INEZ EALEY (RT. 1, BOX 8, COLLINS, GEORGIA). FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE VEP AND TATNALL COUNTY *SEE ATTACHMENT #12.

ATTY. BRANTON, I TRUST YOU WILL HAVE MERCY AND TRY TO UNDERSTAND HAVING TO WORK 8 HOURS EVERY DAY FOR A LIVING AND OPERATE THE SGCV, PLUS THE CCCV IS NOT AN EASY TASK. TRY TO UNDERSTAND, SIR, I AM NOT ASKING FOR MERCY FOR MYSELF BUT I AM PLEADING FOR UNDERSTANDING AND FORGIVENESS OF THE LATENESS OF THIS INCLUSIVE REPORT. MAYBE, AND I MEAN MAYBE, THAT DUE TO EXPERIENCE I WILL BE ABLE TO DO BETTER IF GIVEN A SECOND CHANCE. UNDER SEPARATE COVER YOU WILL RECEIVE VOUCHERS AND COMPEETED NECESSARY FORMS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE SGCV TOTAL GRANT OF $4,000.00.

I HEREBY SWEAR AND BEG FOR ANOTHER GRANT.

IN GOD WE TRUST,

SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

HLW:JTW
ENCLOSURES
SPECIAL DELIVERY

WB

May 21, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field trip to Anniston, Alabama and
Birmingham, Alabama

Between the hours of 1 and 4 p. m. on May 18, 1963, I visited with Rev. Reynolds and Dr. Rogers of Anniston, Alabama. We talked about the registration work being done in that community, and the possibility of doing greater work in the future.

As we talked, it was developed that there is an existing organization that is concerned with the use of the ballot. Yet, it does appear that this organization conceives of its main function as being that of getting out the vote at election time. It was indicated that the organization does hold regular weekly meetings each Tuesday, and that it draws together between 30 and 50 individuals.

At various times, this organization has conducted registration drives. The last drive was conducted during the period of February 11-19, 1963. In this drive, 20 people were registered, though some 100 attempted to get registered. The number that did, in fact, get registered was low mainly because the registration office indulged in all sorts of delaying tactics. The campaign was carried out by the use of the door-to-door canvassing and telephone methods. Most of the work and leadership was supplied by local people. Rev. Reynolds indicated that Mr. Bernard Lee of SCLC did express some interest. He suggested that Mr. Lee made several visits of about one hour each, and that he supplied the sum of $100 for the drive.

As I talked with Rev. Reynolds and Dr. Rogers, I got the feeling that a successful drive could be conducted in this city, especially since three of the leading ministers are already trying to do something in this regard.

From Anniston, I went over to Birmingham, and worked with Mrs. Johnson and Miss Nelson on a registration program for some 10 counties this summer. A copy of these plans will be mailed to us in a few days.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

May 22, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field Trip to Gadsden, Alabama

On May 21, 1963, I visited Gadsden, Alabama, and spent three hours (8-11 p. m.) talking with the leadership of the Gadsden Improvement Association. There were twelve men present. I viewed the group as being a good cross-section of the community (workers, professionals, religious leaders and youth). Particularly impressive was the spirit with which this group approached their work. It was very refreshing to hear them say from time to time, that they had made mistakes, and that they are learning a great deal as they move along.

This community has had some sort of social action for the past two years; sit-ins, picketing, omnibus suit, and registration complaints to the Justice Department. Most of these actions have been without any kind of real results, and yet the people did not seem discouraged.

The local people of Gadsden had working with them, Mr. Lee of SCLC from November until the SCLC program opened in Birmingham in early April. With Mr. Lee's help, the organization has completed a survey of 90% of the homes in the city, and is now able to say where the registered voters are and are not. Along with the survey, they have established area committees, conducted clinics, and carried on registration weekly mass meetings where attendance ranges between 75 and 100. During the following months, the organization registered:

January - 127
February- 11
March - 71
April - 30

These people were very impressed with the leadership that had been given by Mr. Lee. There were two basic problems:

1. The uncertainty of Mr. Lee in the future, and
2. The lack of money.

The organization felt that while Mr. Lee had been of great help in the past, and could probably be in the future, there is always the possibility that he might be called away again. It was their feeling that the people felt some kind of let down when Mr. Lee left, and that they were inclined to wait on him rather than looking to themselves.

The people did say that, "Mr. Lee was for everything", meaning direct action, and voter registration. I believe I can predict that there will be direct action in Gadsden this summer unless the bi-racial committee, now acting, works fast and positively.

I explained to these men that VEP would have to require that a program sponsored be restricted to voter education. This they understood. They also knew something of the possibility of a direct grant. They are not sure that they will want such a grant. They think they see advantages in it, but they also consider their organization as being a part of SCLC.

RECOMMENDATION:

Gadsden is a city in which I am sure a very successful campaign can be conducted. If the organization makes an application for a direct grant of a reasonable amount, I would like to see it acted on favorably.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

June 24, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Report - Gadsden, Huntsville, and Birmingham, Alabama.

Gadsden, Alabama

I arrived in Gadsden, Alabama, Friday, June 21, 1963 about 9 p. m. after having made a last minute decision not to go to Tuskegee because of the weather. I had accepted an invitation from Mrs. Bernice Johnson to join her in a workshop of Macon County leadership.

In Gadsden, I was interested in finding out just how effective Mrs. Johnson had been in getting Gadsden ready for the July registration drive. I talked with Mr. Quimby Berry and Mr. Joseph Falkner, both of whom I had met in previous meetings in Gadsden. I was unable to see Mr. Q. D. Adams and Dr. S. W. Stewart, principals in the registration movement because they were at a mass meeting where Dr. M. L. King, Jr., was speaking. Mr. Berry and Mr. Falkner had been in the meeting taht Mrs. Johnson had held, and felt that she had done a good job of inspiring the leadership, but that not a lot had been done organization-wise. Their explanation for the lack of organization was in the fact that the city was so completely involved in demonstrations that people could not think if anything else.

I was interested in finding out to what extent the people with whom we would like to deal with in voter registration were also giving leadership in the present demonstrations. In this regard, I found that to the extent that there is local leadership, it is the same people. This is good, I think, except for the fact that the present situation is not affording the local people much opportunity to learn anything. All of the national organizations have field representatives in Gadsden now except NAACP and NUL.

I was told by Dr. Stewart that they intend to go directly into voter registration as soon as the demonstrations are over. We both agreed that it is perhaps too early to determine whether the present demonstrations will have a favorable or unfavorable effect. A little later, I am to meet with the people of Gadsden and plan how the campaign should be conducted.

Huntsville, Alabama

A reading of the Madison County reports made urgent in my mind a visit to Huntsville. I arrived in Huntsville June 23, 1963, with the intention of inquiring into why registration for the last 90-day period was so much lower than the previous 90-day drives that VEP had sponsored. The best count for the last sponsored drive seems to be about 175 as compared with 752 for the previous drive. Mr. Adams and Rev. Bell explained the

drop-off this way:

"...We spent our first month conducting a survey of the community to determine the registered and non-registered, and so we did not concentrate on getting the people to the registration office....
....We only had one day in May on which citizens could register....
....June reflected an upward trend in that we were able to register 122 people in this two-day period..."

There were things that neither Mr. Adams or Rev. Bell did not mention that I feel are responsible for the low registion, most of which add up to a complete reorganization of the approach to running a drive. The survey that was conducted was good, and needed to be done, but not at the expense of other things. The mistakes, as I view them, are:

1. Mr. Adams abandoned the idea of trying to involve large numbers of individuals, and went back to trying to run the drive through his own organization.

2. The new committee started trying to pay people to work rather than spending their money on arousing the community.

3. Mr. Adams will not accept the fact that the Madison County people are not going to follow his leadership.

The committee is at the end of its second period of sponsorship. I would not look with favor on another grant of the size like the past two. I feel that they will apply, but consideration should not, in my mind, go beyond such token support as would be necessary to keep the committee intact.

Birmingham, Alabama

I spent the time in Birmingham talking with Mrs. Bernice Johnson. I will not comment on her actitvities in this report. Mrs. Johnson has promised us a report that will spell out what she has been doing in detail. I will comment when that report is received.

Randolph T. Blackwell
R. T. Blackwell

#AA

WB

May 29, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field trip to Columbus and Albany, Georgia

Friday, May 24th, I visited Columbus and Albany, Georgia. In Columbus, I made an effort to see Mr. Vernon Mitchell, but was unable to do so. I felt that I should see Mr. Mitchell because he, more than any other person, gives the appearance of being able to get the job of registration done. There were other men that I could have spoken with, but I thought it unwise to see the others because part of the problems there seemed to grow out of the fact, as Mr. Mitchell says, that "...when plans are made, we talk with one group, but when work is to be done, we come to him." Not being able to see Mr. Mitchell, I went on to Albany, arriving at about 4 p. m.

I went first to the SNCC office. Upon finding the office closed, I inquired around and learned that Rev. Charles Sherrod was meeting with a group in the Shilo Baptist Church. I went to this meeting, and found Sherrod and about 70 other individuals. They were making plans for some kind of direct-action program, the exact nature of which, I am not sure.

When the meeting was over, and after Sherrod had driven some of the students home, we sat down to talk. I asked Sherrod to review the voter education for the four counties for the past 30 days. In answering this question, Sherrod explained that very little had been done, and that his staff THAT had taken care of the project in the past, and had decided to take a leave of absence from the project, and THAT they were now engaged in direct-action and in jail. I reminded him of his commitments under VEP, and he said that he had remembered the commitments, and that he had instructed his Atlanta office to inform VEP of the individuals that were on leave. I asked him to please send such a letter himself, so as to avoid any further delay. This he promised to do. We talked for a brief moment about the future of voter education in that part of the state of Georgia, so far as SNCC was concerned. Mr. Sherrod was a bit noncommittal, and I did not get a chance to explain the idea fully because he received a phone call that informed him that one of the homes in which SNCC workers were living in Sumter County was under threat of an attack, and he had to go to that point to help provide defense.

I spent Friday night in Albany, and left the next day for Columbus, arriving at about 10:30 p. m. I made a second attempt to see Vernon Mitchell, but was unsuccessful. I tried to talk with Mr. McClury, but he was out of the city. I came back to Atlanta.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

June 20, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field Trips from June 10 to June 17, 1963

ANDERSON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Mr. J. A. Gresham, Pres., Civic Improvement Assn.,
Friendly City Mortuary, 112 E. Church Street
600 E. Hampton Street, CA 5-7005
Dr. W. H. Young, Pres., NAACP
Rev. James O. Rich, Pres., Ministerial Alliance,
324 W. Reed Street

The three organizations listed above work together on most civic things. During the last city election, there was a great registration drive, Rev. Rich explained. The local NAACP Youth Council conducted a house-to-house canvass. The adults supplied cars to help in the follow-up. The Youth Council also used the telephone as a way of getting people to go out and register.

There was no exact count kept as to the number of persons registered. Rev. Rich estimated that the number was close to 500 for the six months preceeding (January to April,) 1963. It was also estimated that there are now 1800 to 2000 Negro people qualified to vote.

Anderson did not receive outside help. Such money as was used in the 1963 drive ($60) was borrowed from the Youth Council of the NAACP, and later paid back out of collections taken in mass meetings. Rev. Newman made three trips into the city for speeches. Most of the persons Rev. Newman contacted felt that they had not received outside help. None of them had heard of the Centennial Registration Committee.

Rev. Rich indicated that during the campaign, they did not establish any kind of permanent registration machinery, but they did copy the names of all Negro people that are on the registration books.

It is interesting that in the last city election, there was a margin of less than 200 votes cast between the candidates for mayor.

The registration office in Anderson County is open on the first Monday and Tuesday of each month.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this visit is the fact that Rev. Rich indicated that the Board of Registrars is willing to conduct

night registration if some organization will pay each of the three members of the Board a day's wages - the sum of $10.

I suggested to Rev. Rich that the VEP might be willing to help with this cost if the community made arrangements for such night registration, and would work at arousing the non-registered.

I am impressed with Rev. Rich's sincerity.

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Contact

Atty. Donald J. Sampson, 125 Fall Street, CE 9-9672
Res., 218 River Street, CE 5-4784

In Greenville, the Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee carries on the work of voter education, and other civic and social activities in the community. It was felt by several persons that I talked with that while there was much respect for the NAACP and CORE in the community, there are many citizens that would feel greater freedom if neither of these names are used. It was explained that the membership of these organizations (NAACP-CORE) are quite loyal to the voter education program.

The Board of Elections meets for the enrolling of new voters on the first Monday of each month. There has never been any complaint about the Board being unfair - neither has there been any cases of an individual being turned down, Mr. Sampson said.

Most of the voter education in Greenville takes place just prior to an election by tradition.

During the months of September, October, and November, the "GNPVRC" working with the Greenville Human Relations Council conducted a voter registration drive with Atty. Sampson acting as drive chairman. During this time, approximately 800 persons were contacted by house-to house canvass. As a result, 70 persons qualified to vote in September, and another 50 was estimated to have qualified during the months of October and November, 1962. During the early months of 1963, the committee secured the help of Mrs. Septima Clark to conduct a citizenship school.

During the course of the registration activities described above, the committee spent the sum of $230.30, $150 of which was contributed by the NAACP. The committee also had the help of Mr. John Edwards, who is associated with Mr. John Brook's office. Considerable help and leadership was also provided by Miss H. Smith of the Human Relations Council.

Mr. Sampson seems to be "Mr. Voter Registration" in Greenville, S. C. One leaves Greenville without really knowing whether this is good or bad. He is, without question, sincere in his efforts. He is also quite impressed with himself - this could mean that he does not work well with people. Regretably, he knows all of the techniques of registration, and is not too open to suggestions. He has concluded, wrongly, I think, that the only way a drive can be conducted is by getting enough money to hire a crew of canvassers. I got the impression that Mr. Sampson felt that VEP had sat down and deliberately decided to by-pass the city of Greenwood. In spite of this unfavorable thing, I still think Greenwood has possibilities.

GAFFNEY, SOUTH CAROLINA Contacts

James Harrison, 216 N. Petty Street
Mason Roberts, 619 Broad Street
G. B. Littlejohn, 700 S. Logan Street
T. Robinson

There is no NAACP or any other of the "Big Five" working in this city. The only organization in the city of a civic nature is the Negro Voter's League. However, there are the traditional religious and social organizations.

During the months of October and November, 1962, there was registration and get-out-the-vote activity in the community. Mr. Harrison suggested that during the 60-day period, some 500 new voters were added to the books. (I personally felt that this might be an exaggeration.)

Their approach to arousing the community was by the use of church mass meetings. A car pool was established to take the people to the polls.

I got the feeling that there has been some kind of political activity in this community for quite some few years. I was told that six years ago, a Mr. Gimps ran for the city council, but withdrew before the election after several threatening phone calls.

Mr. Roberts felt that most of the things that they have requested of city hall have been received favorably. Gaffney has had Negroes on the police force since 1954. During the first week in June, there was the sitting of the first all-Negro jury in the history of the county, and possibly in the state. There was general agreement that the Board is fair in every particular. I was told that in Cherokee County, citizens are not required to read any part of the Constitution. The only thing that one has to do in this county is sign his name to the registration form.

Mr. Harrison indicated that future work might be a little difficult because some members of the group had informed the white community which of the candidates they had decided to block vote for. He suggested reluctance to sit down and plan things.

A number of men in the community that are not open to economic pressures could run a good drive, it was stated. I left the city with the understanding that they would get the group together and consider a drive, and let VEP know what help they think that we might be able to give.

Gaffney is a small country town, but I got the feeling that there exists here quite a bit of social consciousness - judging from the knowledge that existed of current news. (Mississippi-Alabama University).

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Contact

Kelley Alexander, Pres., N. C. Conference of NAACP Branches
3235 Bevard Street

I have today held quite an extended conference (some 4 hours) with Mr. Kelley Alexander, Pres. of the N. C. Conference of NAACP Branches. The reception was warm and informal, even though we did spend the first 30 minutes indulging in the game of name dropping. I must admit that Mr. Alexander is much more skilled at this than I. He can get at least three first names into every sentence.

There was very little specific information that Mr. Alexander was able to supply. However, he was fast and free with generalities. Among them:

"...North Carolina is the best organized state in the country - some 96 branches of the NAACP...
...We are able to raise money fairly easy and will present the national office with some $8000 in a few days...
...We are doing a good job across the board on the NAACP program, voter education not excepted. Communications are gotten out to branches regularly about registration requesting information about what they are doing. They are slow to respond...
...I know of no help that has come into the state to help with voter registration, but the branches are nevertheless getting organized...
...We are ready to move, all we need is money."

From this conversation, set in generalities, I got the following impressions:

1. Mr. Alexander is a part of the old line leadership in the Negro community, and because of this, he is not able to judge what is in fact a good registration drive, or what is effective organization. Compared with 10 years ago, much of what he called good is in fact good. But compared with what we know about what is possible in voter registration, such conclusions would not be allowable.
2. Mr. Alexander is a successful businessman and as such, is much too busy to give the attention that is required to keep abreast of the facts of the office that he holds.
3. Mr. Alexander is sincere in his efforts, but is bankrupt for ideas as to how to get the job of voter education done. He does have to his credit an open mind so far as approaches are concerned. I feel that a man with ideas could work effectively with him - providing he understood the importance of never allowing Mr. Alexander reason to feel that he might be over-showed.
4. I found Mr. Alexander and his office staff to be very cooperative. I was supplied with everything I asked, including a list of N. C. contacts.
5. I don't think we can expect Mr. Alexander to make any real contributions to voter education unless somebody with time, energy, and sophistication in voter education works closely with him.
6. I had every reason to believe Mr. Alexander, when he told me that "...people all over the state know me...the only thing that you have to do is mention my name as you move about".

I accepted his invitation to talk with him again after I have been across the state.

CONCORD, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Rev. R. L. White, Pres., NAACP, 25 Central Avenue
Rev. L. R. Williams, Pres., NAACP, 166 Tournament Street
Roy Blue, American Legion V. Commander
Rev. Peglen, V. Pres., NAACP
Aaron Bost, American Legion Commander
Anna Louis Bost, American Legion Auxilliary
Dr. Shute, Barber Schotia College

When I arrived in Concord, I tried to see Rev. White and Rev. Williams, but all of the teachers were away on an Alliance picnic.

I learned that there is no present registration activity, and there has not been within the past three years. I was told that there is interest in such, and organizations to carry out a drive. It seems that candidates quite often pay Negroes to get out the vote. Rev. Blue has often worked in this capacity, I am told, by his wife.

LEXINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Clarence Roberts, Pres., NAACP, 702 Cotton Grove Road
Willie Shoaf, Pres., Voter's League, Route 7, Box 259
Mayor's Committee (Bi-racial):
Mrs. L. C. Cable, 301 Smith Avenue
George Singleton, 207 Hartman Street
Roger Nichols, 908 Octoria Street
Prof. Moose, 124 Smith Avenue
Willie Nealey, Booker Avenue

The last voter registration drive in Lexington was conducted during the months of April and May in connection with the last city council race in 1963. There was no outside help, or outside money. Mr. McClain, NAACP Field Secretary, made three trips into the community this year. The last trip was made Monday night, June 10, 1963. This trip was not related to voter registration.

The last registration drive was conducted by arousing the people in mass meetings and then supplying car pools.

The days of registration are every day of the first three weeks of each month. The fourth week is given to challenging. In this county, individuals can go to the house of the registrar in their precinct and register any day. The registrars are very cooperative, and will bring the books out into the community if requested.

WINSTON SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Sam D. Harvey, Urban League, 1711 Hattie Ave., 723-6561
Carl Russell, Alderman
Rev. F. W. Jackson, Chairman of Political Action Com.-NAACP
Mr. C. L. Montgomery, Pres., NAACP, 615 N. Highland Ave.
Mr. Charles McLean, Field Sec., NAACP, 1453 Hattie Ave.

Winston Salem is a city with about 30,000 Negro citizens of voting age, 12,000 of which are presently registered. This city has a long history of political activity. It was the first city to elect a Negro to its city government.

I talked with Mr. C. L. Montgomery about the city and its registration program, and was directed to Dr. F. W. Jackson of the NAACP Political Action Committee. Dr. Jackson is, at present, very much involved with the demonstrations in Winston Salem. He is a member of the Mayor's Bi-Racial Committee, which was established for the purpose of finding a solution to the pressing problems. Dr. Jackson told me that his main interest, so far as the community is concerned, is with registration and voting. He indicated that during the year of 1962, some 350 new voters had been added to the book. He seemed quite proud of this

number, and also of the fact that the NAACP has a membership of 1000. It was his feeling that a very successful drive could be conducted as soon as the demonstrations are over, mainly because Rev. W. R. Crawford, Negro alderman for several years, lost his bid for the state legislature by less than 300 votes. Plus the fact that the Negro community is not entirely satisfied with Dr. Lillie Louis, as the Negro member of the Board of Education.

During the last campaign to get new voters, the methods employed were mass meetings, hand bills, door-to-door canvassing. Canvassers were paid $1 per hour for their services. Winston (Forsyth County) has open registration. There are eight Negroes that can register citizens. They often do so after church on Sundays.

I also met with the executive committee of the NAACP in one of its monthly meetings. The main business of the meeting was the demonstrations that were presently taking place in the city. There was a split in the community over this issue. The field secretary of the NAACP was interested in having the demonstrations; the local branch wanted to call a halt for awhile.

I was invited to make a statement to the body. I explained the VEP program, and talked about some of the programs that we are presently sponsoring. (Kingstree, S.C., Greenwood, Miss.) In this connection, I pointed out that 350 new voters was not too impressive in view of what we are finding to be possible. This was not well received by the group.

It was the feeling of this body that with money, they could do a great job. Money to hire workers was suggested over and over by the group.

I talked with Mr. Sam Harvey of the Urban League at his office about his Winston voter registration plans, and about his last drive. Most of what Mr. Harvey had to say about his last drive is contained in his last report to us. It is significant to note that the League now, as an associated body, is called the "League Guild", and is made up of some 80 women which will be able to work with the league's staffof two people.

Mr. Harvey said that during the last drive, which ran for 90 days, they added 350 or so new voters, mostly from the rural areas of the county. In order to obtain this number, the League worked through some 12 rural churches, and also used house-to-house canvassers.

Mr. Harvey said that during the last campaign, they had been able to build up a list of registered and non-registered voters, which

will be used in future work. It is the intention of the League to concentrate in the city in future work.

It is interesting to note that both the League and the NAACP claim that they were responsible for the few people that were registered.

I also talked with Mr. Charles McLean, the field secretary of the NAACP for the state of North Carolina. I got the impression that Mr. McLean is more involved in giving the impression that he is doing something about registration than he is doing something in fact. He was not able to discuss the state organization or state activities with any degree of clarity. It was interesting to note that he was willing to admit that he knows little or nothing about VEP.

HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Mr. Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee,
1100 Rustic Road, Guilford
Mr. William Ramsey
Mr. William Thomas, CORE, 1937 Market Street

In High Point, I made an effort to talk with Mr. Tartt Bell, mainly because of the fact that we have made a grant to the Friends Service Committee for work in Greensboro. Mr. Bell was out of the office attending a meeting on Race and Religion in Greensboro. I was told by the secretary in Mr. Bell's office that William Ramsey would be in charge of the project, but that he was in Nashville, Tennessee.

I talked with Atty. Longfoot, a Negro citizen of the city of High Point. Mr. Longfoot was excited about the possibility of a registration program. High Point, (Gilford County), is subject to open registration. I think it might be desirable to consider the possibility of changing the Friends Service Committee project from Greenwboro to High Point in view of the successful work that is being carried on in Greensboro now.

In the spring of this year, High Point elected a Republican city government, one of the councilmen is a Negro, a Mr. Robert Brown.

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Dr. George Simkins, Pres., NAACP, Dudley Street
Rev. Cecil Bishop, Chairman, Political Action Committee,
NAACP, 2011 Ashboro St., Greensboro
Mr. John Edwards, Asst. to Mr. John Brooks, 705 Clapp St.,
PH 274-2834, The Greensboro Men's Club

Mr. Isaic Renaglos, Chairman, Citizen's Coordinating Com.
Rev. Father Hick, Church of the Redeemer

When I arrived in Greensboro, I contacted Mr. John Edwards who is now on the NAACP staff as Mr. Brook's assistant in voter registration. News of Mr. Edwards' effectiveness as a voter registration worker had reached me before I met him. I found Mr. Edwards at the "Church of the Redeemer", which is serving as the headquarters of the demonstrators and voter registration.

Mr. Edwards was in the fourth day of his voter registration work in Greensboro. Greensboro (Guilford County) is an open-book registration county. There are four Negro registrars, three in Greensboro, and one in High Point.

Largely through the efforts of Mr. Edwards and the students that work with him, great use is made of the time that the Negro registrars give them. When the registration work began, the efforts were made to get the people to go to the registrar by house-to-house canvassing. Then, an arrangement was worked out to take the registrar to the people in a car. This, Mr. Edward said, was too slow. So, it was finally decided that they would set up a registration point in the community and bring the people to this point. At the YMCA, a point of registration, the registration workers were able to register 122 people between the hours of 6 p. m. and 10 p. m., Wednesday, June 12th. The present registration drive will continue through the month of June. It is planned that several registration points will be established at well located places throughout the city.

The community is being aroused by the use of hand bills, door-to-door canvassing, radio statements (paid for by businessmen) and sermons on citizenship on Sundays in various churches.

The city of Greensboro has had a budget of $100 that was granted by the NAACP through the office of Mr. Brooks; Mr. Edwards' expenses not included. The Greensboro project is one of the few projects in which I observed new approaches being employed. I believe it will continue to be a success.

There was a city council election in the month of May. All councilmen are selected by city-wide vote. There were two Negroes that ran for seats on the council - both were defeated. This, I think, will help registration work because Greensboro has had Negroes on the council for the past 12 years.

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Atty. John Wheeler, Pres., Farmers and Mechanic Bank
Rev. James A. Brown, Pres., NAACP, PH 681-8397, 109½ Whitten St.

Mr. C. Prince, 319 Lawson St., Durham, N. C. PH 682-1697
Mr. Thomas Bailey, 402 Fowler Avenue, PH 682-8513
Atty. Floyd McKissick, 213½ W. Main St., Durham, N. C., PH 682-4947
Atty. C. O. Pearson
Mr. Louis Alston, owner, Carolina Lines, 336 Petty St., Durham, N. C.

My visit to Durham was not motivated by any expectation of registration in the near future. Durham is a county in which registration is possible only during the month just before an election. Three of the weeks of that month are given to registration, and one is given to challenges.

I went into the city of Durham because we sponsored a drive there last year, and also because Durham is a kind of pace-setter for Negro people in other parts of the state.

I talked with Atty. Floyd McKissick in Durham. Mr. McKissick is the North Carolina advisor to the Youth Council of the NAACP. Talking with Mr. McKissick seemed important because he is the person behind the newly formed "Commanders" which is responsible for most of the demonstrations in the state. I know as a fact that to a great extent, registration work in North Carolina will depend on the degree to which students can be used. It was the students that carried on the last registration drive in Durham through the grant that was made to the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. As I talked with Mr. McKissick, I was able to learn that the adult part of the community is not very active, and that the DCNA is made up of the old line leadership, and is proven to be a little conservative. Durham has possibilities for a great drive when the books are open because there does not appear to be any fight between the old and new leadership.

I was told that more of the national organizations work has contributed to registration activities in Durham. The Youth Council functions to a great extent independent of its national body. Great admiration was expressed for Mr. John Booker. He has been able to obtain considerable aid for the "Commanders".

It was the feeling of Mr. McKissick that when the demonstrations died down, the same persons will be available for voter registration. I talked with many of the "Commanders", and I was favorably impressed with each of them.

During the last registration drive (1962), 3700 new Negro voters were enrolled. Mr. McKissick made jokes about the fact that our grant went to the DCNA and Mr. Wheeler's connection with SRC. Jokingly,

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Mr. Ralph Campbell, Pres., NAACP - 804 E. Ederton St., TE 3-9948
Rev. C. W. Wood, Chairman, NAACP - Political Action Committee, 501 S. Bloodworth Ave.
Rev. Grady Davis, Chairman, Citizen's Assn., 909 S. East St.,
Mr. Noe Sanson, Chairman of the Citizens Assn. Political Committee, Pres., Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Rock Quarry Road City Council, 507 E. Martin Street

In Raleigh, I made quite an effort to see Mr. Campbell and Rev. C. W. Wood; they were the contacts that had been supplied to me. I was unable to see either of them for the reason that they were both tied up with other business. Just as I was about to abandon my efforts in this city, I decided to call the YMCA and see if the director there could point for me any person that had been interested in civic affairs, mainly registration. This paid off. I was supplied with the name and address of Rev. Grady Davis. It turned out that Rev. Davis was president of the Raleigh Citizen's Association. The RAC is an organization that is made up of many organizations, among them the churches, social groups, lodges, business organizations and the NAACP.

Raleigh is the capitol of the state of North Carolina. It has been the scene of political activity in the Negro community for more than 75 years. There is, at present, a Negro on the city council by the name of John Winters.

Registration drives are held quite often in this community. The registration books are available at all times. There are six precincts that have Negro registrars. During the months of July and August of 1962, 1654 new Negro voters were added to the books. It was estimated that the drive cost about $200, not including the maintenance of 15 students who did the actual work of carrying on the drive. The students were under the leadership of Miss Dorothy Dawson, a field secretary of SNCC. It appeared to me that Miss Dawson made a great impression on the citizens of Raleigh.

The students that worked in Raleigh worked as individuals. There was no mention of organizations. I asked twice if the community had received help from any of the national organizations, and each time, the answer was no. I was told specifically that none of the field representatives of CORE or NAACP came in during the drive. I was also told that the best drive would be carried on by the RCA, mainly because it is composed of all groups.

The method of registering the people in the last drive was by canvassing first, and later by taking the registrar in a station wagon to the people. When the registrar was taken to the people, four or five individuals would work house-to-house to get the people to come out and register. I was told confidently that Raleigh is ready for another drive. Rev. Davis indicated that he felt that it should be possible to register even greater numbers than before. The RCA has raised some money for this, and that such a drive should be under the sponsorship of RCA. Care should be taken to make sure that students are organized to do the work before the drive starts. Most of the RCA members are adult citizens with responsibilities that would conflict with their working in such a drive.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

Contacts

Herbert Coulton
Moses Reddick, Pres. Independent Voter's League
Rev. W. Reed

In Petersburg, Virginia, I talked with Mr. Herbert Coulton about the work and plans of SCLC in the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia. Mr. Coulton was quite glib with his remarks as to plans and equally vague as to present and previous work.

Speaking of previous work, Mr. Coulton pointed out what he considered the major registration problems - among them:

1. The Fourth Congressional District is mainly rural in its makeup.

2. The registration books are available only on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month.

3. The long distances over which the people have to travel in order to get to the registration office.

4. The fact that most of the ministers are absentee ministers.

5. The limited amount of money available to the Fourth Congressional District workers.

6. The poll tax.

Mr. Coulton impressed me as being sincere in his efforts as well as being possessed of the ability and willingness to be creative in the matter of registration. I think it is important that Mr. Coulton saw possibilities of great success in registration by giving picnics and parties for these rural people.

I inquired specifically into what SCLC had in the district organization wise. In this regard, Mr. Coulton's remarks were enlightening to me, and embarrassing to him. In the first place, Mr. Coulton could only speak of what other organizations are doing. He made mention of several independent organizations, two or three NAACP branches, and several churches that he is working with. Perhaps the most impressive thing that he had to show in this part of the discussion was the file of people that have indicated a willingness to canvass. (He agreed to supply us with a copy of this file.)

Mr. Coulton showed me evidence of mass meetings that have been held and that will be held in connection with his work. However, he would not talk about how many people have been registered. It was his contention that such figures would only be reliable when they are released through official sources.

I left Petersburg with the feeling that while not very much is actually being accomplished now, there are, nevertheless, great possibilities because Mr. Coulton appears to be completely open to suggestion and direction.

WILSON, NORTH CAROLINA

Contacts

Rev. T. A. Watkins, Pres., NAACP, 1113 E. Nash St., PH 243-4890
Dr. G. K. Butterfield, Citizens Committee of Wilson and Wilson County, 617 E. Nash St., Wilson, N. C.
Dr. Frank Saliver, Men's Civic Club, 603 E. Nash St.

On Sunday afternoon, I met with the Citizen's Committee of Wilson and Wilson County. Rev. T. A. Watkins of the NAACP and Dr. Frank Saliver are members of this committee, and were present in this meeting. There was agreement that work in registration has been in the hands of the Citizens Committee for many years, and that they usually run some kind of drive for new voters just before each election.

Wilson is a county with open registration. New voters can enroll five days out of each week. At present, there are about 2000 Negroes on the books. In the days when councilmen were elected by districts, Dr. Butterfield served two terms himself.

Registration in this community has the making of effective political organization. At present, the community has street and block organizations that meet regularly. In the past, it has been the practice of the Citizen's Committee to hire workers to canvass for new voters, house-to-house, but the committee felt that there is something wrong

with this method. In the last drive, the committee got less than 5o new voters in a two-month period.

While there is open registration in Wilson County, it does not operate as in the other counties. All new voters have to go to the county courthouse between the hours of 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. in order to register. This policy is not set by state statutes, but by the county commission. The commission plans to check to see if night registration is possible, and if such is possible, the committee will plan for a short drive in late July. If night registration is not possible, the committee will plan for a drive for October and November, These are the months when most of the citizens (farmers) will not be working. In any event, we can expect to hear from this committee.

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

In Fayetteville, I spent part of my time talking with people about registration that I met on the street and in the train station, and in the demonstration headquarters. It did not appear that such programs (registration) had been mentioned to them before. The city was very much involved with the demonstrations that had taken place during the past three days. I don't think any thought had been given to the question of, "after demonstrations, what next?" This state of things did not disturb me too much, since I know that Atty. McKissick was high in leadership, and that he is very much committed to voter registration.

My main reason for going into Fayetteville was in order to talk with Mr. John Brooks, Regional Director for NAACP. I had gone into Richmond, Virginia, in an effort to talk with Mr. Brooks, who was already enroute to North Carolina when I arrived.

When I met with Mr. Brooks, my conference was as disappointing as it had been with Mr. Alexander in Charlotte, and with Mr. McLean in Winston Salem. It was, from the outset, a conversation set in generalities. Mr. Brooks preferred to talk about his philosophy of voter registration rather than work that he was giving leadership to. I have great respect for Mr. Brobks' ability as a registration worker, but he is not using it, so far as I can see. His approach, as he sets them out, all appear to be very sound. But I don't find them being employed. Mr. Brooks is highly respected all along the line. No one offered any criticism of his methods of operation. I refused to ask him or anyone else what he is doing.

I heard him deliver a very effective speech to an audience that had assembled in connection with the demonstrations. Mr. Brooks explained that the thing that he was doing was getting to be known by the

people, and that he was going to transfer their interest into voter registration when the demonstrations are over. He can do this, if he will.

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SUMMARY

Q. How effective is each of the "Big Five" organizations in carrying on registrations? Why?

A. All of the "Big Five" organizations are effective, to a degree. None of them are doing all that they can. All of them, with the exception of the Urban League, are finding their resources overtaxed by the present demonstration in which they are engaged. All of them suffer from a shortage of staff workers skilled in basic organizational knowhow. The NAACP is, without question, the most capable of the "Big Five". It has to its advantage, the most mature structures (more branches), a long and respected history, the largest number of members of influence. Yet, the NAACP was not found to be working as an organization effectively at any point in voter registration. The district and state officers did not know the facts that might be expected of their offices. I now think that E. Franklin Frazier might have been right when he charged that there is a tendency on the part of many of these leaders to identify themselves with the job for the social prestige that it affords.

Q. How much is being done in the way of employing new techniques in order to get individuals registered to vote?

A. At only one point along the entire circuit did I find new approaches being sought and employed. In most cases, it is still only a matter of mass meetings and house-to-house canvassing.

Q. How much thought is being given to the question of what are the fources causing Negro people not to register?

A. Very little deliberate thought is given to this matter. In almost every case, groups just decide to run a drive and then strike out. They seem to operate on what they think the forces are. Sometimes they are right, sometimes wrong.

Q. How much is being done in registration campaigns to establish any kind of structure, that will be helpful in getting out the vote?

A. I found only two places where this seemed to be important, Wilson and High Point. I got the feeling that block organization in High Point had been considered in an effort to defeat the Democratic city government, which was accomplished. In Wilson, Dr. Butterfield, Negro councilman for many years, I think probably undertook such organizations in an effort to regain his seat after he was defeated by a new policy of city-wide elections. I was told at one point in the trip that such organization would be undertaken when there were people registered that could be so organized.

Q. How much political consciousness exists in the small towns and hamlets?

A. This is a question that has troubled me for some time. I rather suspected that I would find consciousness in these small places. To answer this question, I visited the city of Gaffney, South Carolina. One name was supplied to me by a questionnaire in token at South Carolina State College. The questionnaire, which raised the question, "Who has expressed an interest in registration in your community?" I visited that one persons and found that the citizens of that community had had an organization of a purely local nature for many years that was working on civic affairs. This community had been by-passed by the national organizations. I rather suspect that this experience will duplicate itself as we explore more.

Q. What are the ares where large numbers can be enrolled in a short period of time?

A. The most promising areas seem to be those counties in N. C. Where there is open registration. This determination is based on ease of registration procedures and limited white opposition. It is expected that other areas will be added to this list as we make more trips.

Q. What is the effect of demonstrations on registration efforts?

A. With one exception, there was agreement at every point that the demonstrations create a climate and an interest in registration that makes enlisting new voters much easier. It is not thought that the two actions can be carried on at the same time. Demonstrations are all-consuming. Once the demonstrations are over, registration seems to be the next step.

Q. Who are the opinion-makers at every crossroad along the circuit of this field trip?

A. An answer to such a question is highly involved and will require a lot of work. On this field trip, we tried to collect a list of the names and addresses of every person that is president of anything. We now have a sizable portion of the NAACP branch presidents. We have a list of every organization (with officers - names and addresses) in Winston Salem, N. C., and a similar list for Greensboro, N. C., Anderson, S. C., Greenville, S. C., and Durham, N. C. has been promised.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

FIELD REPORT

By Randolph T. Blackwell

Place	Date
Anderson, S. C.	Monday, June 10, 1963
Greenville, S. C.	Monday, June 10, 1963
Gaffney, S. C.	Monday, June 10, 1963
Charlotte, N. C.	Tuesday, June 11, 1963
Concord, N. C.	Tuesday, June 11, 1963
Lexington, N. C.	Tuesday, June 11, 1963
Winston Salem, N. C.	Tuesday, June 11, 1963
High Point, N. C.	Wednesday, June 12, 1963
Greensboro, N. C.	Wednesday, June 12, 1963
Durham, N. C.	Thursday, June 13, 1963
Raleigh, N. C.	Friday, June 14, 1963
Richmond, Va.	Saturday, June 15, 1963
Petersburg, Va.	Sunday, June 16, 1963
Wilson, N. C.	Sunday, June 16, 1963
Fayetteville, N. C.	Monday, June 17, 1963

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The attached field report consists of visits to each of the cities listed above, [redacted] on the days indicated.

The field trip, which is the subject of this report, differs from all others in that it was undertaken with some express purposes and objectives in mind, rather than just checking on what our projects are doing, which has been my general practice.

As we moved along the outlined circuit, we sought the answer to each of the following questions:

1. How effective is each of the "Big Five" organizations in carrying out registration drives? Why?

2. How much is being done in the way of employing new techniques in order to get individuals registered to vote?

3. How much thought is being given to the question of what forces cause Negro people not to register?

4. How much is being done in registration campaigns to to establish any kind of political structure that will be effective in getting out the vote?

5. How much political consciousness exists in the small towns and hamlets?

6. What are the areas where larger numbers can be enrolled in a short period of time?

7. What is the effect of demonstrations on registration efforts?

8. Who are the opinion-makers at every crossroad along the outlined circuit?

The findings of this trip are set out in the same way that they have been in the past. In the summary, we try to supply some kind of answer to each of the question areas. It is understood that these answers have not been arrived at scientifically. They are set out as only a starting point, and may change or be altered as we add more facts.

STATISTICAL REPORT GIVEN BY MRS. DOROTHY COTTON
ON SCLC ACTIVITY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Statistical Report 1962 - 63

ANNUAL

July 1, 1962 - June 30, 1963

Number of persons trained at Dorchester----------395

Number of classes conducted----------366

Number of persons in classes----------5,623

Number of persons registered----------17,575
(Students & others influenced by teachers)

WORKSHOPS

June 18 - 22, 1962	30 Students
August 6 - 10	56 Students
September 17 - 21	36 Students
November 5 - 9	56 Students
January 14 - 18, 1963	34 Students
February 18 - 22	47 Students
March 18 - 22	30 Students
April 22 - 27	49 Students
June 17 - 21	57 Students
	395

REFRESHER

September 14 - 16	14 Students
November 2 - 4	20 Students
January 11 - 13	46 Students
	80

Number of States Included:

10

Number of counties:

125 +

Number of counties per state		Number of schools per state
Alabama	13	60
Arkansas	1	1
Georgia	43	102
Louisiana	7	17
Mississippi	9	59
North Carolina	7	24
South Carolina	39	89 +
Tennessee	3	7
Texas	1	3
Virginia	2	4
	125	366

Participants PER State (Workshop)

Alabama	52
Arkansas	4
Georgia	84
Louisiana	37
Mississippi	81
North Carolina	29
South Carolina	83 +
Tennessee	4
Texas	1
Virginia	20
	395

89 — School Conferencing with Reporter SCLC
19 Counties Cond
NAACP

OTHER ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY TEACHERS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

5 NAACP Membership Campaigns

151 Voter Registration Organization and canvassing, providing transportation, assurance, etc.

7 PTA

4	Masonic and other Lodge and Fraternal Organizations & Social Clubs
3	Conferences with local officials (elected) on rights of minorities and needs of Negro citizens
2	Assisting voters at the polls
18	Social Welfare activities: securing food for needy children, setting up office, taking expectant mothers to clinics, doning blood, visiting jails, help attain social security help mothers secure birth certificates
30	Organizing and/or work with civic groups; adult, youth, women's groups, political organizations, etc., voters leagues
3	Getting library open after schools, on Saturdays and during summer
10	Individual contacts, educational problems: organizing kindergarten, better educational facilities committee
2	Job opportunities
3	Helping SNCC efforts, sit-ins, non-violent workshops
7	Work with Human Relation organizations
14	Making speeches
3	Distributing voter registration and citizenship school material
4	Working with Justice Department to secure registration rights for Negroes
1	Banking
1	ARA
1	Agricultural Workshop
1	Radio Announcements
2	4-H Club
1	Making applications
4	Opened recreation center
1	Civil Defense
3	Home Demonstration

1	Writing letters to Federal Judge seeking registration rights for Negroes
1	Worked on Candidate selection committee
10	Helped to secure street lights, improved roads, traffic signals, telephones, roads, sewage
1	March of Dimes drive
1	Securing hospital services
1	Organized investigating committees
1	Organized county improvement association
1	Conducted classes in "Second step Political Education", (Negro History, health, housing, law, citizenship)
1	Publicizing registration day in local churches
1	Leading freedom songs
7	Organize and attend Mass meetings
1	Organized Boy's club
11	Organized prayer meetings from church to church, organized and worked with church groups
1	Organized Cultural Activities Group
1	Fund raising for Freedom
2	Credit Unions
5	Discussion Groups
9	Participated in Racial Demonstrations
2	Better service from welfare and police dept.
1	Taught by role-playing
1	Organized Community Co-op Store
2	Helping domestic labour get better pay
3	Rung Freedom telephone
2	Block parties
1	Acted as Marriage Counsellor
2	Went to jail

1	Clean community
1	Teach public manners
356	

WB

July 22, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: Field Trip to Decatur, Alabama, June 28, 1963

I arrived in the city of Decatur Friday evening, June 28th at 8:30 p. m. The occasion was one in which the Limestone County Voter's League, an affiliate of the Alabama Coordinating Committe, had scheduled - a mass meeting for the beginning of a registration drive. I had been invited by a letter from Mr. Melvin Sykes, who acts as chairman of the committee.

When I arrived at the Mount Olive Baptist Church, there were some 450 people waiting for this particular meeting. This came as some considerable surprise to me, because Limestone County was one of the counties in north Alabama that had done very little in the business of voter registration prior to this year. Mr. Melvin Sykes has, for quite some period of time, had an interest in voter registration, and had just about, in my opinion, lost his interest in voter registration due to the lack of cooperation in the community.

Prior to my coming to Decatur, Alabama, Mrs. Bernice Johnson had made a visit to the city under the sponsorship of the Coordinating Committee, and had talked to Mr. Sykes and one or two other individuals. There were several reasons why not very much was to be expected of the Limestone County Committee. One of the main reasons being that it appeared that the leadership of Limestone County was so middle-classed in its outlook that it did not appear that they had any basis through which, or by which, they could communicate with the masses of the Decatur citizentry.

It appeared that Mrs. Sykes had assumed a large part of the responsibility of putting the meeting together. She was publicly congratulated for the efforts that she had made in getting the mass meeting together, and there seemed to have been general agreement on the part of all the persons present, that this was a very successful meeting. I was told by Mrs. Sykes that this was the largest single group that she had ever known to manifest any interest in voter registration. Part of the credit is due to the kind of work that she did in putting the meeting together - plus the fact, Decatur is a city that, to a very great extent, takes its leadership from the Huntsville community, and Huntsville, having gone through a successful period of sit-in demonstrations, as well as successful registration drives, motivated the Decatur community.

It was particularly interesting to hear Mrs. Sykes refer to the audience as being one in which there were real grass-root people, because it was our prior opinion that Mrs. Sykes, perhaps more than anybody else in the community, suffered from a set of class values that would block her path to being successful in this kind of community activity. Quoting Mrs. Sykes directly, I heard her say at one point, that "...there were people in the church that had never been in that church before".

I was invited by the committee to deliver the principle address on this occasion. In speaking to the group, my main objective was to make them aware of the fact that voter education is not an isolated project being conducted in one or two scattered communities, but rather, it is a program that is being conducted throughout the entire South. In an effort to do this, I insisted upon the idea that the VEP is interested in building a chain of active movements for voter education across the entire South, and in this connection, I insisted that Decatur was one of the principle links in this chain, and that there rested on them a responsibility to go ahead and make their drive successful. In addition to this idea, I make some references to the kind of activities that are being carried on in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia; laboring to some extent, the hardships that are being encountered by other people in other communities, and the kind of courage and determination with which the people in these communities are facing the hardships in an effort to get registration work done. It was my feeling that the people were very interested in the stories of the hard-core areas, and were greatly motivated by my telling of such things as the Travis shooting, and this kind of thing. All in all, I feel the speech was very well received.

I think we can reasonably expect the city of Decatur to go forward with a real registration drive, and yet there was good evidence of a fact that Decatur is a community in which someone would have to go in and work with them on techniques. I think it is perhaps the lack of skill in techniques which caused the people to become discouraged in the past.

There was a good cross-section of the people of the community. School teachers, principals, preachers, businessman, and laborers - all of which seemed to have been very much aware of the desirability of going forward with a good registration drive.

After the meeting was over, I spoke with the leadership of the Limestone County Coordinating Committee. In this brief conference, I explained in detail the nature and operation of VEP, and indicated to them that there was a possibility that VEP might be willing to underwrite some

of the expense of their activities. In this connection, I urged upon them, the desirability of doing a good job in the one-week registration period in the first week in July. I have requested of the committee that they supply us with a letter indicating just how successful they had been.

There is a lot of potential leadership in the Decatur community, and yet, I feel that this leadership will not be effective unless there is some close planning, at least through the early stages of their drive.

Decatur is a community, I am told, in which there is little or no opposition in the registrar's office, so far as Negro registrants are concerned. There were some 20 or 25 people in this mass meeting that had come from other sections of the county. This would lead me to the conclusion that perhaps Limestone County ought to be made one of our target areas for a project in the early fall. I would therefore recommend that we encourage the Decatur Limestone County Coordinating Committee to think in terms of working out a program and a budget, and applying to the VEP for sponsorship.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

July 25, 1963

File
Field Rpts.
RTB

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to Dallas, Texas

During the weekend of July 12, 13 and 14, I was out in Dallas, Texas. This particular field trip I prefer to describe by saying that I sat at a crossroad of history into which was flowing all of the wonderful political traditions of the Reconstruction, Populist, Lafollit, Roosevelt periods of yesteryears, along with the currents that are so dynamicly unfolding at this present time.

The occasion was the organizational convention of the Texas Democratic Coalition. I had been invited out as a VEP observer by Mr. Larry Goodwin, the Coalition coordinator. By prior arrangement of some 16 individuals, four delegations of 25 persons each had been invited to attend this convention. The character and orientation of the Coalition hammered out in the meetings is reflected in the Statement of Purpose that was adopted. This statement ran as follows:

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Democratic Coalition

The Democratic Coalition is a voluntary association of individuals from the four groups which historically, in Texas, have constituted the core of support for the programs, principles and candidates of the National Democratic Party. These four groups are Negroes, Labor, Latin-Americans and loyal-liberal Democrats. The primary purpose of the coalition is to broaden communications between rank and file workers as well as leaders of these four groups with the view toward (1) developing programs beneficial to the cause of progressive democracy and (2) developing working precin ct organixations that can strengthen grass roots support of those programs and (3) developing functioning local Democratic Coalitions. The coalition seeks to emphasize the function of precinct organizations in increasing voter participati n in Texas as a necessary prerequisite to the election of progressive candidates. In the poll tax and election season of 1963-64, the coalition will seek to develop programs in the following specific areas:

1. Joint organizing efforts to achieve maximum voter participation in the November 9, 1963, election to repeal the poll tax.

2. Following this election, the grass roots organizing effort will continue through January 31, 1964, with the objective of obtaining the largest possible number of qualified voters for the 1964 primaries and general election.

3. To facilitate (1) and (2) above, the coalition will seek to raise sufficient funds to win the poll tax repeal election and then donduct the most massive voter registration drive yet attempted in Texas. Two hundred thousand new voters, in selected precincts and counties, will be the objective os this registration drive. The coalition will seek to work with local labor unions, PASP chapters, Voters Leagues, senior citizens, Young Democrats, and other loyal Democratic organizations.

4. Implementation of the "Team Program" as an organizing aid in the precinct registration effort will be attempted to the extent of the coalition's financial resources.

5. In the areas where such candidacies should help stimulate voter interest, the coalition will seek to encourage the early announcement of candidates while voter registration is still in progress.

6. The coalition will adopt, from time to time, such other programs and policies which, in the opinion of the Steering Committee, will further the basic objective of building precinct organizations to conduct registration and "get out the vote" drives.

7. The coalition will seek to promote maximum consultation among its members on the selection of candidates so as to encourage the kind of general agreement that will result in coordinated political effort. Participation in this coalition shall amount to a commitment by each of the individuals who are representative of their respective groups at local and state levels that no individual member will endorse candidates prior to formal consulation with the other members of the Steering Committee of the Coalition. The Coalition shall never endorse candidates unless all four groups agree. Endorsement by the Coalition shall bind the members

of the Steering Committee to vigorously and in good faith recommend to their respective organizations the candidates endorsed by the Coalition.

8. As a matter of policy, members of the Coalition feel the struggle for civil rights now gaining momentum across America is essential to the building of a more just society and, as such, deserves the energetic support of all. The working out of a joint effort whereby genuine progress can be achieved in the emotional and politically volatile area of civil rights will be one of the chief objectives of the Coalition, as it functions on a day to day basis throughout 1963-1964. Similarly, the legal plight of workers in Texas has served to undermine the health of the economy, affecting directly or indirectly every one of Texas' 10 million people. Since no true economic progress by the broad mass of Texas citizens can be achieved under present state laws restricting employees rights, this entire area of legislation is, with the broad area of civil rights, of central concern in building a more progressive Texas: so that employee rights shall be made meaningful and so that the fruits of full employment and employment opportunity will be made equally available to all.

It must be understood that this statement of policy was not arrived at easy. There was considerable floor fighting over the provisions contained therein. It was particularly interesting to observe the four factions of the Coalition charging each other with misdealings in the past. The Negro delegates at the convention were quite positive and uncompromising in their charge that in previous coalitions, they had been the victims of a double-cross or sell-out. One of the spokesmen for the Negro delegation reviewed the history of coalitions in the state of Texas, pointing out that the same factions - Labor, Negroes, Mexicans, and liberals had coalesced in the past, and that Negro people had delivered their communities to the voting polls only to discover after the election, that the other three factions had not done so.

The spokesman at this point in the deliberations of the convention was a Mr. Sutton, a very successful businessman. Mr. Sutton and a Dr. Brooks joined in expressing the opinion that Negro people could no longer accept the excuse that Labor and liberals could not control their followings. Both of them indicated that they and the Negro community was willing to join into the Coalition, but that in doing so, it should be understood that in the event that the other factions of the Coalition failed to deliver, they would feel no hesitancy in

scraping the entire organization, so far as they were concerned.

The Labor representatives and the liberal representatives were quick to defend their position, though I do not think it made any substantial influence on the opinions or the individuals that had spoken before. I was impressed by, and saw great hope in, the capacity of all of the delegates to face the difficult problems of coalition, deal with them, and yet remain intact.

The deliberations of the Coalition's organizational meeting were held on Saturday, July 13th. On the Friday evening before the Saturday meetings, the Negro delegation met at the Dallas City YMCA. In this particular meeting, they agreed on a statement that they would place before the Coalition sessions, stating what the Negro people felt that they had a right to expect as a result of their participation in the Coalition. It was also in this meeting that the Negro people prepared a statement for the press, calling upon the governor of Texas to follow an outlined course of action. A copy of this statement is here attached.

It was my pleasure to make remarks at the session held by the Negro delegates, as well as the sessions held by the entire Coalition. In speaking to the Negro delegates, I addressed myself principally to the kind of determination that I have the opportunity to see as I move about in the South from one registration project to another. In this regard, I cited the number of people that we are able to stand up for registration in Kinstree, South Carolina, and in Greenwood, Mississippi, and urged upon the Negro delegates to go out into the streets and bring all of those persons that were not presently participating in the political life of the community.

When speaking to the four factions of the Coalition on Saturday, I addressed myself to something of the history of coalitions, pointing out what I believe history dictates as the failure for these previous attempts at coalition. In this regard, I suggested that to a very great extent, there is a tendency on the part of white liberals to always elect to work in the Negro community, rather than work in the white community to find other people like themselves. I suggested that the civil rights struggle, when it matures, will be to a very great extent, an economic struggle, and that they would find many persons in the white community that could find Negroes natural allies for their own personsl aspirations. I tried to drive home the point that Negro people are already finding basis for coaltion, and that unity in the Negro community was taking place at a pace unlike any other period in history; and that a coalition such as was being put together at this time must take into account of the necessity for laying plans that would

prevent the Negro people from being pitted against the white people by those who have a vested interest in segregation. These remarks found favor with all the factions of the Coalition, and were commented on by two or three of the speakers that followed my remarks.

In an afternoon session, the Coalition, having agreed upon its statement of policy and purpose, went into a consideration of the election of officers and the structure and operation of the Coalition, which might be described as follows:

FORMAL STRUCTURE

> Formal structure of the Democratic Coalition was produced by the Steering Committee which now numbers some 200 members. The four main groups in the Coalition will have equal voting strength through their representative co-chairmen.
>
> Named as co-chairmen of the new organization were leaders from the four main factions in the liberal democratic coalition. They were Dallas Negro attorney W. J. Durham, president of the Texas Voters League; Hank Brown, Texas AFL-CIO president; Albert Pena, president of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO); and Franklin Jones of Marshall, described as an attorney representing the "loyal Democrats". The chairmanship will rotate among these four co-chairmen; the group's headquarters and staff will be located in Austin.

The various delegations present at the Coalition convention seemed to me to represent a very excellent cross-section of leadership for the state of Texas. In the Negro community, the Mexican community, it was evident that we were talking with the leadership of the principal organizations existing in those communities. It is significant that the 25 persons from labor were also the 25 executive members of the AFL-CIO for the state of Texas.

After the deliberate sessions of the convention were over, I attended a cocktail party at which there were present, several political dignitaries - among them, the Senator Yarbrough.

On Sunday morning, Larry Goodwin and I met for two hours to discuss the convention of the previous days, as well as to discuss the Coalition as VEP fits into the operation. Most of what was said can be summarized in Mr. Goodwin's answer to my question, what does he expect of VEP? In this regard, Mr. Goodwin pointed out that there were some three or four things that he would want VEP to do. Number one, he said he would like VEP to supply technical advice relative to registra-

tion. He also would like for the VEP to receive any funds that are available for registration work in the state of Texas, and dispense them to the proper sources in the state of Texas, mainly to the organization known as VOTE, which stands for "Voters of Texas Enlist". The organization known as VOTE was put together in the last hour of the Coalition meeting, and is to be understood to be a separate organization from the Texas Democratic Coalition, with the sole purpose of conducting a registration drive. Thirdly, Mr. Goodwin indicated confidentially, that he would like for VEP to make available some money for registration work to the Negro Voter's League, as a way of giving the Negro people independence in theCoalition, which he felt was desirable in order to maintain the kind of militancy that would make possible the contunied effectiveness of the Coalition. And, fourthly, Mr. Goodwin felt that VEP could be of real help to him and the Coalition leadership in helping it not only to work techniques of registration, but also in helping it to arrive at, and stay on, sound philosophical principles as they continue their operations. I think this particular fourth request on his part grows out of the discussion that had been given to the reasons why coalitions in the past had failed in this country.

I was greatly impressed by the workings of this convention. The organization's proposed operations and the issued commitments of the Coalition are sound, and point the wa y for a new period in American history, if they continue.

I recommend, therefore, that the VEP lend all the assistance that it can within the framework of its existing limitations and structure.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachments

STEERING COMMITTEE APPOINTEES

NEGRO:

Dr. Marion Brooks, 2200 Evans Ave., Fort Worth
T. M. Shadowens, 904 E. Rosedale St., Fort Worth, ED 5-4181
Mrs. Lenora Ralla, Fort Worth
W. J. Durham 2600 Flora, Dallas, RI 7-4835
Fred J. Finch, 3318 Oakland, Dallas, HA 8-1326
Rev. C. A. W. Clark, Dallas
Miss Jewell James, Denton
Francis L. Williams, 3323 Palm,Houston
Miss Barbara Jordan, 4910 Campbell, Houston, Or 2-0525
Mrs. Moses LeRoy, 3322 Drew, Houston
Mr. Willie Melton, Kendleton
John Huff, 908 S. Cameron, Victoria
Rev. C. W. Black, 1211 Wyoming, San Antonio
G. J. Sutton, 711 North Pine, San Antonio
Arthur DeWitty, 1106 East 10th, Austin, GR 6-4293
B. T. Bonner, 1907 Whittier, Austin, GR 2-1055
Rev. S. Y. Nixon, Box 1661, Longview
Rev. A. D. Thomas, 913 Clark Ave., Lufkin
Mrs. M. A. Hines, Corsicana
M. C. Jamison, 802 Irvine St., Yoakum
Willie Jerry Jones, 1215 Avenue M., Huntsville
W. O. Davis, 719 E. Pearl, Odessa
Calvin Lee, 610 S. Jackson, Midland
E. L. Williams, El Paso
A. W. Hines, Corsicana

INDEPENDENT LIBERALS:

Lillian Collier, Mumford
Mary Wilson, 6658 Avalon, Dallas, TA 1-9267
Herkey Bernard, 3102 S. Valley View Lane, San Antonio, TA 6-1012
Chris Dixie, 505 Scanlon Bldg., Houston, CA 3-4444
Latane Lambert, 7046 Holly Hill Drive, Dallas, EM 3-6131
Oscar Mauzy, 1601 Natl. Bankers Life, Dallas, WH 2-4372, RI 1-4656
Asa WIllis, Texline
F. O. Maston, Sudan
Dr. Evelyn Powers, 403 Fisk Med. & Prof. Bldg., Amarillo
Mrs. R. D. Randolph, 2131 Welch, Houston, JA 93753, JA 4-2620
Ed Taylor, Box 777, Dickenson, CA 8-1666 Houston
Franklin Jones, Marshall
Martin Wiginton, El Campo, LI 3-5449
Jean Lee, 3110 West Ave., Austin, GR 2-2374
Houston Thompson, Silsbee
Margaret Carter, 2816 6th Ave, Fort Worth
Bill Wright, 1503 Avd. S., Snyder
Dan Sullivan, 102 Grimes Bldg., Andrews
Imogene Williams, Rte. 3, Panhandle, Texas

Independent Liberals (cont.)

Lawrence Bruhl, Idano
Jimmy Strong, 137 West Neal, Carthage
Virginia Ragsdale, 210 South Bradley, McKinney
Bob Dennis, 2331 19th St., Lubbock
Leo Marwill, 402 East Main, Rusk
Judge Tom Brookshire, 303 N. Armstrong, Kingsville
Will Burnett, Wimberly
Bob Slagle, Commercial Bldg., Sherman
Maury Maverick, 709 Maverick Bldg., San Antonio, CA 6-6191
Sarah McClure, 1620 West Mulberry, San Antonio
Jim Sewell, Corsicana
Doug Crough, Criminal Dist. Courts Bldg., Fort Worh
Tony Korioth, 1114 Texas Ave.,Bldg., Houston, CA 7-4168
Minnie Fisher Cunningham, New Waverly
Geri Elliott, 4702 Wilshire, Midland
Nancy Hamilton, 5802 Highland Hills Dr., Austin, GL 3-4408
Jamie Murphy, 7209 Ellis Rd., Fort Worth
Penny Dudley 322 S. Carancahua, Corpus Christi
Roy Engelke, 619 8th Ave., N., Texas City

Note: of the above 39 names, 25 members will be chosen

LABOR:

Bill Dunn, Rte. 2, Box 615, Tyler, LY 3-2244
J. W. "Bill" Ricks, 2312 Ave., E, Nederland, RA 2-0952
N. E. Coward, 2704 Sutherland, Houston, WA 3-9474
F. M. Akers,4005 Norhill, Houston, UN 2-8410
Paul Teague, Box 1429, Texas City, WI 8-2496
Oscar Reyna, 1010 S. Alameda, Corpus Christi, TU 3-2084
L. V. Means, 119 McNeel Rd., San Antonio, PE 6-3346
George Miner, 718 N. W. 7th St., Grand Prairie, An 4-1451
Dave Keeler, 1206 Hickory Tree Rd., Mesquite, AT 5-3256
O. C. Yancy, Jr. 7848 Terry St., Ft. Worth, JE 6-2821
Ed Rackley, 4021 Caddo, Greenville, GL 4-6156
Bill Petril, 705 Shady Lane, Austin, GR 2-1904
F. M. Hall, Box 1798, Amarillo, Dr 2-3000
Frank Parker, Box 1590, Big Spring, AM 3-2941
Felix Nakovic, 515 Hawkins Way, El Paso, 778-2020
A. A. (Gus) Gianfala, 2534 Boca Chica Blvd., Brownville, LI 6-6740
Chester Smith, 709 Littlefield Bldg, Austin, GR 7-1877
E. R. Jacobson, Jr., 1501 Aggie Lane, Austin, GL 3-0693
Herman Whatley, 3909 S. 1st St., Abilene, OR 4-9584
Al Goodson, 1904 11th Pl., Big Spring, Am 4-6684
Billy Fielding, Box 141, Grand Prairie, AN 2-3644
L. Tom Fox, 2306 Broadway, Houston, MI 9-2714
Jean B. Savoy, 3101 Tanglebriar, Pasadena, GR 2-7409

Labor (cont.)

John Heath, 1102 E. Weatherford, Ft. Worth, ED 6-5219
Robert N. Brown, 2719 Bagley, Odessa, FE 7-0237

LATIN:

Roy Elizondo, 1708 Lyons, Houston
Mrs. Samuel M. Calderon, 3405 McAshas, Houston
John Castillo, 1136 Hammock, Houston
George Hernandez, 2129 15th St., Port Arthur
Gus Gonzales, 505 Washington, Wharton
Manuel Jara, 1715 North Lincoln, Fort Worth
Moses Falcon, Crystal City
J. O. Pepper Garcia, 1329 Lonsdale, Dallas
Mrs. Maria G. Tijerina, 2403 S. 3rd, Austin
Mr. L. R. Downey, PI Box 1302 El Paso
Mr. Alonzo F. Kennard, Box 1307, El Paso
Ricardo Gomez, PO Box 1243, Laredo
Tony Becerra, 403 3rd, Fort Bend
Adela C. Alva, 817 North Beal, Belton
Leo J. Leo, PO Box 1, La Joya
Dr. Ramiro R. Casso, 1520 Galveston, McAllen
Renato Cuellar, 803 N. Louisiana, Weslaco
Bob Sanchex 223 S. 17th McAllen
E. B. Duarte, Box 88, Brownsville
Filemon B. Vela, 410 Taylor, Hardingen
Albert Fuentes, 310 E. Ackard, San Antonio
Commissioner Albert Pena, County Court House, San Antonio
Mr. Leo Duran, 404 Jones Bldg., Corpus Christi
Martin Garcia, Kingsville
Aguinaldo Zamora, 2174 State Highway, New Branfels

WBB

July 26, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

file

Re: Field Trip to New Orleans, Louisiana

On Saturday, July 20th, I visited the city of Mobile and talked with Mr. J. Harvey Kerns, and Mrs. Yvonne Minor, relative to the New Orleans project. Mr. Daniels was unavailable for conference on this particular day.

When I introduced myself to Mr. Kerns, as being the field director for VEP , he began immediately to assure me that they were having great success, and that everything was going well. He went into some considerable detail in explaining the structure of their organization. He indicated that they had some 150 students that were presently canvassing the neighborhood for new voters. He also indicated that they had distributed more than 15,000 hand bills about voter registration in the community. Mr. Kerns was equally verbose in explaining the organization and structure of the coordinating council, explaining that the council had come of the best people, and most important people in the community on its executive board. I personally felt that Mr. Kerns was just a little over-impressed with the importance of the executive committee of the coordinating council.

I think perhaps I felt just a little sorry for Mr. Kerns, because he was so certain that his registration drive was a booming success. It is for that reason that I didn't press him for more specific information. I did, however, ask him if the New Orleans Committee was enjoying any new techniques that he would be willing to tell me about. At this point, Mr. Kerns said that there were no such things as new approaches in voter registration, that you hire yourself some canvassers, and get out in the street and canvass. I did not have the heart to tell him that the old social work approach to voter education was not the only approach, and that it had not proven to be even the most successful approach. I listened to what he had to say, thanked him for the conference, and left.

After some effort, I was able to locate Mrs. Yvonne Minor who acts as the secretary in the voter education office in New Orleans. Mrs. Minor took me over to the voter registration office where she showed me the kind of work that they had been doing. I was impressed by the amount of paper work, and the amount of research that had been accomplished through the efforts of the 150 students that Mr. Kerns spoke of. I think it would be fair to say that the New Orleans office, on a local

basis, would rival the Atlanta office on a region-wide basis, so far as paper work is concerned, and yet, Mrs. Minor had to admit that they were getting very few people registered. Some part of this is due to the approach being employed, and some part of it is due to the fact that there seems to be a slow-down problem in the office of the registrar. I challenged Mrs. Minor as I had the people in Mobile, to think of creative ways of conducting registration drives. It was a pleasure to find her open-minded on this particular subject. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Minor related to me the fact that she and Mr. Daniels had considered using a technique that they called a "Beer Bust". The idea being that they would get one of the brewerys to supply them, free of charge, with a quantity of beer, and that they would invite peopleto a kind of beer party, whereby they would discuss voter registration, and encourage people to go down and register. She said that while they had discussed this as a technique, they had not found the courage to try to use it. I encouraged her in this regard to go ahead with this idea, and any other unique idea that she was able of thinking of, assuring her at every step, that if she would but allow herself, she could find numerous ways of being creative in the matter of presenting voter registration, and that only creativity would bring results because had the traditional methods been effective, then there would not be a need for registration drives at this time. I frankly believe that she accepted this proposition, and can be expected to try to do something along these lines.

Mrs. Minor impressed me as being the kind of person that can be quite effective in voter registration, if surrounded by other individuals of some skill and ability. I think this is based, to a great extent, on the fact that she had some real grounding in an understanding of political issues, such as education, housing, and the like. And yet, I am just a little afraid that she will become discouraged in her work when she finds that she has argued housing, employment, recreation, and the like, as sound political issues without substantially moving the populus to the registration poll. I intend to be in constant contact with Mrs. Minor, as I feel that the paper work that she has done, coupled with some new approaches to registration, can produce some real fruitful results.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

August 6, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: A Field Trip Into Greenville, South Carolina

August 1st, I arrived in Greenville, South Carolina, and talked with Atty. Donald Sampson. This was my second trip into the Greenville community, and my second conference with Atty. Sampson.

Following the formula that the Research Director had worked out, and the quota established for Greenville, I asked Mr. Sampson whether he felt that it would be possible to register 1100 Negro citizens between August and February 1st. It appeared that Mr. Sampson was doubtful as to whether or not such a registration would be possible. This particular question and Mr. Sampson's hesitancy led us into a discussion of the problems that previous registration drives had encountered along with the various techniques that had been employed. Mr. Sampson was particularly qualified to talk about this subject, as he was the chairman of the last registration drive that had been conducted in Greenville during which time some 70 new voters were added to the books. I think it would not be unfair to say that Mr. Sampson felt proud of the fact that they had registered some 70 people. However, I think we were successful in disabusing Mr. Sampson's mind of any feeling or notions of success as we related to him the kind of successes that we are now able to get out of other communities, such as Kingstree, Williamsburg County. I think Mr. Sampson accepted the idea that greater work could be done in Greenville. I asked him in this regard whether or not he felt that it would be possible to get a drive organized and off the ground by the first of September. In this regard, Mr. Sampson pointed out that there existed in the Greenville community, three organizations that ought to be concerned with registration - the Human Relations Council, the NAACP, and a committee known as the Committee on Negro Affairs. Mr. Sampson was quick to point out that all three of these organizations are extremely conservative and could not be relied on to do an effective job. RTB says this would also apply to VR activity.

He indicated to me that within the past year, there had been several civil rights programs, and that all of these programs had received considerable criticism from the three established organizations. Mr. Sampson recommended, in this connection, that it might be more desirable to try to select individuals from these various organizations that would be willing to try to carry on a truly effective

registration program. Mr. Sampson, with my suggestion, agreed to call together a committee of some 20 individuals that have a reputation for being willing to work in social action. This he agreed to - contacting the registrar's office to see if additional days, or possibly night registration could be granted. Mr. Sampson also agreed that he would contact the senator from that particular district to see if it would be possible to get the senator to deputize several Negroes to conduct registration.

As we talked about the various problems that had been encountered in the past, Mr. Sampson put at the top of his list, the inability to get Negroes to go down and attempt registration. It is his feeling that the board is fair, and that the Negro people of the community can generally count on being registered if they can read and write just the slightest bit. As we talked about the inability to get Negro people to do down and register, we inquired into the technique that had been used in previous drives in order to get people to attempt registration. It appears that all effort had been geared to the idea of canvassers going house-to-house to try to persuade people to go down and register. This method, Mr. Sampson agreed, is rather long, drawn out, and extremely tedious. We pointed out to him that there were a number of different techniques being employed by committees in order to get Negro people registered.

We also pointed out that perhaps the overshadowing problem with voter registration has been a lack of stimulation on a community-wide basis. We suggested to him that the Voter Education Project in Atlanta might, at some future time, undertake an effort to create a climate across the state in which registration would be possible without a great deal of persuasion. Among the various approaches discussed, Mr. Sampson seemed to have been particularly impressed by the idea of running a registration drive in the form of a contest between the existing local organizations. I rather suspect that this will be the kind of drive that Mr. Sampson will urge upon his group when he has assembled it. Before I left Atty. Sampson's office, he instructed his secretary to begin the preparation of a list of clubs, and churches in the community. I think we can reasonably expect that there will be some kind of registration work of a meaningful nature in the very near future.

I recommend, therefore, that the Voter Education Project set aside the sum of $800 for work in Greenville County, if and when the registration committee meets the requirements of the Voter Education Project.

I further resound that Mr. Sampson be informed of the fact that this approbation has been set aside, and that we await a full description of his committee, its plans for operation, and a detailed statement of their budget.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

8/9/63 - This was discussed with RTB. I stated that we do not want to set aside VEP funds for any area until we know that we can get a program going there.

WB

August 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: A Conference with Mr. Frank Robinson and Mr. E. Brown

August 3rd, in the city of Newberry, I met with Mr. Frank Robinson and Mr. E. Brown, the coordinator for the CORE program in South Carolina. CORE is assigned all of the 5th and 6th congressional districts, as well as Clarendon County in the 1st, Sumpter County in the 2nd, and Spartanburg in the 4th congressional districts.

I was told in great detail of the plans that these men have for these 18 counties assigned to them. Aside from Williamsburg County and Spartanburg County, I was not able to find information of any organized effort of the kind we need being made.

There is no question about the time that these men are putting into their work, but I do question that this assignment ought to be re-evaluated.

Mr. Robinson reported to me the breakthrough in Williamsburg County (Kingstree). July 5th, 96 citizens applied for registration, and 65 were successful as compared with May, in which 238 applied, and only 16 were successful.

It is now time to begin to pin this operation down.

I shall, unless advised otherwise, request of Mr. Robinson that he supply us with a list of the people that he is working with in each of the 18 counties assigned to CORE. This, I would like to have before I finish my county-by-county visits in South Carolina.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

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W.B.

August 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: Field Report on Oconee and Union Counties, South Carolina

August 2nd, I visited the city of Wahalla, South Carolina, and talked with Mr. A. J. Wittenburg about the possibility of registration in the county of Oconee, of which Wahalla is the county seat.

I had not visited this community before. Mr. Wittenburg was not known to me or VEP before, except as just a name supplied in the questionnaire that was administered to South Carolina State College students. When I met Mr. Wittenburg, I learned that he had been working in voter registration for the past seven years through an organization known as the Oconee County Civic Association.

I was told by Mr. Wittenburg that they had absolutely no difficulty so far as the office of the registrar is concerned. It was stated that the only thing that a citizen is required to do is sign his name. It was explained that the county does have a card that citizens are expected to fill out, but that it does not object to an applicant getting the help of a friend.

Mr. Wittenburg indicated that his organization had an index card on every Negro person in the county, unless they had come in within the past 6 or 8 months. These cards, he explained, indicated whether or not the person is registered.

I asked Mr. Wittenburg what his organization's future plans are, and he indicated that they had a drive planned to begin about the 1st of September, with a goal of at least 500. This was, of course, very good to hear, because it was exactly double the quota that we had set. Mr. Wittenburg suggested that I should talk with the president of the Oconee County Civic Association, a Dr. H. E. Hill, who lived in Seneco, South Carolina, some 20 miles away. I went to visit Dr. Hill.

August 2nd, I visited Dr. Hill in his drug store in Seneco. The main reason for visiting with Dr. Hill was to try to get a better picture of the Oconee County Civic Association, and to compare Dr. Hill's statements with the ones that had been made to me by Mr. Wittenburg.

When I met Dr. Hill, I found him to be a real registration live-wire. Perhaps the most rewarding thing about this experience was learning the kind of job that the organization had been doing without any outside help at all. I was impressed by the fact that there was little or no interest expressed in outside financial assistance until I began to suggest to Dr. Hill that I thought his community was politically mature enough to begin very serious block organization. I also asked Dr. Hill if he had any knowledge of any kind of organization of a civic nature existing in the adjoining county, Pickens. To this question, Dr. Hill replied that he and some members of his group had organized that county once, but that organization had gone out of existence. I then asked Dr. Hill if he thought it would be possible to revitalize the group through the use of his organization, indicating that VEP would underwrite the expense - and he agreed that his organization could and would be happy to do so.

I asked Dr. Hill if he thought it would be possible for his organization to register 249 citizens between August and February 1, 1964, and he said that he was confident that they could, and that their goal is 500 for the same period.

Dr. Hill described for me the structure of his organization, and gave the names and addresses of the various officers in each section of the county.

I was introduced by Dr. Hill to a Mr. Charles Sloan, the owner and proprietor of the Sloan Recreation Hall, a pool room. Mr. Sloan is a man who has adopted the attitude that if a man is old enough to play pool, he is old enough to register and vote. He has made it clear that if you are going to play pool in his hall, you have to register.

Mr. Sloan has in his possession, more than 100 certificates of men in the community that he has gotten to register. This approach of Mr. Sloan's, we plan to exploit in other communities.

I recommend:

1) That VEP set aside the sum of $500 for the Oconee County Civic Association for work in Oconee and Pickens counties.

2) That the association be informed of the fact that this appropriation has been made, and that we await indication of their readiness and willingness to use the funds effectively.

August 3rd, I visited Dr. J. P. Long in Union, South Carolina, at his office in the Union Community Center. Dr. Long was pointed out to me by a man I met in the street in Union.

Dr. Long is president of the Union County Voter's League which has a membership of about 400. It was explained to me that the League has been doing registration work in the county for about seven years. The League meets once each month on the first Monday.

I was told that there are about 900 Negro people registered in the county, and that they are shooting for 2500 by November, 1964. Dr. Long told me that he keeps before his people the fact that 2500 voters can control any election in the county. There were more than 2500 Negroes registered in this county before the new registration of 1958 was declared.

It is felt by Dr. Long that there is not a problem in the registration office, and that the office will take as many people as they are able to present. The only requirement is that the applicant be able to sign his name.

Dr. Long indicated that he did not feel that his organization needs VEP funds, but that he would appreciate very much VEP supplying him with all of the information that we can about what is happening to affect Negro people of a political nature.

He indicated that they have a job keeping interesting news and programs before their meetings, which are held once each month. (Union County was assigned a quota of 525 by our formula. I think this will be easily obtained if we just keep up with this group.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

August 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: Field Trip to Spartanburg, South Carolina

August 3rd, I visited Spartanburg, South Carolina, with the intention of talking with Mr. Frank Robinson of CORE about their program in the 5th and 6th congressional districts.

I later learned that Mr. Robinson had been working in Spartanburg during the week, but that he had gone home for the weekend. I talked with a Miss Shirley Worford who had been working with Mr. Robinson. Miss Worford impressed me as being a very sincere and devoted person. She told me that she, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Brown had been canvassing in one of the difficult areas of the Negro community in Spartanburg, and that they were getting some results.

I could not keep but regreting the unfortunate way that registration is being approached in this community. We had assigned a quota of 2526 new voters to this community, but this figure cannot possibly be realized unless there is greater community involvement. Mr. Robinson understands the importance of involving more people, but I get the feeling that he has given up on getting this part of the job done. Spartanburg is a community in which a citizen is only required to sign his name, I was told.

Miss Wofford told me that she is trying to work out some plan for setting up a tent in the camp-meeting tradition. Just how this will be done, and what it will consist of, I am unable to say at this time. We can be sure that what is presently being done will not bring the desired results.

I plan to prepare a list of suggested steps to follow, and get it over to them in the very near future.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Dr. Thomas C
WBr

August 13, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: Field Trip to Fort Motte, South Carolina

Saturday, August 10th, I attended the Second Congressional District meeting of the Non-partisan Coordinating Voter Registration Centennial Association of South Carolina. An invitation had been extended by the association's chairman, Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr. The meeting was held in the New Bethany Baptist Church of Fort Motte, South Carolina.

When I received the invitation, I assumed that it would be a meeting of possibly a half-dozen individuals that would have to be persuaded to believe that they were involved in a kind of activity that is worth the time that they are putting into it. It happened that I could not have been further from the truth. All of the persons present seemed quite enthusiastic about what they are doing.

Below is a list of the counties that make up the Second Congressional District. The figure beside the counties indicate the number of persons in each delegation:

Aiken - 7	Barneville - 2	Sumpter - 2	Orangeburg - 0
Banberg - 3	Calhoun - 19	Richland - 6	Lexington - 3

The meeting was opened at 11 a. m. with a devotional service followed by a statement of purpose by Mr. I. S. Leevy of Columbia. Mr. Leevy is a man well known to all political circles in South Carolina, and known to many persons around the nation. Mr. Leevy is a man 86 years old, and has been active in the political life of South Carolina for more than 60 of those years. He has been twice a candidate for the U. S. Congress, twice a candidate for the South Carolina legislature, three times a candidate for the city council of Columbus, and has also offered himself as a candidate at the county level.

Mr. Leevy's remarks were general in nature, built around the importance of non-partisan voter registration. He admonished the delegates to go back home and organize on the block, street, and ward levels. He proclaimed that he was neither Republican or Democrat, and that in his 86 years, he does not know a single white man that had not double-

3-70

crossed him, no matter how friendly he may have appeared to be. Mr. Leevy dealt with the effort of the Republicans to organize in the South along the most conservative lines possible. These remarks were interesting and well received because Mr. Leevy is ~~known~~ thought as a long-standing Republican. He said in his remarks, "They say I am a fool, but one thing you know, and that is, I will pay for what I believe - most of you know I have financed this thing since it began".

After the speech, each delegation was called upon to report their progress since their last meeting in Lexington in May. The various county delegations had been instructed in that meeting to go back to their counties and begin at once to organize their ward and register people. The delegation reported as follows:

COUNTIES	ATTITUDE OF BOARD	WORK ORGANIZED SINCE MAY	NO. OF PEOPLE REGISTERED SINCE MAY	OUR QUOTA	PROGRESS IN AN EFFORT TO GET ADDITIONAL DAYS FOR REGISTRATION
AIKEN	Very good	Have met in every precinct-4 formal organizations	No record for June. July, 131; August, 133	1708	Senator has promised additional days.
BAMBERG	Fair	One county leadership meeting-no word formally organized	No record-but there are a few		Will contact Senator-have not done so yet.
BARNWELL	Fair	Beginning to organize	Between 15 and 25 since May		No reference
CALHOUN	Fair	3 wards organized	June-13, July-11, August-15.		No reference
LEXINGTON	Fair	10 wards organized	5 since May	851	No reference
ORANGEBURG	Good?	No representation at this meeting	It was reported that there is good regis. work going on		------
RICHLAND	Good	18 or 20 precincts; Most activity is taking place through "school district clubs"	68 since May	4764	No report
CLARENDON	Fair	Just getting started	Same, but no record		Senator has been asked; he is looking into it.
SUMPTER	There were two persons present, but not the right ones.				

My overall impression of this meeting is very favorable. The spirits of the persons present was very high. Most of the people reporting for the various delegations were reporting for their meetings, and did not answer some of the questions that we would be interested in. In some instances, they talked about what they had learned about other counties not in their congressional district. For example, it was reported that Charleston and Newberry counties have obtained two extra days for registration. It was also reported that in Newberry County, more than 500 people have registered since May.

Mr. Leevy made a number of references to things that he could remember about the Negro's participation in the political life of South Carolina, such as the Negro congressman George White from North Carolina and a Negro postmaster in Columbus. Some time before the last of September, I intend to sit with Mr. Leevy, and take a taped interview that can be written up in a small pamphlet and distributed through the schools under a title like "This I Remember". This would be quite inspiring, I feel, and would serve as a part of the things that we are calling "climate creation". I rather feel that much of what we have called apathy is in fact despair in the face of having been taught in the schools that when Negroes were given a chance in politics, they "messed up".

I promised the group in my brief remarks that we are going to try to help every project by calling all club leaders and ministers in the state into the service of voter registration. I explained that we are starting very soon with our newsletter to supply an overall picture of registration work in the South. This we feel will give these leaders something to say to the people.

I feel that the NPCVR Centennial Association is the group that we will want to be identified with in the Second Congressional District. Our quota for the district is 7323 which I feel they can obtain between now and February 15, 1964.

I recommend financial assistance as soon as it can be made available.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachments

August 27, 1963

WB

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subj: Field Trip to South Carolina Covering the Counties of: Allendale, Hampton, Jasper, Beaufort, Colleton, Dorchester, Berkley, Charleston, Clarendon.

- Introduction -

This field trip, which extended over the period August 19 through August 24, and which involved some 1300 miles in the southern part of South Carolina, has been the most personally rewarding trip of any made thus far. The general voter registration enthusiasm that was encountered at almost every stop seemed well to affirm my conviction that the successes possible through the Voter Education Project are almost unlimited.

After having reviewed, almost as a coincident, the history of the South Carolina white primary fight of the 1940's, we set out with a view to find as many of the principles of that struggle as we possibly could. It was our feeling that if we could find those individuals that had seen the importance of the ballot at this early time, we would most likely be locating individuals who would be devoted, sincere leaders for such a program now.

This field trip was restricted to the First Congressional District which consists of nine counties, all of which have more than 30% Negro population, and none of which were assigned a part of the 23,000 new voters that we established for South Carolina. In all these counties, with the exception of one, the registrar is reported to be at least reasonable in his attitude toward Negro applicants.

Each of the counties is covered in separate sections of this report. The discussion of the counties is followed by a detailed description of a proposed congressional district meeting, along with a summary and recommendation.

Section I.

On August 20, I visited Charleston, Beaufort, and Jasper counties. Charleston County has a 37% Negro population. Political activity in this community is much more advanced than in most other parts of the state which explains to some extent the success of registration work. I visited in Charleston with Mr. Esau Jenkins, one of the principals

in the white primary fight in the 1940's. He is now director of the Sea Island Center Progress Club, and also director of the Citizen's Committee of Charleston County Registration and Education Project. The latter of these organizations is presently carrying on a registration program under the sponsorship of the VEP, and was successful in registering 501 new Negro voters during the month of August.

This was the third time I had met with Mr. Jenkins. It is always a pleasure to be in his company. Mr. Jenkins was quite free in showing me the records of his registration drive. I learned that it is an established practice with the committee to keep detailed records on all of their contacts. As I examined these records, I was able to determine that the committee checks on all persons contacted as to whether they have attended the voter education classes, whether they have tried to register, and whether they were successful. Persons that are not successful are followed up by the committee until they succeed. The records reveal clearly the number of persons that had registered each month.

I asked Mr. Jenkins to what factors might his success for the month of August be attributed. He explained that the registration drive is conducted in conjunction with two registration classes, in which citizens are prepared to make application. The classes are conducted two nights per week, and hold for two hours each session. Mr. Jenkins explained that August was a record month, and they would not likely get as many as 500 during the month of September, but that a creditable number can be expected.

Several things in and about the committee office suggests a very live program. The committee has obtained a new Volkswagon which has signs on it about the work of the committee. A standard voting machine has also been obtained from the county on which instruction can be had five days per week from 9 to 4 o'clock. Citizens are being urged to come in for instruction by use of the radio and newspaper.

I asked Mr. Jenkins if he anticipated any significant change in his present operation. Mr. Jenkins indicated that no great changes are anticipated, but that some addition to what they are presently doing would be desirable.

This question brought Mr. Jenkins around to discussing about what he thought was possible in that area of the state with a little help. He indicated that registration successes were possible in just about every county. He talked about how he had seen the citizenship schools being a tool to political consciousness in a matter of weeks.

Three schools that have been under the general direction of Mr.Jenkins are scheduled to come to a close on the first of September, due to the

fact that the source of funds has run out. I encouraged Mr. Jenkins to apply to VEP for citizenship school funds, not only for the three Charleston County classes, but also for two classes in Berkley, since Mr.Jenkins has been doing work in that county also. During the month of August, 53 new voters were added to the rolls in Berkley County as a result of this work. As I talked with Mr. Jenkins, I wished that more people could have been present to experience the tone of hope and enthusiasm that was so evident in what he had to say. I was inspired by him to think of trying to get the leaders of the area into a meeting together. This became one of my objectives from this point on so far as this trip was concerned.

Section II.

In Beaufort County, I visited with an old friend of mine, Atty. Charles Washington. Atty. Washington has, for several years, worked closely with registration activities in the county. This work has been mainly in the hands of the Penn Community Center of Frogmore, South Carolina. We reviewed together the 22 page statistical study prepared by the Frogmore group. (A copy of this report is here attached.)

Beaufort County, with its 39% Negro population, can be pointed to as proof to some extent of what a voting Negro community can do. It is the only county in the state, and possibly the South, with a Negro on the county Board of Directors. Mr. LeRoy Brown was elected by the St. Helena township in 1962. In this county, Negroes represent their community on the library board, and the school board.

I went out to the Penn Community Center with Atty. Washington to talk with the director, Mr. Courtney Siceloff, but learned upon my arrival that he was out of the city. However, I did talk with several other individuals, among them, Mr. LeRoy Brown, Mr. Jones Richardson, president of the Voters League, and Mr. A. J. Brown, NAACP president. There is not, at present, a voter registration drive being conducted in Beaufort (however, all of the machinery and know-how does exist), it's just a matter of setting the time for a drive. The Penn Community Center has a South-wide voter education leadership conference plan for 26 days, starting September 30. I asked Mr. LeRoy Brown and Atty. Washington about coming to a meeting in Charleston to talk about organizing on a district basis and making plans for a registration drive. The idea was warmly received. They promised that they would come and bring others, especially Mr. Siceloff and Mr. A. J. Brown if they were available.

Section III.

In Jasper County, I visited with Mr. Joe Orr. Mr. Orr's name is one that I had heard mentioned in several communities in connection with

voter registration work. I was given to believe that Mr. Orr had been in registration work for quite some few years. He was also one of the principles in the white primary fight.

Mr. Orr is an old NAACP man, but he explained that he is now carrying on, to the extent that he is, through a chapter of the South Carolina Human Relations Council.

Mr. Orr indicated that the problem with registration as he saw it was a matter of having the finances to carry on an effective program. He indicated that he and a few others had supplied the finances in the past, but now that he is retired, he does not have the money to use for the purpose. The registrar has proven to be reasonable in the past, through he may change, Mr. Orr said.

I discussed with Mr. Orr, the idea of coming to a district organizational and registration planning meeting. He said that he would be happy to do so, that he had tried to get together such an organization several years ago, but had not been too successful.

Mr. Orr indicated that his group registered 50 people in August, and that he had in mind planning for a big drive. He also said that he had asked for additional days and nights for registration, and is hopeful of getting same.

Section IV.

In Hampton County, I spent some five hours on August 21 looking for "the registration man." It is interesting that at every stop, it was reported to me that some serious registration work was being done in Hampton County, but not a single individual in the neighborhing counties was able to supply a name or address. The news of what was being done had spread throughout the area, nevertheless. Once in the county, I began a general inquiry, and finally was directed to the home of Mr. Jack Delooch.

Mr. Delooch told me that there had been three registration meetings in his county within the past 30 days, and that at one of those meetings, he had been chosen county chairman in charge of voter registration. He reported that his group had registered 60 people during the first week in August (this had been told to me before), and that they are in the process of trying to get some kind of organization in every precinct in the county. It was his opinion that greater numbers would be registering in the future. The registrar is good, and will even help an applicant to qualify, I was told.

Mr. Delooch is a Federal employee, and has accepted leadership in this

program because he felt that he was less open to economic pressure if and when Negroes began to register in large numbers. I told Mr. Delooch about the meeting being planned for Charleston for September 21, and he indicated great interest and assured me that he would be present.

Section V.

Allendale County was visited August 21. It was without question, the weakest community on this entire trip. Not a single individual at any point would say anything encouraging about the county. Suggested contacts were not to be had from anyone. In Allendale, I could easily understand, within just a few minutes, the truth of the way the county had been represented to me. I don't think I have been in many communities where the presence of white domination was so evident.

None of the people that I talked with were willing to speak freely, not even to the giving of their names. As I introduced myself, I usually presented the individual with one of my cards. This was the best way in the world to cut off communication, particularly with those that understood what my business was. In some instances, individuals were totally ignorant of voting, or elected to pretend to be. In one case, I talked with a barber in his shop, and he closed his door and told me in low tones that I would not find anybody that would be willing to get mixed up in that kind of thing. After several inquiries, I came upon a Mr. Robbie Dicks, Jr., an employee of the Pilgrim Life Insurance Company. Mr. Dicks explained that he understood that at one time, Negroes voted in the county, but that for several reasons, they had been forced to stop their participation. I talked with him about the kind of things that are taking place all over the country in the civil rights field, and the kind of help that is now available to communities. I asked Mr. Dicks about coming to the September 21 meeting, and he agreed that he would come and try to bring someone with him. I expect to see him at this meeting because I think that what I ran into in this county was a real case of fear and despair. It was certainly was not an attitude of not caring.

Section VI.

I visited Colleton County August 21. I had been instructed at some several points in this trip to talk with the Rev. Matthew McCollum. Rev. McCollum, a board member of SRC and a veteran civil rights man, was indeed a source for uplift and refreshment. As I talked with him, I was sure the idea of getting the community leaders together in a meeting was a good one. In my brief conference, I got the assurance that he could supply almost any kind of leadership a district-wide organization would demand.

In our conversation, Mr. McCollum, in a pedagogic sociological way,

analyzed the problems that would be encountered and something of what could be done to overcome them. Having recently moved into the community, Mr. McCollum had not done any registration work in this area. He did indicate the need for a civic organization and said that he was thinking of organizing one. He said that there was a Voters League, but that he did not think that "it amounted to very much."

I feel certain that Rev. McCollum can service a district organization well, and also get things moving in Colleton County. I told Rev. McCollum about our planned meeting in Charleston. He thought it was a good idea. After checking his calendar, he promised that he would be free, and could be expected to attend.

Section VII.

On August 23, I visited Dorchester County. This was another one of those extended searches for a particular person. I had been told by Mr. Orr and Mr. Jenkins about a Rev. Lewis H. Simmons that had been identified with registration work for quite some time, and who had also been associated with them in the primary fight. I was told that I would find Rev. Simmons in Summerville.

When I arrived in Summerville, I was directed to several other persons that were supposed to be the leaders of voter registration, but I continued my search for Rev. Simmons.

I located Rev. Simmons at the Emmanuel Vocational School which is a little community service school in which children are taught some arts and crafts. Rev. Simmons explained that he had started the school as a kind of "get the children off the street program." It has been in operation now for several years, and has a very nice day nursery attached. The nursery is being supervised by Rev. Simmons' wife. This project of the Simmons', along with his church, I should think, would give them good contact with the community.

Rev. Simmons took great delight in telling me of the days when they used to teach illiterates to memorize part of the Constitution, and how they used to pretend that they were reading it.

Rev. Simmons indicated that he had found it a bit difficult to get people to work at registration unless an election was coming up. He said that they had been getting people to go down, but he did not suppose that he had gotten more than 140 in the past seven months. He said that he did not think that the Board of Registrars were too technical on the literacy requirement, and that at one time, the registrar had brought the book out into the community.

I asked Rev. Simmons about coming to the proposed Charleston meeting. He received the idea, saying that he would be there, and that he wanted to learn what the other fellows are doing in order to interest citizens in non-election periods.

Section VIII.

My trip into Berkley County was purposely to meet some of the people that Mr. Jenkins had been working with. In the county I visited with, a Mr. Samuel Weigfall, in the community of Moncks Corner. Mr. Weigfall is president of the Berkley County Voter Education Project. He confirmed the fact that had been given to me by Mr. Jenkins as to the 53 voters and the one registration class.

I was told that an effort is now being made to try to get committees established all over the county.

My general impression was that we can expect registration to continue in this county. However, I do feel that the services and leadership of the Charleston County people will be needed for quite a while yet. I told Mr. Weigfall of our planned meeting in Charleston September 21. He agreed that he would come and bring others.

Section IX.

I visited Clarendon County August 21, and talked with Mr. Billie Flemming in the city of Manning.

This was the second time that I had met with Mr. Fleming, an old NAACP man and president of the local branch. This was an interesting visit because on this occasion, I took time to hear in detail Mr. Flemming's personal story of the economic pressure that is being placed on him for his civil rights leadership by officials of the city and county, as well as business interest.

Mr. Flemming has, and has had for some time, a great interest in voter registration. He reported to me that during the month of May, 125 persons had been registered, largely as a result of the work done by John Edwards, an understudy of Mr. John Brook. Mr. Flemming told me that John Edwards was not in registration work now, and had not been for 60 or 90 days, but was working with the NAACP commandoes.

As a result of the loss of John Edwards' services, registration work has slowed to almost nothing. There does not appear to be any likelihood that the work is going to be done in this area unless a person can be obtained to give full time to it. It was Mr. Fleming's feeling that the NAACP branch could advise and give leadership, but that it did

not have the kind of membership that could or would get out and do the work.

I tried to move the discussion around to a consideration of a community organization approach -- ministers and club leaders of all kinds participating. But, I did not get through to Mr. Fleming in this regard. He thinks NAACP so completely, that I feel that this is perhaps the way it will have to be organized -- hoping that as the branch moves along, it will find it desirable to ask for help. I would not choose to try to do the job any other way at this time. I don't think I see any other approach now.

Mr. Fleming has in mind a person to do the registration work that he has great confidence in. I got the feeling that he had made some indication to the man that he could get him on some kind of pay roll in this capacity. I met the individual and was favorably impressed with him.

I was asked by Mr. Flemming to check to see if funds for this individual could be had -- either through NAACP or as a direct grant. The major problem with using this man is that he would have to give up his present employment. It was without any certainty of future employment. Mr. Flemming understands and appreciates this problem, and would be interested in what VEP is prepared to do, feeling that possibly some adjustment can be made.

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Summary

The First Congressional District, which consists of nine counties, is that area of South Carolina that has Negro population in excess of 30%. When the decision was made to take each state district by district, a formula was arrived at that was believed to have been a basis on which it could be determined something of the extent to which registration work would be successful. Our experiences had indicated that where Negro population exceeds or approaches 50%, there would be considerable difficulty in the office of the registrar. So it was that we decided that we would only assign quotas to counties that had less than 30% Negro population. And, so it was that every county in the First Congressional District was left out of the 23,000 quota that was assigned for the state of South Carolina in our overall quota of 300,000 by February 1. This field trip, then, was designed to investigate to some extent, the soundness of the theory that registration efforts would not be fruitful in counties of more than 30% Negro population.

As indicated in the report, each of the counties visited in the First Congressional District, with the exception of one, appears to be areas in which registration can be conducted on a successful basis. In eight of the nine counties, it was reported to me that the registrar's office is at least reasonable in its administration of the requirements necessary to registration.

In each county, there seems to have prevailed the attitude that whatever is lacking in registration, is to a very great extent lacking in the Negro community, and mainly in the lack of organization. This, of course, would mean that as a result of the field trip just completed, a re-examination of the principles on which the formula for assigning quotas was based needs to be re-examined. It is certainly true that registration work is being carried on in most of these counties, and can be expected to continue to some degree. It would then appear that the VEP might properly concern itself with how to make for, and obtain, more effective registration activity.

There was found in every county, except one, some enthusiasm for making an effort to improve the techniques of conducting registration drives. It is because of this exsiting situation that a considerable part of the concern in this field trip was devoted to checking on how much interest there existed for a meeting of leadership in the First Congressional District. Such a meeting is planned tentatively for the 21st of September, and is scheduled to be held in the city of Charleston in what is known as the Garden Room of the Brook's Real Estate Building. A more detailed description for the proposed meeting is attached to this report. There is good reason to believe that out of such a meeting such as this one, considerable improvement in registration techniques might be gleaned. This conclusion is based on an evaluation of the quality of the leadership that was contacted on this particular field trip.

A Proposed Leadership Meeting for the First Congressional District of South Carolina

(To Be Held in the City of Charleston, S. C., September 21, 1963)

It is our thinking that this meeting might be held for a period of about five hours starting at 10 o'clock a. m., and carrying through until about 5 or 5:30 p. m.

It would seem that this meeting might properly give attention to four general areas. The first area I think might be described as a discussion devoted to the South-wide registration efforts. In a discussion of this sort, some attention might be given to the historical significance of the ballot, the worth of the ballot, the use of the ballot, and what is presently taking place -- not only in southwest South Carolina, but all over the southern region. I would think that this particular discussion, I would want to handle myself.

A second discussion (and I think about an hour might be devoted to each of these discussions) ought to concern itself with the problems of registration that might be anticipated at the very outset. This discussion, it would seem, ought to be open for each delegate to place before the meeting, any particular problem that it has encountered in connection with registration. It would seem that such a discussion would prove quite fruitful in problem-solving. The Rev. Matthew McCollum would be an ideal person to conduct this particular discussion because when I met him, most of our conversation was devoted to a discussion of the various problems that can be anticipated when registration is approached in a more serious and diligent fashion.

A third discussion might properly concern itself with techniques of registration. It would certainly be desirable to have Mr. Esau Jenkins to place before the meeting a complete discussion of the kind of registration drive that he had conducted successfully, and in addition to this, some time and attention might be given to the various types of approaches that we find being made all over the country. I would think that the various delegates in attendance ought to have the opportunity of discussing, criticizing, examining, and analyzing the various techniques of conducting registration drives, with a view to determining whether these various techniques would be effective in their respective areas.

The fourth discussion ought to concern itself with a discussion of quotas for the respective counties on the basis of realistic examination. It would be possible to determine something of the nature of the budget that would be required as well as affording the VEP some basis for arriving at what can reasonably be anticipated. These quotas, I

should think, should come from the individuals in the various county delegations and should be based on what they feel they can accomplish within a specified period of time.

With these four facets of the meeting behind the delegates, I should think that they would then be ready to constitute a First Congressional District voter education project with the election of district officers, and perhaps, the selection of a paid coordinator.

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Recommendations

1. I recommend that the VEP encourage and expand where practical, the citizenship classes presently being conducted by Mr. Esau Jenkins.

2. I recommend that the VEP accept and promote the proposed leadership meeting at Charleston, S. C., September 21.

3. That the VEP establish a budget of $300 to be spent on the conducting of this meeting; that this $300 be spent in paying the transportation of the delegates to the meeting at the rate of 8¢ per mile; that a portion of this money be used to buy one meal, to rent the hall, and other miscellaneous items.

4. I recommend that the formula of 30% not be applied so far as the state of South Carolina is concerned, and that a new formula be constituted to apply to the state of South Carolina, that would be determined, to a great extent, by what the delegates feel that they can reasonably expect to accomplish within a given period of time. (February 1, 1963).

5. I recommend that all grants to organizations in this area be made on a temporary basis at least until after the September 21 meeting, if this meeting is, in fact, to take place, so as not to subtract from the leadership that these local applications for sponsorship might contribute to the overall district program.

6. That the VEP adopt as a working formula, $1 per new registered voter, so as to afford the field director some basis for discussing what can reasonably be requested of VEP by agencies making applications.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Attachment: Beaufort County Statistics, 1960
prepared by Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

FRANK ROBINSON REPORT OF AUGUST, 1963

South Carolina

Darlington		59
Dillion		11
Florence		88
Georgetown		21
Horry		5
Marion		22
Marlboro		14
Lee		23
Williamsburg	(Election day)	Books closed
Sumpter		62
York		64
Yorkfield		59
Spartanburg		6
Kenshaw		76
Lancaster		14
Chesterfield		10
Chester		8
Union		10
Cherokee		7

CORE CONTACTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

HARTSVILLE:

Mr. Young	341 Main Street
Rev. E. Spann	191 Eighth Street
Rev. James	514 Sixth Street

CAMDEN:

Mr. C. Cobett	Route #1, Box 147
Mr. R. L. Floyd	Route #1, Box 83 (Rembert, SC)
Rev. G. Williams	814 Market St., PH - 432-7207
Mr. H. Porter	Route #1, Box 263

WINNSBORO:

Rev. C. Heaton	305 Calhoun St., PH 7726
Mrs. M. Martin	P. O. Box 557
Mrs. M. Alexander	1335 Congress Street
Mr. C. E. Heaton, Jr.	305 Calhoun Street
Rev. Hudson	340 Moultrie Street
Mr. G. Williams	129 S. Congress Street
Mr. G. E. Belton	Box 126
Mr. Brown	Roosevelt Street; PO Box 557

DORCHESTER:

Mr. W. McMillian

GAFFNEY:

Mr. Gilmore	354 Ruthledge Street
Rev. R. T. Gibson	Rural

CLARENDON:

Mrs. Hazel Ragins	PO Box 7
Rev. J. S. Hunter	
Mrs. Mary Jones	PO Box 251 (Summerton)

BENNETSVILLE:

Mr. C. Drake	PO Box 338, PH-GR 9-2565
Mr. C. T. Kennedy	NAACP Pres., Rte #1, Box 145
Rev. Smith	
Atty. Cain	

CHESTER:

Rev. Pendergrass	Market Street
Rev. Brown	Bailey Street
Mr. Edmond Eyers	160 Lancaster Street
Mr. E. Shelton	231 Lemmon Street
Mr. C. King	Funeral Home, Cemetary Street
Mrs. W. Wilson	105 Ashley Street
Rev. T. Bouser	Graham Street

LAKE CITY:

Mr. C. Jenkins	
Rev. J. W. Wilson	408 W. Thomas Street
Mr. L. M. Green	631 Main Street
Rev. R. Singletary	

DILLION:

Rev. H. Robinson
Mr. James Brown

LEE:

Mr. M. N. Montgomery	PO Box 207 (Lynchburg)
Mr. W. N. Danby	531 Church Street
Mrs. A. B. Stuckey	39 W. Munmerry
Mrs. Mable Cook	Route Box 48, PH 484-5989

MONKS CORNER:

Dr. Evans	314 Main Street
Mr. Oscar Haynes	PO Box 15 PH 825-5213

SPARTANBURG:

Mr. and Mrs. J. Williams	327 N. Dean Street
Rev. Cox	330 Piedmont Street
Mr. R. E. Amos	c/o Tobe and Hartwell Apts.
Mrs. Pierson	997 S. Liberty Street
Dr. J. E. Bull	S. Liberty Street
Rev B. L. Sears	555 Wofford Street
Rev. C. L. Austin	PO Box 83 (Fair Forest, SC)
Mrs. Lily R. Wofford	Route #1, (Roabuck, SC)

COUNTIES

DARLINGTON:

Mr. E. Stanley	714 N. Main Street
Mr. Hunter	514 Main Street

SUMTER:

Dr. E. C. Jones	537 S. Washington
Rev. Stokes	440 S. Main
Mrs. Lucile Evans	S. Washington Street
Mr. Horace Bush	4 Foxworth Street
Rev. Randolph	S. Washington Street
Mrs. Bradford	918 Bradford Road
Mrs. Sampson	204 Oakland Avenue

ROCKHILL AND YORK:

York:

Rev. Morris	442 Trade Street
Rev. Toatly	899 Pond Street
Rev. Knox	NAACP President
Dr. Ducker	617 Balck Street
Rev. Scott, D. L.	543 Lige Street
Mr. Pinkney Brown	714 Black Street
Mrs. C. Murdock	504 Large Street
Mr. Fred Bathers	518 Hampton Street
Mrs. Mamie McCulough	202 Whittgreen Street
York Cty: Rev. J. A. Massey	Route #1, Box 98, (Clover,SC)
Rev. H. Ross	PO Box 44
Mrs. J. Leache	Rte 1 PH Mu-4-4330
Mrs. M. Crawford	403 S. Congress St. PH 6845
Rev L. C. Gregg	347 Maiden Lane, Box 72
Rev. Wells	
Rev. Jenkins	

Williamsburg:

Mr. Johnny Demery)	690 Main Street
Mr. Walter Demery)	PH 354-6002
Mr. L. Jones	637 Main Street
Rev. M. H. Jenkins	Route 2, Box 180 (Salters, SC)
Rev. S. H. Gadson	319 W. Main Street

Florence:

Dr. R. M. Beck	403 N. Dargon Street PH MO 2-3102
Mr. M. Smook	342 Sumter Street
Mr. Demery	930 Sumter Street PH MU 2-3102
Rev. T. R. Frierson	

WBB

September 3, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Subject: Field Trip to Columbia, South Carolina and Saluda, South Carolina

August 29, I made a hasty visit into Columbia, South Carolina, in order to talk with Mr. Ben Mack, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's director of citizenship schools.

The urgency of this meeting was occasioned by my continuing concern over the slowness with which CORE is moving in the 5th and 6th Congressional districts.

CORE, having been assigned to the 5th and 6th Congressional districts is responsible for work in 16 counties, plus three additional counties, one in each congressional district -- First, Second, and Fourth. The quotas assigned for these areas total 6,865 of the 23,000 that we have set for South Carolina by February 28, 1964.

We have not made a county-by-county visit into each of the counties assigned to CORE, as we have in each of the other counties. I do have good reason to know that work is not going at the desired rate. I say this not as a criticism of what CORE workers are doing, so much as to the rate at which they can be expected to progress. CORE has only two persons working in this very large area, and cannot be expected to do any more than what is being done.

My trip to Columbia was to see what Mr. Mack thought SCLC could possible do and would be interested in doing. Mr. Mack indicated that SCLC has, within the past three years, operated 32 citizenship schools in South Carolina, but that none of them have been held in either the 5th or 6th Congressional District. This indication came out of a county-by-county examination of the state.

I am personally impressed with the citizenship school program -- it has certainly contributed to registration.

Mr. Mack did not express any enthusiasm for going into the 5th and 6th districts, and yet, I think if his office would request it, he would go.

This would leave at least two possible courses open to VEP. We can:
1) Try to interest SCLC or some other organization in working with CORE

in this area, or 2) Go into this area county-by-county, and set up a program designed to help CORE with its chosen task. The former is more desirable, I feel, so as to free me to move now into North Carolina, and do the kind of thing I have done in South Carolina.

Saluda, South Carolina

On August 30, I visited the city of Saluda. This visit was the last in the present South Carolina series designed to examine the possibility of obtaining the assigned quota of 23,000 in that state by February 28, 1964.

In Saluda, I talked with Mr. Robert S. Taylor. Mr. Taylor is a past president of the Saluda NAACP branch, as well as an officer in the Masonic Lodge. I was told by Mr. Taylor that the two organizations with which he is affiliated has been doing registration work in the community for several years and that the people in city hall have come to think of the Negro people as holding the balance of power.

Mr. Taylor said that they made registration a matter of concern at every meeting of the NAACP and that they are not taking any more fellows into the lodge unless they are registered. He said that they had not had a drive in several months, but that during the last one, they did succeed in adding some 150 new voters to the list, bringing the total to about 500. Mr. Taylor said that the drive ran for about four months, and that they had 30 canvassers working which they paid out of a fund of $300 that they had raised. It was indicated that no money had come into the community for any outside source.

I asked Mr. Taylor if he thought it would be possible to double the number of Negro voters and what would be necessary to do this. He said that it would be possible if they could get a little outside help.

I suggested to Mr. Taylor that he get his groups together, map out a drive, and submit the plan and a budget to VEP. We can expect to hear from Mr. Taylor in the near future.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

I would go slow on sending SCLC into CORE areas unless it is first discussed + agreed to by CORE

WBV
JMC
RTB

September 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: First Congressional District Organizational Meeting held in Charleston, South Carolina, September 21, 1963

Janet has, in her notes, more than adequately summarized this meeting. A tape recording was made of the meeting so that the actual words of the participating speakers can be examined.

There are several things, however, that will not be reflected in Janet's notes or the tape, that I think worthy of noting:

1. I have not worked with a group that was as cooperative as this one. There was not a single occasion where I had to beg the group for order.
2. We had wholesale informality and freedom of expression from the beginning to the end.
3. There was no wandering off after lunch, which is so often the case in meetings of this sort.
4. There was no needless speaking just to be seen.
5. There was enthusiasm, frankness, and candor throughout the session.

All in all, I feel very good about the meeting, especially when old veteran workshop men like Mr. Siceloff described the meeting by saying, "It could not have been better". Rev. Matthew McCollum said, "It was the best thing of its kind that I have ever attended".

The registration forms are here attached. They will reflect the facts relative to representation in the meeting.

Individual travel expense vouchers will reflect the fact about the cost of the travel expense.

After having come through this meeting, I am absolutely convinced that I could not have conducted it without Janet's very able assistance. She was busy from the time the meeting started until after it was over. I am satisfied with my decision to pay the expense of her travel down to Charleston out of my pocket, after the request for same was rejected. I do not request reconsideration of this matter. However, I do feel that VEP should compensate her for a day's work, even though Janet has said that she will willingly donate these services.

Because of my belief that this was a worthwhile adventure, I would recom-

mend that with your approval, the same thing be done as soon as possible in the third and fourth congressional districts of South Carolina.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Attachments: 3
1) Minutes
2) Travel vouchers
3) Registration forms

* a financial will be attached to this report later.

September 23, 1963

Minutes of the Voter Registration Meeting
Charleston, S. C.
10 a. m. to 4:30 p. m., September 21, 1963

Part I.

The meeting was opened by RTB, and led in a brief devotional service by the Rev. Matthew McCollum.

RTB cited the purpose of the meeting, which was to exchange ideas concerning voter registration. He expressed appreciation to the delegates for their attendance, and expressed appreciation for their having retained their belief that we can make something decent and worthwhile out of the world in spite of the Birminghams. He thanked them for all they had done in the past in the areas of political activity, community work, etc.

RTB went on, in his brief opening speech, to tell of some of the things he has encountered during his travels throughout the 11 southern states. He told of the hardships and brutalities that registration workers have undergone, and added that help in all forms was possible to distressed persons seeking aid.

Most of all, the determination, urgency and immediacy of the times was stressed, and the need for having something for Negro children to grasp once their parents had struggled to educate them, instead of having nothing to hand out to them. The idea that this responsibility lay on the shoulders of people throughout the southland, and might extend to saving the entire world because of incidents like the Birmingham atrocity, which was publicized throughout the world.

This short address was enthusiastically received, and set the pattern for the entire meeting, which moved along smoothly with participation from every delegate present. Ideas and suggestions came forth with a great deal of zeal and interest.

Anticipation of Registration Problems, and Approaches to Solving Them.

Part II.

Courtney Siceloff, of the Penn Community Services, and the Rev. Matthew McCollum, of Walterboro, S. C., were the leaders of this discussion. All of the problems listed below were brought out in open discussion by these two individuals, along with the attending delegation.

The problems cited:

1. The problem of reaching the "pool room" segment of the community.
2. The apathy of the people.
3. How suspicion is aroused when money is involved.
4. Dictatorship tendencies of the leaders.
5. The dodge of elected politicians and methods they use to get around issues.
6. The illeracy problem.
7. City Hall pressure.
8. The fear of economic reprisals.
9. The fear of the "unknown".
10. Abusiveness of registrars, such as name calling.
11. The failure of those who finally register to vote.

The solutions:

1. Insistance of picking leaders with a high moral character.
2. Encouragement in the wise use of the ballot.
3. Block and door-to-door campaigns.
4. Registration schools.
5. Show proof of some persons who have registered successfully without economic reprisal.
6. Reporting of abuses to Justice Department to have such cases checked into.
7. Stressing the importance of political education, and implementing the importance and advantages of the power of the vote.
8. Reaching the aged, so that their influence might be used in the community.
9. Reaching the under-35 group for the door-to-door campaigns.
10. Overcoming the problem of pronouncing difficult words in attempting to register.

The meeting then recessed for lunch.

Techniques Used in Registration

Part III.

This segment, led by RTB, brought out the comments of several of the registration leaders in the meeting. RTB brought out the fact that one successful technique is to involve a great number of people. The highlights of these other comments are as follows:

Mrs. Bernice Robinson was called on by RTB to express some of her ideas. Mrs. Robinson has been noted for her work in Mississippi, as well as South Carolina. Her ideas are as follows:

1. Set up citizenship schools.
2. Organize young people and senior adults alike. The use of young people for on-the-spot training, and the adults for coffee hours, community dinners.
3. Stress political education after registration, and give the individuals reasons for motivation.
4. Recognize the fact that different techniques have to be used in different sections and situations.

Billy Fleming, Manning, S. C.:

1. Check books on registration to determine number of Negroes registered.
2. Publish booklet, as was done in Manning, with the registered voters listed that headlines, "Is Your Name in this Book?", and put copy in every church, school, known organization, etc. (This idea was very well received because, as it was brought out, so many people will say they are registered, who are not. With the booklet, they cannot dodge the issue, and shame at not being registered and having their names appear in the booklet so publicly and widely distributed will cause them to go ahead and register.
3. Do a county auditor search of known Negroes with property assessed at $300 which can serve as a prospective list of voters.
4. Impressing one's congressman as to the changing times, and the power of the Negro vote.

Esau Jenkins, Charleston, S. C:

1. Organize and ask people what they want.
2. Check registration books.
3. Have persons sign name on application blanks, then set up meetings, get in touch with individuals and set up citizenship schools.
4. Set up voter education office with voting machines, and have newly registered people come in to be trained in its use.

Techniques Used in Registration (cont'd)

Mr. Delooch, Hampton County: (Newly organized group)

1. Organize leadership school
2. Personal contact and urging.
3. Door-to-door contacts.

Other county representatives stressed the importance, as did the others mentioned above, upon the need of citizenship schools, and the urging of Negroes to take advantage of night school training, to overcome the barriers placed before them in pronouncing difficult words, when they go to apply for registration.

Rev. McCollum closed this section with the following suggestions:

1. Use youth workers door-to-door.
2. Enlist teachers to teach citizenship in high schools in their civic classes.
3. Conduct campaigns with clubs, churches.
4. Run a candidate for office. (His contention was that even if the candidate was not expected to win, it would cause a number of Negroes to register, knowing a Negro was running for an office).
5. Increase organization at precinct meetings. Participation in precinct meetings would cause a voice that can be heard in national conventions. Delegates were urged to get the legislative manuals for needed information.

Part IV.

The figures below indicate the number that the delegates arrived at that they believe can be registered between now and February 28th, in their respective counties.

Jasper - 750 to 1000
Beaufort - 1000
Charleston - 2000
Berkeley - 500
Clarendon - 500
Hampton - 500
Dorchester - 700 to 1000
Collenton - 500

Part V.

Election of District Officers:

The delegates unanimously decided to name the organization "The First Congressional District Voter Education Project".

The officers were elected as follows:
~~Chairman~~ - Mr. Billy Fleming
Co-Chairmen - Mrs. Bernice Johnson

Election of District Officers (cont'd):

Secretary:
Mrs. Frieda Robinson
Treasurer:
Rev. Matthew McCollum

The Steering Committee: (This committee will be responsible for electing the Coordinator. Names are to be submitted to the committee for consideration.

This committee was selected from representatives of each county. They are as follows:

John S. Boyd - Clarendon County
J. H. Hosey, - Hampton County
Cleaver B. Johnson-Beaufort County
Vanuel Mitchell-Jasper County
Rev. Lewis H. Simmons-Dorchester County
B. E. Price-Colleton County
Ruby Francis-Charleston County
Rev. Samuel Wakefield-Berkley County

A key person is to be selected from each county, and the name sent in to the Secretary.

The ~~Executive~~ EXECUTIVE Committee will serve as ex officio members of the ~~Steering~~ Steering committee.

RTB urged members to do something about Allendale County, who had no members represented at the meeting.

Rev. Simmons dismissed the meeting.

js

September 25, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field Trip Into North Carolina Covering Gastonia, CHARLOTTE Winston-Salem, and Concord

This field trip, made September 11, 12, 13, and 14, covers the nine counties in North Carolina where by state statute, registration is permanent, and possible at least 5 days every week, except during election periods.

Wednesday, September 11, I visited Gastonia County, where I talked with Dr. W. C. Floyd of 256 West Page Avenue, and Rev. C. M. Young of 222 West Page Avenue, phone, UN 7-7782.

Dr. W. C. Floyd is past president of the once very active Citizens Committee, having been unseated about four months ago. I am informed that many prominent persons in the city found it desirable to break Dr. Floyd's leadership because he was felt to be pushing integration too vigorously. The Negro community of Gastonia is now divided into two well-defined groups.

The break came when a group of citizens entered the name of the local high school principal in the race for the city council. Dr. Floyd took the position that rather than see this man represent the Negro community, he would run against him. This he did, and carried all of the Negro boxes 2 to 1, but was not elected. The other Negro gentleman was elected largely by the white citizentry.

It is interesting that in this city, the ministers are the most militant and the professional and businessmen are the ones trying to hold to the more conservative roles. Rev. Young related an incident in the spring of the year in which the ministers assembled for a prayer march on city hall with the professional and businessmen leading the opposition against the project. The march was called off at the last minute.

As I talked with Dr. Floyd, he did not feel that he could be of help in carrying on a registration drive at this time because he does not have influence in any of the organizations. Rev. Young felt that the thing that is needed is direct action. He is presently trying to get one of the action groups to come in. A coordinating committee has recently been organized which will bring together the leaders of all organizations

and possibly some new leadership to work on local problems. The president of the NAACP is the high school principal. It is not felt that at this time the branch could carry on an effective registration drive.

I recommend that VEP delay action in this county at least until the newly formed coordinating organization has time to chart its course.

****

Wednesday evening, September 11, I made a visit to Mecklenberg County, the city of Charlotte. This trip was made in response to an invitation accepted a week before to address the high school PTA. The address was well received. Of the 300 or so persons present, some 15 or 20 came over and said that they intended to give their support to the registration drive there in progress.

Mr. Earl Davis of COPE spoke briefly on the same program, and was very effective. I learned as I moved about in Charlotte that Mr. Matt Reese, who had promised the registration committee $1000, later informed them that any money that the committee got from VEP was in fact Democratic party money. This statement, I neither denied nor confirmed.

Registration work in Mecklenberg County is moving smoothly and can be expected to continue. We can anticipate reports from this group in the near future.

****

Thursday, September 12, I made a brief call on Dr. F. W. Jackson of Forsyth County. I was checking to see if Dr. Jackson had gotten the NAACP and CORE leaders together as he had promised the week before that he would.

Dr. Jackson informed me that the meeting had been held and real accord had been reached. He said that they had worked on their approach and budget, and that they had sent these plans down in a letter to the project director. I recommend immediate favorable action if the proposal is reasonable.

****

September 12, I visited Concord, where I talked with Dr. Shutte who is dean of Barber Schotia College. Dr. Shutte is quite a local functionary. He is a member of the Mayor's Committee on Racial Affairs and several

other things. Much to my surprise, I was infromed that Cabarrus is not a county with open registration.

Dr. Shutte informed me that he does not feel that there is any discrimination problem in the registrar's office, and that there is no real need for outside help. I think that we will want to call on Dr. Shutte next year when registration is possible.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

September 26, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to Monroe, Albermarle, Greensboro, and Raleigh, N. C.

September 11, 1963, I visited Mr. H. V. Moss in Monroe (Union County), North Carolina. Union is a county with a Negro voting age population of 4423, of which 2098 are presently on the book. It is also a county that by statute has year-round permanent registration.

Mr. Moss is a former officer of the NAACP. He said to me that the organization is not doing very much now. I was greatly surprised when Mr. Moss contended that Union did not have year-round registration. I told him what the statute provided, and he promised that he would look into the matter further.

I inquired of Moss as to what organization would be able to carry on an effective drive. To this, he said that he did not know. He indicated that it might be possible to pump some life into the NAACP. Mr. Moss said that he was now functioning as an individual. This attitude, he explained, was because of the fact that in the community, there is still left over some of the Robert Williams' movement, and that it was increasing in attractiveness. Mr. Moss said that this group was working very hard on racial problems, and was gathering a following. Mr. Moss felt that the motives of the group were questionable, and that he did not wish to be identified with the organization.

Another trip will have to be made to this community when a more detailed study can be made.

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I visited Albermarle (Stanley County). In the community, I talked with several persons on the street about civic activities. Each of these conversations pointed to a Mr. Wadell as the man that I should talk to. It seemed to be an accepted fact that he was the civic leader. Mr. Wadell, however, works in Charlotte, and so I was not able to talk with him. I am satisfied that when I meet with Mr. Wadell, that I will be able to get the entire picture.

I concluded from what was said to me that nothing is being done in

Stanley County at the present time registration-wise.

There does not appear to be a problem of open discrimination in the registration office. Stanley is a county with a Negro voting age population of 2164, of which 1500 (66%) are now on the books.

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September 12, I visited Greensboro, North Carolina, just one week after having been in this area. This time, I was interested in talking with Mr. Richard Ramsey more so than Dr. Simkins, the prospective project leader.

Dr. Simkins is the NAACP head - Mr. Ramsey is an AFSC staff man. Mr. Ramsey and Dr. Simkins worked very effectively together in the August AFSC drive.

I told Mr. Ramsey that there was a possibility that VEP would be making a continuing grant to Greensboro, and that we would hope for and need his help in making the program as effective as before. He assured me that we could depend on him in this regard.

Mr. Ramsey had urged upon me and Dr. Simkins the idea of hiring an A. & T College student, Mr. Barnfield, that had worked with the August Friends project, saying that he could, because of his past experience, do a good job of coordinating the project.

Mr. Ramsey was to have talked with Barnfield to see if he would be willing to give up his part-time super market job to do this work. I learned from Mr. Ramsey that he had not been able to make this contact. He assured me that he would look into this matter as soon as he returned from his vacation the last of September. We can expect to hear from Dr. Simkins and Mr. Randall in the near future.

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I visited Raleigh, North Carolina, September 12, and talked with Rev. Grady Davis, president of the Raleigh Citizen's Association.

I had talked with Rev. Davis in great detail about a registration drive in Raleigh on a previous trip in the early summer. The memo of that field trip reflects that Rev. Davis was greatly impressed with the work that the NSA had done in that community before.

I was given to believe that VEP would hear from the Citizen's Association before August regarding a new drive. Such a communication did not come. As I talked with Rev. Davis, I found him to be just as

excited about a drive as before. It developed in our conversation that one of the reasons that a request for VEP sponsorship had not been made was because I had not said enough about outside help. Rev. Davis and his association is very desirous of having a drive conducted, but the individuals that make up the association are so otherwise involved that they were a little reluctant about accepting sponsorship knowing that they will only be able to serve in an advisory sponsoring role.

On this visit, Rev. Brown of SNCC was traveling with me, and he was able to say to Rev. Davis that his organization would like to come in and help in such a drive. This seemed to be all that Rev. Davis needed. He was ready there on the spot to start planning the drive.

I asked him to check with his organization and see if the kind of cooperation could be obtained that the NSA project had gotten. I asked what Rev. Davis thought the organization would need money-wise. To this, he replied that they would need very little, if the students could be sent in. He thought maybe three or four hundred dollars for a 90-day drive to be used for office supplies and transportation would be adequate. Rev. Davis is Dean of the Shaw University School of Divinity, and can help in recruiting some students there.

I have since talked with Jim Forman and he says that he can send in five students if VEP sponsorship can be had.

I recommend that VEP take speedy action to effect a Raleigh project. I rather suspect that in this case, VEP may have to assume a little more than its traditional role in getting this program off the ground. The people in Raleigh are likely going to wait on SNCC. SNCC is going to ~~visit~~ wait on VEP.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

September 27, 1963

Addendum to Raleigh, North Carolina, Report:

September 20, 1963, I talked with Earl Davis (COPE), on the phone about Raleigh, North Carolina. We had agreed in a conversation in Washington, D. C., that we needed to collaborate before either organization moved in this area.

COPE has received a request for funds in the amount of $3800 to be used in a registration drive from Raleigh.

There are several interesting facts about this request that COPE has received:

1) The individuals that signed the letter to COPE represent themselves as the officers of the Citizen's Association.
2) They set out a proposal without description of their structure for carrying out the program.
3) The names signed to the letter to COPE are not names that appear in the detailed report submitted to us at the end of the NSA project.
4) The letter that COPE received did not come on Citizen's Association stationary.

NOW!

1) The letter that we received from the Citizen's Committee is on letterhead.
2) The officers that appear on this stationary are the same persons that are mentioned in the NSA report.
3) I am impressed by the fact that Rev. Grady Davis, the man that we are working with, expressed very little interest in money coming directly to his organization. I feel that we are dealing with the right group and for that reason can proceed with our consideration of their proposal.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

September 26, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trips to Mecklenburg, Forsyth, and Guilford Counties, N. C.

September 4, 1963, I visited Charlotte (Mecklenburg County), North Carolina, and met with the Charlotte Voter Registration Coordinating Committee at the invitation of its president, Dr. R. A. Hawkins. There were eleven individuals present, all of them leaders in their own right. This group has, at various times, received national publicity for their work under the name "Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs."

Mecklenburg is a county in which there is a Negro voting age population of 34,150. It was represented to me that less than 10,000 of that number is registered, in spite of the fact that Charlotte has a long history of political activity. It is now an area without any Negro elected officials. The leaders in this meeting reflected some real concern about this fact.

It was estimated that 3,000 Negro people have registered within the past 12 months, but many more than this is anticipated because efforts in the past have not been as organized as they might have been.

I was greatly impressed by the interest, enthusiasm, and general know-how present in the group. I discussed with the group the nature of the VEP program across the South, and what the project requires of each participating agency.

It was explained to me that the chief need of the organization is financial help. I understand that a house has been made available to the group for its use for three or four months, without cost. It was contended that there was immediate need for funds to decorate the office, buy stationary, and other office equipment.

I favor a grant of $1000 to this group for the next 30 days, pending the receipt of a formal request containing a historical statement, a description of their methods of approach, and an itemized budget.

This was my second trip to Charlotte, but the first time that I had met with this group. The members are highly Democratic-party orientated,

but I am assured that their registration work will be non-partisan. I find it a regretable fact that Mr. Kelley Alexander, NAACP national board member in charge of registration, has not found it possible to live up to any of his promises to work with this group.

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September 15, 1963, I visited the city of Winston Salem, North Carolina. This was my second trip to this area. On the prior visit, I went in on the heel of our having just made a grant to the Urban League. The memo for that trip will show something of the reception that I received in NAACP quarters. This time, I visited with NAACP leaders under different circumstances. Talking with Dr. F. W. Jackson, it was apparent that this time, he had the whip in his hands. He had watched the Urban League operation very closely, and had rightly concluded that not very many people had been registered by that program, nor had there been any real assessment of political attitudes.

The NAACP in Winston Salem is a very interesting group. It enjoys a lot of local popular support, and has, by that fact, made a number of desegregation gains. The branch is certainly not one of those that will be heard to say the association is right or wrong. They fight as a body with state officers, and is sometime highly cricital of the national office. This season, they are venting their spleen on the Urban League, not without some reasons. It is, and has, for quite some time, been a generally accepted conclusion that Urban League is in that city of Winston, a tool of the very wealthy Hanes family. It is felt in many quarters, that Urban League cannot be expected to become too involved in advancing the cause of Negro people. It is admitted by many that they have not really been identified with any of the mass movements, even in the area of jobs.

I talked with Dr. Jackson, and Mrs. Louise Wilson of CORE seriously about a joint program in Forsyth County. They agreed that they can work together and should be given a chance to try their skills with VEP support. I encouraged them to apply for a grant, setting forth their proposal and budget in detail.

Forsyth County has 24,952 Negroes of voting age, 14,798 of which are presently registered. It was the first county in the state to have Negro elected officials. (1946).

We may expect to hear from the leader in Winston Salem, North Carolina, within a few days.

I recommend that VEP honor the request from Winston Salem, if the proposal reflects that it is a joint NAACP-CORE project; that the proposed period is 90 days and not more than 4 months, and if the cost is less than $3000.

****

September 6, 1963, I visited Guilford County, the cities of Greensboro and High Point.

In Greensboro, I talked with Dr. George Simpkins, who is president of the local NAACP.

Dr. Simpkins related to me the work that had been done in Guilford County by both John Edwards of the NAACP, and by the American Friends Service Committee.

During the time that John Edwards worked in Greensboro, (July, 1963), I was informed that some 270 people registered. Dr. Simpkins indicated that Edwards was very effective in getting the job done, and expressed regrets that he was moved out.

Dr. Simpkins had only words of praise for the work that the AFSC did during the three weeks of their August project. It was felt by Dr. Simpkins that the success of the Friend's project was due largely to the use of interracial teams. This group accomplished three important things: 1). They created the need for and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of two additional Negro registrars; 2). They registered 803 Negro citizens; 3). They built up a card file of about 4000 Negro homes that can be used in future registration work. The card file is now in the hands of the NAACP.

Dr. Simpkins said to me that he felt that registration work should be continued while the community is aroused, and that interracial teams should be used.

We may expect a request from Dr. Simpkins as NAACP president, or Mr. J. B. Battle as chairman of the Political Action Committee of NAACP within a few days.

I recommend that we act favorably on the request if the budget is for a sum of less than $2000, for 90 days, and providing there is evidence of structure to carry out the program.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

10/11/63

WAB:

I put a note to RTB on this report, reminding him to be sure to include the attachments mentioned in the memo. Evidently, he intends to attach these to Section II.

JS

October 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: Field Trips to North Carolina, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and South Carolina

Section I.

This field report covers the period September 30, 1963, 7:30 a. m., to October 6, 1963, 8:30 p. m., and includes visits in Lexington, North Carolina, Washington, D. C.; Falls Church, Virginia, Petersburg, Virginia, Norfolk, Virginia, Newport News, Virginia, Portsmouth, Virginia, Suffolk, Virginia; Sumter, South Carolina, Manning, South Carolina, and Orangeburg, South Carolina.

****

The first stop in this field trip was made Monday, September 30 in Lexington, North Carolina, for the express purpose of checking the validity of information that had been given to me back in the month of June. North Carolina is a state in which, by statute, there are only 9 counties in which registration is possible year-round. The other 91 counties supposedly have only 3 weeks for registration. The statute is constructed in such a way as to leave open the possibility that a county might, at its own discretion, increase the 3-week period.

Davidson, the county in which Lexington is located, is not one of the year-round counties, but it does appear to be a county in which discretion is being employed. I had been told by Mr. Clarence Roberts, president of the local NAACP, that it is possible to register any week-day by going to the home of the registrar. Knowing that I was on my way into Washington to talk with a group of gentlemen from North Carolina, I felt that I would need to know of at least one county in which discretion was being employed. By visiting again with Mr. Roberts, it was confirmed that registration is possible any day that an applicant presents himself at the home of the registrar.

****

Tuesday, October 1, at 6 o'clock a. m., I arrived by car in the District of Columbia. The anticipated conference was scheduled for 10:30 a. m. I arrived at the appointed place at the designated time. The reception was formal, and yet warm and cordial. The conference had been scheduled for 11 o'clock, but it did not get underway until about 11:15. Mr. Reese, the arranger of the conference, had been tied up in other matters. The North Carolina delegation, which included Mr. Tom Davis, Executive Director

of the North Carolina Democratic party, busied itself flipping about the office building, meeting party VIP's. I waited for about 10 minutes, and then it appeard to me that I, too, was quite busy, so I went for a 30-minute walk around the block. I frankly felt that I could not afford to appear to be more interested in the conference than the delegates that I was to meet with.

When we got down to talking about the business of the hour, it was quite obvious that Mr. Reese was working at making everyone feel at ease. Without pulling any punches, he pointed out that the VEP was engaged in the business of registering Negro people, and that the party needed our cooperation, and that we could make use of the party's cooperation in accomplishing what we are attempting to do.

My first remarks were given to the nature and operation of VEP, and its relation to SRC. These remarks caused one of the North Carolinians to raise some question about SRC, to which I explained that the SRC is an organization about 14 years old, and that it enjoys the reputation of being one of the nation's most distinguished research organizations in the area of the behavorial sciences.

Matt Reese sought to confirm what I had said by passing to each person, a list of the SRC directors. It appeared that several of the North Carolina delegates knew and held in great esteem, members of the SRC board. With this, the conference was off to more serious matters. The North Carolinians proceeded to explain that they were really quite sound on the race question. That they had gone down the line for Mr. Kennedy, even though he was running way behind the state ticket. They felt that since they had risked the success of the state ticket, this was proof that they had come to this conference table because of their interest in Negro people. As the conversation unfolded, I politely interjected the idea that there had been a revolt in Gilford and Mecklenburg counties, and that Republican administration had been elected. After this exchange, we were ready to talk about what each other had to offer.

Early in the discussion, I discovered that somehow, the North Carolina gentlemen had the idea that VEP could possibly stop or stem the tide of street demonstrations. I restricted my remarks to what I felt they could, as North Carolina party officials, do, to get large numbers of Negro people registered. I suggested that they could secure the appointment of deputy Negro registrars, or insure the presence of the registration books in the Negro community for night registration. At this point, the North Carolina gentlemen were quite timid. They were afraid that if they did any such thing as was suggested, it would become known in the white community and would deliver the coming election into the hands of the conservative elements of the state. Matt Reese urged the North Carolina delegation not to be over-cautious. I did not get the feeling that he was making any great deal of progress in selling this idea. The conference concluded with a discussion of the fact that special consideration did not have to be de-

cided upon at this point. Especially since there will be a special registration period in which all books in the state will be available for a 10-day period during the month of November in connection with a school bond election.

Mr. Davis invited me to visit him in North Carolina with specific questions and ideas. I accepted his invitation. We adjourned in great cordiality.

As I reflect on this conference, I recall that the gentlemen from North Carolina were, in the old Southern tradition, more than free in the use of my first name. I chose to keep the conference on a formal basis. It was, for me, kind of like the day when the judge said, "Randolph, I don't think your client is demanding too much. Why don't you get with Lawyer Brooks and try to work this thing out?"

We shall keep the doors open to see what these gentlemen have to offer to the program to which we are committed.

****

Wednesday, October 2, I visited Norfolk, Virginia, and an old classic, "Don Juan in Hell" provides, I believe, an appropriate description of how I reacted to registration work in the state of Virginia. There is little of the hostility of Mississippi, and yet registration work is almost as frustrating. The poll tax seems to stand as an insurmountable barrier to mass registration. The registration law is so conducted as to require that a citizen pay not $1.50, but $5 instead. A worker is almost defeated before he statts, when he tries to convince a non-voting citizen that he should register. This is the story of much of the slowness with which registration moves in the old commonwealth.

In Norfolk, I visited with Mr. Arthur T. Freeman, the project director at the headquarters of the project in the YMCA building. There was much evidence to show that Mr. freeman was trying to get the job done. Canvass sheets reflected the effort that had been put into trying to get citizens registered without great success. I examined other literature that indicated the several approaches that had been made. Mr. Freeman explained that the very fine group that had started off in the drive had fallen away to make the faithful few discouraged by the miserable record that they were establishing. He is ready to resign himself, disheartened and embarrassed and feeling a little ill-equipped to argue that a person ought to take out of a $35 or $40 a week budget that is already overloaded, $5 to register, when the person is not convinced of the full worth of the ballot. Mr. Freeman and some of his workers had journeyed to Newport News the week before to try to get some ideas about conducting registration, but to no avail.

We talked about various ways that a community might approach the poll tax. Among other things, we discussed group raising of poll taxes, We examined

all the related problems to this idea, and agreed to continue to study this approach. I suggested that he might check to see if many of the Negro insurance companies would be willing to put up $500 to pay poll tax for policy-holders and collect the amount 15 or 25 cents a week, as the collector comes around to collect premiums. Mr. Freeman agreed to investigate this further. Copies of some of the literature that the Tidewater Registration Project has prepared and distributed is attached.

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On October 1, 1963, I visited Petersburg, Virginia, and talked with Mr. Herbert Coulton, the SCLC man in that general area. Mr. Coulton has been conducting registration in Petersburg and neighboring communities for several months.

At the time that I arrived at Mr. Coulton's office, he was packing for a trip into Danville where I am informed that registration is proceeding at an accelerated rate as a result of the recent demonstrations. Mr. Coulton, unlike most of the registration workers in Virginia, manages to keep up an optimistic attitude toward his work. When I talked with him serveral weeks before, I suggested that he should look to new avenues for getting the job done.

It was particularly pleasing to have Mr. Coulton report that he was securing from the high school records, the names of individuals in the community that would be 20 or turning 21. These individuals can register without having to pay a poll tax.

He also indicated that a program is being planned using name talent. Admission would be a registration certificate. This program is expected to be held sometime during the month of November.

The registration books will be closed due to an election during the month of October. Attached to this report is a proposal, setting forth the areas and budget for SCLC registration work in Virginia.

More to come.

RB

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Attachments: 2

WB

October 16, 1963

2

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: A Continuation of Report Started October 9, 1963 Covering Trips to North Carolina, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and South Carolina

On October 3, I visited Newport News, Virginia, and talked with Mrs. Norveate Downing, her secretary, and several other persons working with her. Being able to get together this group on a minute's notice, along with the general appearance of the registration office, suggests that in Newport News there is some registration activity.

Persons in the Newport News group are quite different from the persons I had talked with in Norfolk. Mr. Arthur Freeman saw the poll tax as a burden and a barrier to registration. Mrs. Downing saw apathy as the basic barrier. Of course, Mr. Freeman is a working-class man, while Mrs. Downing is the wife of a doctor.

Mrs. Downing felt just a bit embarrassed by the few people that they had been able to register, but placed the blame on the Negroes themselves rather on the approaches being made, or the nature of the requirements. She said that they are breaking through the lack of concern, according to the increases that are taking place.

The Peninsula Coordinating Committee, the organization that Mrs. Downing works through, is now receiving requests for help from the Hampton community, but they have not moved into this community yet. Great interest was expressed in the VEP newsletter. I was supplied with a photograph of the Peninsula Committee at work, along with the request that we not publish anything about them in the newsletter alongside our most successful drives.

I tried to discuss different approaches to getting the job done, such as groups working together to encourage registration, as well as group paying of poll tax. It was Mrs. Downing's feelings that these ideas would not be looked upon favorably by the registrar. Mrs. Downing ~~had~~ seemed to me to consider a good relationship with the registrar absolutely necessary to get anything done. I appreciate her attitude, and yet I think it could possibly prove burdensome in the future. It might just be that when the people of Norfolk have tried some new approaches, the Newport News group will find they can do likewise.

****

October 3, I visited Portsmouth, Virginia, and talked with Mr. David Muckel. Mr. Muckel had been in contact with VEP, and had made a request for some assistance. At the time of our previous communication, we were not able to consider the request of Mr. Muckle. So it is that I talked with Mr. Muckle against this background.

I felt, as we talked, that Mr. Muckle had felt some injury to his feelings, because we had not honored his request. I explained that we are always in possession of more requests than we are able to handle, but that we follow a pattern of holding onto each such request, anticipating that we will be able to assist in some way at some future time. Mr. Muckle explained that there is, in the community, an organization known as the Central Civic Forum, which I concluded is some kind of coordinated group. Mr. Muckle said that in spite of our failure to act, they had gone ahead planning for a registration drive. The plans of the group are not complete, but it seems clear to me that they are working to improve a block/ward structure that had existed for some time.

I was told that the last registration drive that the group conducted was in 1960. It ran for about nine months, and they were able to add about 500 names. I encouraged Mr. Muckle to place their plans and requests before us again, and that it was entirely possible that we might be able to assist him at this time. We may expect to hear from this group in the very near future.

****

October 3, I went into Suffolk, Virginia, intent on talking with Mr. Moses Riddick. His name had been supplied to me by Miss Fannie Neal. The anticipated conference could not be held because Mr. Riddick was not in town. For my own benefit and curiosity, I decided that I would stop some people on the street and ask them who I should talk with about trying to get Negro people registered. I stopped three individuals, and in each case, the first name mentioned was Moses Riddick. One young man, appearing to be about 25, said, "There ain't but one Negro leader here, and that is Mr. Riddick. You don't need to talk to anybody else." When I have an opportunity to be in Suffolk again, I will certainly talk with Mr. Riddick.

****

October 4, I went into Sumter, South Carolina, to argue with Frank Robinson and Edward Brown about the CORE program in the Fifth and Sixth Congressional districts. This turned out to be a very rewarding visit. Somehow, it appears that in all of our previous conversations, Frank had not fully understood the basis of my great concern about this program.

He had assumed that the reports that he had been sending to New York had been coming down to us in Atlanta. We had not gotten his reports, and thus I had assumed that very little was being done. We were both pleasantly shocked when we learned the source of our problem. Frank showed me some of the reports that he had sent to the national office. An abstract of his August report is attached here. Frank promised that he will, in the future, let us have copies of his reports direct.

I was particularly delighted to find that Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brown are taking seriously the insistence upon their developing local leadership. It will suffice for this report to say that we are pleased with the progress that has been made in this regard. The contact list, here attached, reflects to some extent, the nature of the work being done in the business of developing local leadership.

****

October 5, I made a brief visit into Manning, South Carolina, which was on the highway from Sumpter to Orangeburg. In Manning, I talked with Mr. Billy Flemming, the newly elected chairman of the First Congressional District Voter Education Project. I had been with Flemming just the week before, so that I felt I needed only to call and urge upon him the importance of holding regular meetings of his executive staff, less his very young organization fall apart before it gets off the ground.

I was encouraged by the spirit and confidence that Mr. Flemming expressed. I have the feeling that there are possibilities that great things will come of this.

I recommend that VEP decide, as soon as possible, what funds are available for work in this area by this group.

Remarks on the First Congressional District Voter Education Project will be submitted separately.

****

October 5, I arrived in Orangeburg, South Carolina. This visit was occasioned by news that stepped-up demonstrations were taking place in the city.

Demonstrations in Orangeburg have been in process for more than eight weeks, but have only recently enjoyed the support of the entire community. My principle interest was in inquiring into whether the registration committee was taking advantage of the opportunities to push registration in the various meetings that demonstration-planning would require. I am

satisfied that every effort is being made to keep this matter before the people. New registration workers are being enlisted.

I have talked with Dr. Thomas by phone since my visit, and he informed me that on two occasions, they have, as a way of throwing the opposition off guard, taken the students that assembled for downtown demonstrations, and sent them on what they called "Operation Door-Knock for Registration." The cops were left downtown waiting and confused. This added leg work seems to be paying off. The number registered last Monday was up to 240.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Note:
The attachments to the report dated October 9 were inadvertently left off, and have been attached to the end of this report along with the ones connected with this particular one.

js

WB

October 23, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: North Carolina Conference of the NAACP

Wednesday, October 9, 1963, I drove into Charlotte, North Carolina, to attend the 20th anniversary of the North Carolina Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This was, for me, to be a kind of homecoming, because it was this state conference that I attended the organizational meeting of some twenty years ago.

As I drove along the highway, I thought of those days back in 1942 and 1943 when campaigns were waged around trying to stop whites from spitting out of windows on Negroes; trying to compel businesses to use courtesy titles; trying to save the life of a single man on a trumped-up charge of rape, or something of this nature. Those campaigns were all-consuming.

I ran through my mind memories of individuals that I anticipated seeing. I likewise anticipated a number of dynamic sessions in which a number of significant questions would be raised and wrestled with. I accepted in advance the fact that some of the questions we would raise would not be answered, and that many of them would have to be laid aside without even being fully analized. I sped along, anticipating the great hours ahead.

After eight sessions of this conference, I drove away depressed and disheartened by an organization withered away without just cause. The questions anticipated were never really raised. The answers given were superficial and empty. As I drove back towards Atlanta, I raised with myself the question, "What did I gain, and what did I contribute?" This question served to remind me of a quotation from Immanuel Kant's "Critique of Pure Reasoning":

> "To know what questions may reasonably be asked is already a great and necessary proof of sagacity of insight. For if a question is absurd in itself, and calls for an answer where none is required, it not only brings shame on the propounder of the question, but may betray an incautious listener into absurd answers...."

Thus presenting, as the ancient said:

> "....the ludicrous spectacle of one man milking a he-goat, and the other holding the sieve underneath."

The conference opened for business at 11 o'clock a. m. under the general theme "Freedom Now - The Negroes' Challenge in an Age of Civil Rights Revolution." Rev. J. E. Arnnett, chairman of the North Carolina Church Work Committee of the NAACP presided at this session. Introductory remarks were made by Mr. Kelley Alexander, President of the North Carolina State Conference; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Secretary; Rev. Edward Odum, National Church Secretary, and Mr. L. A. Ashford, National Youth Secretary.

The keynote address was delivered by Dr. Claude V. Broach of Charlotte, North Carolina. In none of these statements was there anything that suggested the existence of any kind of theme, or that any serious consideration had been given to reasons for the calling of the state conference. There was much pulpit-pounding, but very little content, limited inspiration, no instruction, but a lot of fellowshipping.

This session was followed by a 2:30 o'clock session divided into what was styled as workshops, but turned out to be no such thing, just pulpit-pounding built around praise for those that will do and condemnation for those that won't do.

Rev. Pyant spoke on the subject, "A Look at the Techniques of Negotiation"; Rev. W. E. Banks spoke on the subject, "Direct Action"; Rev. J. E. Wertz spoke on "Effective Use of Interracial Interdenominational and Interfaith Relations." These three speakers were followed by a speech by Rev. Ward that was programmed "The Negro Voter Picture in North Carolina." The speaker ran the gamut of Negro grievances and was effective in his delivery, but in the speech, left out the voter registration picture almost entirely.

The statement on the southwide registration campaign was followed by a statement given by Mr. Ashford on the subject, "Motivating Negro Youth to Prepare for New Opportunities." The content of this statement centered around jobs that Negroes could get if they were qualified. Had there been an opportunity for discussion, I think I would have raised the question, "Should we not give some attention to getting those jobs that Negroes can qualify for as a source of motivating youth, as well as getting the money that would make college training possible?" But, of course, this was a workshop in name only. And so, the hour passed without any kind of discussion.

The last two hours of this session were given to a consideration of mass membership and finances with Mrs. Ruby Hurley holding forth. This was a most regretable aspect of the conference. After all of her years of experience, she is still talking down to people, rather than talking with them. Some of the problems of the entire southern region are made clear when you see Mrs. Hurley scolding and insulting the very people that she has to work with. She said she was "putting it on the line", but nothing was quite so clear as the fact that NAACP's major membership and finance problem stems from the leadership having not developed a program that the people feel really involved in.

The third session of conference, held at 8 p. m., was the traditional minister's banquet. Rev. Odum was the speaker. The speech was a good one, more inspirational than anything else. I gained a great deal of respect for the National Church Secretary, and expected to see him putting to use the understanding of people that he had reflected the next day. Such did not happen. There is a strange kind of fraternalizm in the North Carolina Conference that seems to prevent individuals from being honest with each other, even when the success of the organization is involved.

I saw some old friends at the banquet, and was made happy thereby. I inquired about a number of people that I felt should have been there, and learned that these people were no longer functioning with the conference. Greensboro, Durham, Winston Salem, Raleigh, and Charlotte were very poorly represented.

Friday, October 11, came as almost any other day in Charlotte, with the exception of the fact that there was good coverage in the morning press.

The conference opened its fourth session with a song service and devotion, followed by a memorial. Organization of the convention was taken care of next, followed by the state president's annual address, which amounted in so many words to, "How I Love the NAACP, Oh, How Great I Am!"

After lunch, the conference was called to order at 2 p. m. for the fifth session. Four matters were up for consideration:

1. "Implementation of An Effective Youth Program"
   Mr. Ashford effectively worked his way through what seemed to be the difficult problem of adult-youth relations.

2. "Direct Action"
   Discussed by Rev. Banks effectively.

3. "Hospital Integration"
   Discussed by Dr. Emery T. Rann, and proved to be very informative.

4. "Voter Registration"
   Taken care of by John Edwards.

There was time given for questions in this session, but the people who needed to hear the questions and answers (the state officers), I observed, chose this time to leave the auditorium. I think it is significant that they seem not to have felt that they could benefit from this part of the program.

The part on voter registration conducted by John Edwards represented the kind of thing that I felt the conference needed more of. He was the only person that dared to try to do a workshop. He divided the group into two sections, and asked each section to try to project a plan for conducting a registration drive. After this was done, they proceeded to criticize the plans. I feel that there was substance in this kind of approach.

The evening meeting got underway at 8 p. m. with Mrs. Hurley as the principal speaker. It was a good speech, and it was well received. There was a lot of tired, worn-out blasts and threats, and little or no call for rededication. But this being a mass meeting, it served its purpose.

One regretable fact of this session was the fact that the weakness of the organization could be seen. There were about 100 empty seats in the auditorium that would only seat 450.

I did not attend the Saturday session of the conference, but elected to attend the youth meeting instead. This did me good. It was like NAA in the old days. Before the youth got into their work-session, I had to leave for Atlanta. I left with the feeling that things worthwhile would take place in this meeting.

As I look at this conference, I am grieved. It could be so much more than what it is. It seems to me that several important questions need to be asked:

1. Why is there so little support from the major cities in the state?

2. How is it that there has been so little change in state officers?

3. Why is so little attention given to conference planning?

4. Why is voter registration treated so lightly?

5. Why is there such reluctance on the part of officers to critically look at themselves?

6. How would it be possible to get officers to examine their conclusions about threats from other organizations?

7. When will this conference take stock of its assets and make use of them?

All is not lost the the North Carolina NAACP, but history is not running with it.

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On October 24, I will visit Rev. Arnnette in Goldsboro, North Carolina, and try to get him to work on getting the NAA ministers to do something about the special registration that is coming up in late November or early December. I will likewise talk with John Edwards in Durham on this trip about the same thing.

RTB.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

October 29, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the NAACP - Darlington, S. C.
and trip to Raleigh, & Durham N.C.

Friday, October 18, I attended the 22nd annual conference of the South Carolina conference of branches of the NAACP, meeting at the St. James Methodist Church, Darlington, South Carolina. I had gone out to Darlington at the invitation of Rev. I. DeQuincy Newman, Field Secretary for South Carolina.

Friday, the 18th, was the second day of the conference, and was also the day that the conference was to give attention to the matter of voter registration.

I arrived at the St. James Church at 9 o'clock a. m., and found only three persons, one of which was not associated with the conference. The printed program indicated that the conference was to start business at 9 a. m. By 10:10, a crowd of 21 persons had collected, and the meeting was on the way.

I was introduced to Mr. J. Arthur Brown, President of the state conference, and was impressed with his sincerity. Things were not running according to the printed program. Someone filled in for the man that was to conduct the devotion.

A memorial service followed the devotion. The Rev. W. B. Knox of Rock Hill delivered the address. I followed each of his words carefully, and regretted that he did not have something more organized to say. Yet, I feel that he tried and did the best that he could. When the memorial was over, it was 11:20 a. m.

Mr. Brown came forth and named persons that he was appointing to three committees. When this was done, it was apparent that confusion swooped down on the deliberation. Mr. Brown went out of the auditorium as if to look for someone. I observed him holding a brief conference with some individuals standing in the church yard, among them, Mrs. Ruby Hurley. After about 10 minutes, he reentered the church, and then held a quick conference with Rev. Newman. At this point, Mr. Brown came before his audience, which had now reached 24, and announced that the Field Director for the Voter Education Project out of Atlanta was present, and that he felt that the conference should take advantage of this opportunity to hear from this person. The facts of the matter were that the scheduled

speaker on "Labor and Industry" had not shown up, and none of the others were prepared to carry on this part of the program, and I was asked to fill in. This time, I felt I was doing a real service for the conference.

I spoke briefly about 35 or 40 minutes, starting with the fact that they were to be congratulated for having laid aside their business in order to be present. I felt the need to say something about the need and the possibility of doing more to build the state conference, and did, indicating that Negro people had not traditionally turned away from difficult tasks. I pointed to the beautiful modern church in which we were meeting as proof of our ability to do great things with little resources. I went from this point to talk about the southwide registration drive, noting special cases of registration workers overcoming great difficulties.

When I had finished, I had the feeling that the persons that had heard what I had to say had a little more confidence in their ability and the ability of the NAACP to do a job in registration.

The conference leaders were relieved by the fill-in. And, at least, I had gotten before them something of what other communities were doing registration-wise. We adjourned for lunch.

After lunch, Mrs. Hurley spoke to the group on "membership and finances." Many persons in the group participated in this part of the program. It was a problem-solving session, but the real problem of the conference was never taken up.

After this discussion, Dr. Charles Thomas of Orangeburg was scheduled to talk about political action. Dr. Thomas sent word that he could not be present. I filled in again. This time, I talked about the mechanics of registration, setting forth some of the things that our many drives seem to indicate as sound approaches, as well as some of the traditional problems. My audience of 28 enjoyed working with me in finding answers to problems that I proposed. When this was over, it was 4 p. m.

I did not bother to try to make plans for greater registration work to be done through this group. Such would have been fruitless, I believe.

There were other sessions to follow, none were related to voter registration, and besides, I had had it.

Everyone present seemed to be aware of the lack of organization and the poor attendance. Some explained it by the fact that Rev. Newman had been from one demonstration area to another all summer, and had not had the opportunity to work on the conference. The problem goes much deeper, I feel.

****

October 23, I drove into Raleigh, North Carolina, accompanied by Reginald Robinson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This trip was planned against a background of my having made three trips into this city, the first having been back in April. Reginald Robinson's exploratory visit was, in a sense, the fulfillment of a request of the local people that VEP get a student group to come in and do the recruiting and leg work necessary for an effective drive.

We went first to the home of Rev. Grady Davis, Dean of the Shaw University School of Divinity. Rev. Davis got together a group of leaders in a matter of minutes.

In the group was Mr. Joe Sansom, Vice President of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank, and Mr. John Winters, the Negro member of the city council. The local group explained the plans that they had made in preparation for the coming of the student group. I was impressed with the plan and attitude of the group. I raised with them the question, "What relation does Rev. Ward have with the group?", explaining that we had knowledge that he had made a request of COPE in the name of the committee. It was explained that the group had placed requests with several agencies with the intention of accepting only one. It was indicated that the most preferable offer was the one that VEP was supplying because it was workers that Raleigh needed more so than money. This answer was satisfactory to me. The rest of the time of this meeting went into planning how many students should be brought in, and how they would be housed.

I was especially pleased to observe that John Winters and Reginald Robinson were able to pick up what had been a back-slapping relationship, developed when they worked together in a drive in 1961.

It was felt by the local group that VEP might want to contribute the sum of $300 to take care of refreshments that would be available at the end of each work day. I promised to recommend same.

The locals indicated that they intended to spend considerable money on publicity and mailing. I feel that we have the working of a good drive.

October 24, I met with Mr. John Brooks and Mr. John Edwards of NAACP in Durham, North Carolina. This was an important conference, as I am convinced that if NAACP is going to be effective in voter registration in North Carolina, it will have to be done through the youth councils.

We planned, in outline fashion, a youth conference devoted to voter registration for some time about November 15, 1963. The meeting is planned ten-

tatively for the eastern part of the state, probably Goldsboro. An effort will be made to bring together some 300 students. The NAACP will bear the expense of this meeting.

It is to be hoped that we will come out of this with some kind of system for carrying on work in most of the 100 counties of the state during the special registration period in late November. Planning along these conference lines will continue.

I also attended in Durham, a summit meeting of Negro leadership from all over the state, called to discuss a march on the state capitol. The NAACP was represented by Charles McClain, John Edwards, and John Brooks. SCLC was represented by Golden Frank and Andy Young. CORE was represented by Floyd McKissic. There were also many representatives of local organizations. No agreements were intended or arrived at.

I was afforded the opportunity to say a few words about voter registration.

After the meeting, I talked with Charles McClain, who has some grandoise plans of reviving a now defunct NAACP congressional district organization. Mr. McClain promised to keep us informed as to his progress. He asked that I suggest to the VEP director that he request of Roy Wilkins that he be assigned to voter registration in North Carolina for the next nine months. I have not formulated my opinion of this yet.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Greenwood Commonwealth

SNCC Worker Jailed By Feds

11/1/63

A Negro woman, active in the Negro voter registration drive here, was arrested by by U. S. marshals yesterday on a postal law violation.

The woman, Emma Louise Bell, was taken to Jackson where a charge of forging a signature to a $25 money order was lodged against her in U. S. District Court.

She faced a hearing on the charge before U. S. Commissioner John Countiss in Jackson.

U. S. District Attorney Robert Hauberg said in Jackson this morning that the Bell woman is accused of forging the name of a Campbell College student to that students money order from home and trying to cash it in McComb over a year ago.

The money order was allegedly stolen at Campbell College and taken to McComb where the forgery attempt was made. Hauberg said that analysis of handwriting of the owner of the money order, that of the Bell woman and several others led to her arrest.

Campbell College is a church-supported all Negro institution in Jackson.

The woman was arrested at SNCC headquarters here yesterday and lodged in city jail briefly before being taken by marshals to Jackson.

ARRESTED BY FEDS
An unidentified federal marshal from Jackson leaves city jail with SNCC worker Emma Louise Bell of McComb. The woman was arrested here yesterday on a postal violation allegedly occuring in McComb. UPI 3-3

REP-33

Fall Grand Jury Meets Here Monday

Delayed Cases Expected To Be Tried This Term

The fall term of Circuit Court will open Monday morning with Judge Arthur Clark, Jr. of Indianola presiding.

There are several cases continued from the last term that are expected to be tried this term. Among these is the case of five Negro students from Mississippi Vocational College who were indicted by the May Grand Jury on a charge of assult and battery with an attempt to run down a group of white boys on a 50 mile hike near Itta Bena. The Negroes have all been expelled from the college and have been out on bond since last May.

Two white men, William Greenlee and Wesley Kersey, indicted in May on a charge of assault and battery with intent to commit murder in connection with the shooting of Jimmy Travis, Negro voter registration worker, are also expected to be tried this term. Both Kersey and Greenlee have been free on $5,000 bond each.

Both cases, those involving the Negroes and the white men, were continued during the last session of court on the grounds that numerous instances of racial tension in the state and surrounding states, prevented the defendants from receiving a fair and impartial trial.

When arguing the motion last May, attorney A. H. Bell said on behalf of his clients Greenlee and Kersey, "time is a great healer and by November it is felt he can receive a fair trial."

The fall session of the Grand Jury will be empaneled on Monday.

Making his first appearance in Circuit Court this term will be the new district attorney, George Everett. Everett, a former agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was elected to the office of district attorney in the August Democratic primary elections and faces no opposition in the general election.

Parham H. Williams of Lexington, former district attorney, resigned from that post after the primary elections and Everett was appointed by Gov. Ross Barnett to fill the remainder of William's term, until January 1 before taking over on his first full term.

11/2/63

Greenwood Commonwealth

Greenwood Commonwealth
11-2-63

Breach Of Peace

JCKSON, Miss. (AP) — A Negro and a white student faced breach of peace charges today after attempting to join a white audience at a Jackson music concert.

Police said Robert E. Honeysucker 20, a Negro student at Tougaloo Southern Christian College here, and Nicholas Bosanquet, 21, an English exchange student at Yale, were arrested on breach of peace charges Friday night at the city auditorium, where the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra of London was giving a concert.

The concert was open only to season ticket holders and police said the two refused orders to leave.

Bosanquet was helping other Yale students campaigning for Negro druggist Aaron Henry of Clarksdale for governor as a write-in candidate in next Tuesday's general election.

Probe Urged

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Justice Department has been urged to investigate reports of police brutality and interference with Yale students helping in a Mississippi Negro political campaign.

Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., in a letter to the attorney general, urged that "all possible steps within your jurisdiction be taken to protect the lives of young Americans engaged in legitimate political activity in the best tradition of a democratic society."

Greenwood Commonwealth 11/4/63

Mock Vote

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) —Voting continues today in a statewide mock election with Aaron Henry, Clarksdale Negro and state president of the NAACP, heading a "freedom ticket" as a write-in candidate for governor.

The voting started Sunday in Negro churches and clubs.

A spokesman for the NAACP said it would not be known how many turned out to vote until the ballots were counted.

There is no provision for a write-in candidate under state law except where a candidate dies before the election.

The general election will be Tuesday with Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, the Democratic nominee, facing GOP nominee Rubel Phillips. Their names were on the mock election ballots.

Negro leaders claimed the mock election would be an effective protest against the state's political situation. A small minority of Negroes are qualified as voters in Mississippi.

VEP 3-3

Greenwood Commonwealth

Police Jail Five Giving Out Leaflets

11/4/63

Five Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee workers were arrested and placed in city jail Saturday night and charged with blocking a public side-walk and failure to obey police officers.

Police Chief Curtis Lary said that the five, two Negroes, Willie James Earl and Dorothy Higgins and three white persons, Richard Frey, Jane Stembridge and Frederick Hirsch, had set up a table on the sidewalk in the 200 block of Johnson Street and were distributing leaflets to passers by.

Lary said they were asked to move and when they did not, they were placed under arrest.

Hirsch has been released after posting a $100 bond.

VEP 3-3

Greenwood Commw.
1-4-63
1 vep 8-3

Wilkins Urges Demo Party To Clip Wings Of Solons

BILOXI, Miss. (AP) — A Negro leader wants to see Mississippi's congressmen shorn of their seniority if they persist in an effort to block President Kennedy's re-election.

Roy Wilkins, executive sercetary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Sunady his group would ask the Democratic Party to take action — if the state goes ahead with its unpledged electors plan.

A spokesman for the Democratic National Committee in Washington declined comment and said there would be none forthcoming.

There has been speculation that some Democratic members of Congress might try to strip seniority rights from those members who fail to support the party's presidedntial nominee.

Speaking to the windup session of the state NAACP convention, Wilkins said:

"In view of the announcement of Mississippi to abandon or cut itself loose from the national Democratic Party and elect independent electors, the Mississippians in the House and Senate should be denied their seniorty and the committee chairmanships that go with seniority."

Wilkins was commenting about a state Democrats plan to run a slate of unpledged presidential electors in 1964 to try to defeat President Kennedy's re-election.

Turning to the civil rights bill before Congress, Wlkins said he thought the measure was "useful" but 'not fully adequate to the needs dof 1963."

The bill should give the attorney general more power to initiate action in civil rights cases, he said.

The state NAACP branch reelected Aaron Henry of Clarksdale as president.

Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Biloxi physician, was elected first vice president. Dr. B. E. Murph of Laurel was named second vice president.

Mary Cox of Jackson was re-elected secretary and Essie Randall of Jackson was re-elected treasurer.

The convention adopted a resolution calling for an immediate trial of Byron de la Beckwith, Greenwood white man charged in the slaying of Negro leader Medgar Evers.

In other resolutions, the convention laid the groundwork for creation of what it called a task force for voter registration, plugged hard for a civil rights bill which would, among other things, withhold federal funds from states flouting federal laws, and urged stepped-up Negro applications for civil service jobs, public school desegregation, and housing desegregation.

WB

November 4, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Statewide Registration Committee Meeting - Macon, Georgia

October 26, 1963, I attended the meeting of the "Statewide Registration Committee" that was held in Macon, Georgia. This was my first time attending one of these meetings. It was a pleasure to observe the extent to which this organization has affiliates across the state.

Most of the deliberations were given to reporting on what is taking place in each of the counties. Not enough attention, I thought, was given to future plan-projecting. It might be that this is done at another time, or in another way.

The attached tables will reflect the meat of the reporting that was done. It is perhaps important to state that the youth and adult delegates have a harmonious relationship, though they did not hold their meetings together.

There is much to be desired in this organization. I have reason to believe that it will continue to develop. Structure-wise, it looked very good.

RB.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Attachments: 2

REPRESENTATION IN THE OCTOBER 1963 MEETING
OF THE
STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
CITIZENSHIP CLINIC

November 4, 1963

COUNTY	NUMBER OF YOUTH PRESENT	NUMBER OF ADULTS
First Congressional District		
Burke	2	2
Chatham	4	3
Emanuel		2
Liberty		1
Tatnall		4
Wheeler	2	4
Evans	1	
Second Congressional District		
Colquitt	2	1
Dougherty	19	2
Tift	3	2
Early	4	2
Third Congressional District		
Dooly	8	13
Houston	8	4
Muscogee	1	11
Peach	1	4
Sumter	1	1
Terrell	3	3
Meriwether - 4th Cong. Dist.		1
Marion		1
Fourth Congressional District		
Lamar		1
Pike	7	3
Upson	2	1
Troupe		1

COUNTY	NUMBER OF YOUTH PRESENT	NUMBER OF ADULTS
Fifth Congressional District		
Fulton	4	8
Henry 4th Cong. Dist.		1
Sixth Congressional District		
Bibb	5	3
Jasper	5	5
Jones		2
Laurens	2	6
Putman		1
Eighth Congressional District		
Berrien	4	4
Clinch	5	2
Coffee	12	5
Cook		
Telfair	15	9
Ware	2	4
Tenth Congressional District		
Clark	4	3
Greens		1
Lincoln		3
Morgan	11	7
Richmon	3	1
Total (s)	140	132

RB:lg

COUNTIES WITH ORGANIZED REGISTRATION PROJECTS

(GEORGIA)

COUNTY	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	NAME & ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN	NO.REG. IN '63	CITZ. TRNG.	NAME OF TEACHER
Berrien	Schools and Churches		20		
Bibb	Bibb Cty. Coor. Com.		3000		
Burke		Joe J. Crawford, Box 97, Midville	250		
Clark	City & Clark Cty. Voters League	R. B. Ware, 181 Washington St.; Q. W. Weaver (Athens)	350	Voters Lge.	
Chatham	Chatham Cty. Crusade for Voters		300		
Clinch	Voter Reg. Cit. Trng.		60		
Coffee	--	--	--		
Colquitt	Colquitt Cty. Voters & Civic League	J. H. Roberson, 506 1st Ave., NW, Moultrie			
Cook	Cook Cty. Civic League	Rev. J. W. Mays, 218 Cherry St., Adel	14		
Dooly	--	--	--		
Doughtery	SNCC & Albany Movement	C. Sherrod and Rev. E. B. Wells	300		
Emanuel	Emanuel Cty. Voters Lge. backed by SCLC		95		
Fulton	All Cit. Reg. Committee	Jesse Hill, Atlanta Life, Atlanta	7000		
Greene	Greene Cty. Voters Lge	Gresham Geter, Union Point	300		

COUNTY	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	NAME & ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN	NO. REG. IN '63	CITZ TRNG.	NAME of Tchr.
Henry	Henry Cty. Voters Lge.		500		
Houston	Houston Cty. Coor. Com.	Samuel Smith, Route 1, Warner Robins	800		
Jasper	Jasper Cty. Voters Leag.	Dr. F. D. Funderburg, Monticello	100		
Jones	No organized group		12		
Lamar		Amos Whatley, Barnesville	18		
Liberty	Liberty County Council		100		
Lincoln		R. W. Andrews, Route 3, Lincolnton	--		
Laurens	Civic & Voting League of Dublin & Laurens		200		
Muscogee	Muscogee Cty. Voters Registration Com.	Vernon Mitchell, 500 9th St., Columbus,	600		
Muscogee	Muscogee Voters Lge.		150		
Marion	--				
Morgan	Morgan County Civic Lge	Mr. G. C. Williams, Jr., Box 371 Madison,	60		
Pike	Pike Cty. Voters Lge	D. B. Glover, Box 272, Zebulon	60		
Putnam	--				
Richmond	Augusta Citizens Voters League		--		
Sumter	Sumter Cty. Movement & SNCC	Americus and Atlanta			

COUNTY	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	NAME AND ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN	NO. REG. IN '63	CITZ. TRNG.	NAME OF TEACHER
Telfair	The Interested Citizen's Adult Meeting	Mr. E. C. Graham, Jacksonville	642	Mt. Dollew AME	
Tatnall	Tatnall Cty. Mutual Reg. Com.		1500		
Terrell	SNCC		100		
Tift	Civic Club	Mr. Solomon Nixon, So. Park St. Tifton			
Wheeler	Citizens Training for Adults	Rev. A. Graham , Alamo	123		
Upson	Upson County Voters League	Rev. W. H. Huff, Thomaston	36		
Ware	Keystone Voters and Civic League	P. B. McCoy, Waycross	300		
			16,990-	Total	

Negroes Say They'll Fight Paul's Election

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — Negro civil rights leaders said today they would challenge in federal court the results of the Mississippi gubernatorial general election.

Bob Moses, campaign manager for Aaron Henry, the Clarksdale Negro druggist who ran for governor in a mock election, told a news conference arrangements were being made to file suit to void the election of Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson in Tuesday's general election.

Moses indicated the suit would be based on a federal statute passed during Reconstruction which allows a candidate defeated in a state or federal election to challenge the outcome of the contest on the basis that persons supporting the candidate were unlawfully denied the right to vote because of race.

Henry, who is also president of the Mississippi National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, did not run in an official election but only in a mock election.

Moses maintained "the results of the mock election indicated at least 80,000 persons would have voted for Henry, if they had not been disfranchised."

The mock election was sponsored by Negro civil rights groups to spotlight the power of the state Negro at the polls.

Moses termed the mock election "a great success" and said a massive voter registration drive would be launched Dec. 1 as a result.

The Rev. Edwin King of Tougaloo Southern Christian College ran as lieutenant governor candidate in the mock election.

Mike Sayer, information officer of the election said incomplete results showed:

Henry 72,869; Johnson (D) 296; Rubel Phillips (R) 290. For lieutenant governor: King 72,532; Carroll Gartin (D) 301; and Stanford Morse (R) 401.

Moses said "private and police intimidation throughout the state severely cut down the number of participants."

"The 80,000 is only a fraction of the persons who actually supported Henry," he said.

Greenwood Commonwealth 11/6/63

Miss. Voter Rig

	GOVERNOR		LT. GOV.		REP., Post 2	
	Johnson	Phillips	Gartin	Morse	McDaniel	Arant
Minter City	78	114	96	86	41	117
Sunnyside	22	33	40	15	25	22
Schlater	112	69	133	47	79	53
Shellmound	9	3	12	2	12	2
Money	42	45	48	35	51	22
E. N. Greenwood	275	540	439	383	472	274
W. N. Greenwood	424	450	564	301	537	233
N. W. Greenwood	253	301	335	216	357	136
S. W. Greenwood	262	218	332	139	296	88
S. E. Greenwood	208	165	250	106	200	45
N. E. Greenwood	312	179	377	106	297	93
N. Itta Bena	157	122	191	74	155	80
S. Itta Bena	92	95	123	63	97	63
Sidon	167	59	178	47	121	44
Morgan City	95	74	113	53	85	51
Swiftown	35	14	38	11	22	10
Total	2543	2481	3269	1684	2847	1333

Greenwood Commonwealth
11/6/63

Governor's Table:

County	Tot Pcts	Pcts Rptg	Johnson	Phillips
Adams	17	17	3244	2614
Alcorn	21	21	3677	2975
Amite	17	10	1151	231
Attala	26	26	2609	1435
Benton	12	11	774	271
Bolivar	21	17	2124	1619
Calhoun	27	23	1857	568
Carroll	17	17	1371	587
Chickasaw	19	18	1831	894
Choctaw	15	15	962	1206
Claiborne	6	6	888	293
Clarke	30	30	2478	380
Clay	16	16	1808	1084
Coahoma	17	17	1680	2229
Copiah	23	20	2896	876
Covington	18	18	2264	796
DeSoto	19	17	1046	788
Forrest	26	24	5711	3182
Franklin	17	16	1832	234
George	14	13	1519	626
Greene	14	6	887	342
Grenada	17	17	2011	1157
Hancock	25	24	1667	862
Harrison	48	41	5538	5520
Hinds	94	44	6184	5261
Holmes	14	14	1992	968
Humphreys	9	9	1292	616
Issaquena	7	7	275	160
Itawamba	26	20	1751	653
Jackson	45	45	5371	4011
Jasper	23	19	1136	565
Jefferson	13	13	924	190
Jeff Davis	18	18	1735	602
Jones	51	50	5150	5506
Kemper	28	27	1346	253
Lafayette	26	21	1588	1277
Lamar	14	10	1205	771
Lauderdale	48	47	7056	4753
Lawrence	18	14	1224	214
Leake	32	29	2523	550
Lee	52	45	3888	2529
Leflore	16	13	1981	1414
Lincoln	29	25	4295	1617
Lowndes	15	12	1532	1384
Madison	15	10	841	381
Marion	20	22	4106	1429
Marshall	24	24	1415	1098
Monroe	44	35	2653	2055
Montgomery	13	13	1842	1192
Neshoba	39	39	3519	1297
Newton	28	27	2780	1129
Noxubee	14	13	1027	487
Oktibbeha	20	20	2367	1564
Panola	17	15	1583	1657
Pearl River	31	24	1645	852
Perry	9	7	1080	494
Pike	25	24	3853	1418
Pontotoc	27	26	2184	1355
Prentiss	20	18	2771	1118
Quitman	11	11	1618	835
Rankin	39	39	5371	1708
Scott	31	28	2582	701
Sharkey	7	7	783	391
Simpson	26	21	2697	807
Smith	25	25	3169	826
Stone	10	10	854	790
Sunflower	19	16	1160	694
Tallahatchie	21	13	1061	576
Tate	16	16	1571	878
Tippah	25	16	1787	987
Tishomingo	20	15	1654	1023
Tunica	7	7	526	489
Union	33	27	1851	1004
Walthall	12	12	1897	863
Warren	18	16	2454	2231
Washington	18	18	2687	4288
Wayne	25	19	1283	558
Webster	23	12	844	436
Wilkinson	11	9	829	277
Winston	29	29	2600	1570
Yalobusha	16	16	1684	873
Yazoo	29	29	2979	1369
Totals	1,887.	1650	181980	107223

Miss. Voter Proj.

WB

November 12, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Trip to Miles College on October 25, 1963

On Friday, October 25, I visited Miles College at the invitation of Dr. Lucius Pitts, President, to talk with the group of students that are to conduct a registration program under a grant of $16,000 from the Field Foundation.

I arrived at Miles College at 2 p. m., and went to the office of Dr. Pitts, and talked there with him for about fifteen minutes. During this time, we exchanged ideas about Birmingham voter registration progress. I specifically asked Dr. Pitts whether it was his intention that the ten students that are to work in the project would concern themselves with political education research, or the more practical business of getting Negro citizens registered. Dr. Pitts explained quite emphatically that it was his intention that these students concern themselves with actual registration, rather than surveying and education.

After this brief conversation, I met with the students for a period of four hours, during which we were involved in a very enthusiastic give-and-take discussion about registration. Several of the students had been leaders in the recent Birmingham demonstrations. The discussion got off to a very sharp give-and-take with my raising with them the question as to how they had been successful in involving tens of thousands of people in the recent demonstrations. I followed this question with the suggestion that while they had been successful in involving large numbers, they did not know themselves what motivations had been effective. The purpose for this line of argument was to suggest to the students that if they could discover what they had done in order to involve large numbers before, they could possibly use these same motivations to involve large numbers in registration. The group held on to the idea that they knew what their source of motivation had been. When asked whether or not they had involved people by discussing social issues, or by the use of the idea that this is [redacted] what people are doing (fashionable). There was considerable difference of opinion. I pursued the line of reason that if they discovered that the participation in the demonstrations had come as a result of dealing with people, on the basis that this is what people are doing in other communities, then they might more properly go to the people with this line of approach in registration; but if, on the other hand, they discovered that

they had involved people by talking about social issues, then they should structure their approach and literature around social issues.

It was not intended that this kind of discussion would consume such a long period of time, but it did. The students seemed to have felt that they were on the road to discovering what decisions had to be made in order to conduct an effective drive in terms of numbers. In an indirect way, I was attempting to help them discover what had been the source of their success in the past, while making no attempt to suggest what the source of the success had been.

This discussion, I felt, could have gone on for an additional two hours, without anyone becoming exhausted, except that time would not allow. I have an invitation to visit with this group again whenever my schedule will permit. I feel the visit was as much help for me as I feel it could possibly have been for the students. I intend to visit again with them when their project is in operation.

I am pleased that some members of the group were willing to say that our session was the best that they had had in a list of nine. Frankly, I did not know what I was going to do with the time when I arrived.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WBV

December 3, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to Miami, Florida November 6-7, 1963

The primary purpose of this field trip was to answer for VEP the questions, what were the factors that made for the success of the September 16-28, 1963, Dade County, Florida, voter registration drive, and to what extent was Weldon Rougeau influencial in that success.

Aside from inquiring specifically into these two areas, there was some attention given to such matters as political motivation, group cooperation, and political understanding. Findings relative to these latter matters are reported only in part here, in an effort to be brief. It is anticipated that at some more convenient time, it will be possible to include this data in some kind of summary.

This report is based on 24 interviews conducted in the Dade County area. All of the people interviewed were either involved in the subject drive, or would be expected to know about it because of their relation to the total life of the community.

Weldon Rougeau is a Negro man about 24 years old, a former student of Southern University, and a native of the state of Louisiana. Mr. Rougeau was active in the Southern University student demonstrations of 1961. He has, for more than a year, worked as a voter registration field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality.

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Prior to September 16, 1963, voter registration proceeded at a moderate rate though impeded, to some extent, by registration requirements, official indifference, exploitation of registration ~~of registration~~ by certain individuals for money or prestige, and by limited organizational experience by registration workers.

During the eleven months that proceeded September 16, 1963, 3764 people registered, largely as a result of Rougeau's efforts. This rate of progress he described as personally frustrating. He said, "More could and should have been accomplished, and yet I feel that I did all that I could do. But aside from this, the office [CORE national

office7 was on me to do more." Rougeau related to me some of the criticism that he was getting from other CORE officials, and the kind of replies that he gave. Some of the criticism, he felt was unfair. Based on the facts as they were given to me, I agree that the criticisms were unfair, and yet, it did force Rougeau to stop and more seriously analize the work that he was trying to do. Rougeau says that as a result of the position that he was in, and the kind of thinking that he was forced to do, he came to the following conclusions as being necessary to an effective registration program:

1. None of the "Big Five" civil rights organizations were going to be of any real help - not even the CORE chapter in Miami.

2. Coordination of groups would consume much time and produce little.

3. The registration officials had to become more cooperative.

4. The ~~process of registration~~ opportunity to register had to be made more convenient.

These conclusions Rougeau drew as a result of a number of related observations. It was observed that:

1. The "Big Five" organizations seem to be more interested in their image and over-all program than in any single project. This was evident in their unwillingness to do anything other than make promises.

2. That all organizations were contacted by mail and personally, but could never be assembled for a single meeting.

3. That many people tried to register, but could not wait because the officials worked so slow.

4. That many citizens of the county lived more than twenty miles from the county courthouse.

The conclusions that Rougeau drew, the observations that guided him to these conclusions, and the decision that he made, explains, in the main, the success of the Dade County drive.

Rougeau says that when he looked at the total picture, he decided that he had to get the book out in the Negro community, and that he had to so conduct the drive as to not bring the county leadership together in order to avoid wasting time with personal and organizational bickering. The first job was to get the book.

The method to be used was decided upon. Rougeau decided that he

would "...try to get friendly persons in the white community to work with the people in the courthouse, ~~H.~~ contact the group leaders in all of the communities as if conducting several separate drives."

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In the early stages of the preparations for the drive, two persons were of great help to Rougeau. They were Mr. Seymour Samet of the American Jewish Committee, and Bishop Coleman F. Carrol, chairman of the Community Relations Board (Bi-racial Committee of Miami).

Bishop Carrol had just a few days before being approached about the registration drive, called the clergy together and gotten a statement from the group supporting the civil rights struggle.

When Rougeau approached the Bishop about registration, he asked Rougeau what he felt he (the Bishop) could do. Rougeau said to him that he wanted the Community Relations Board to take the lead in getting the book for the Negro community. Bishop Carrol promised to take the matter before the county officials.

By the time the Community Relations Board met with the county manager, several members of the Board had been reached by Rougeau. Each of these members were ready to urge upon the county manager the acceptance of the proposed registration plans as the most urgent of a number of issues.

Some of the persons that had been contacted were Dr. John Brown, Mr. Neal Russ, Bishop Coleman, Carrol, and Mr. Neal Adams.

In the meeting, Dr. John Brown was told by the county manager, Mr. McNair, that all that had to be done was to supply him with the list of places for stations and persons to be deputized. The implication being that he would instruct Mr. Claude Brown, the hired director of registration.

The influence necessary had been applied. The letter was supplied to the county manager. It contained the list of persons to be deputized as well as a request for the book at eleven stations for thirty days. It was decided by the county manager to set up the eleven stations, but to cut the period of time to two weeks. The period was cut because there was also a request from the white community for special registration, and the county wanted to reduce the expense.

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While waiting for the decision of the county, contact was made with Mr. Seymour Samet of the American Jewish Congress, who in turn introduced Rougeau to Mr. Max Karl of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Mr. Karl supplied a list of real estate, newspaper, TV, and public relations people that should be contacted. The following is a summary of the results of following up these contacts:

1. The Richmond Home, Inc., supplied one of the offices.

2. The Bonded Realty Agency supplied one of the offices.

3. TV people could not be involved because of possible reaction that might come as a result of being involved with CORE.

4. The public relations firm of Venn and Cole, Asso., was on the list supplied by Karl. Cole of the association introduced Rougeau to a Claude Pepper* representative. He (Rougeau) approached Cole about funds, but was unsuccessful because of CORE affiliation.

5. Cole introduced Rougeau to the Duport Plaza owner, Samuel Kipnis, who gave $200. (The only financial contribution).

There were other sources of aid that are not mentioned here. In almost every instance, the aid was a matter transacted between Rougeau and the aiding individual. Rougeau was likewise the link between the eleven communities. There was not even a campaign headquarters.

Below is a list of the various stations established, along with their locations. The numbers indicate just how many people were registered at each:

<u>DADE COUNTY VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE FROM SEPTEMBER 16 TO SEPTEMBER 28</u>

1. Central Life Insurance Company (Miami).....796
2. Homestead (South Dade).....750
3. Brown's Sub (Miami).....714
4. Opa-Locka (North Dade).....674
5. Liberty Square (Miami).....580
6. James E. Scott Homes (Miami).....522
7. Perrine (South Dade).....405

*(Democrat Representative-Florida)

8. Goulds (South Dade).....348
9. Liberty City (Miami).....297
10. Coconut Grove (Miami).....246
11. Richmond Heights (South Dade).....235

TOTAL---------- 5,567

It cannot be contended that the success of the drive turned on some unique approaches, as there did not appear anywhere in this investigation anything that was not common to most registration programs. Such approaches and attitudes as are revelent will appear below in the notes on some of the interviews conducted.

Dr. John Brown:

Dr. Brown is a member of the Community Relations Board, and one of the persons that helped Rougeau with the drive. I met Dr. Brown at a CORE chapter meeting. He was being quizzed by the group as to what the Board was doing. Dr. Brown's answers seemed to me to be curt and almost insulting.

In a bar after the meeting, Dr. Brown gave freely of his ideas about the civil rights struggle. As the conversation unfolded, moving mainly on questions that I asked, it became apparent that Dr. Brown felt that the problem of unemployment among Negroes was, in the main, a lack of preparation on their part; that Miami did not need demonstrations in order to avail public accommodations to Negroes; that the Cubans were no economic threat to Negroes; that the success of registration drives comes as a result of a combination of Rougeau dedication and relenting apathy in the Negro community. Overshadowing all of these impressions was the one that suggested that Dr. Brown seemed to feel that he was among a small group of persons that had a right to think for the Negro people.

I asked Dr. Brown how much the Negro people of Miami understood about the political process and the value of the ballot. He was quick with his answer - "Nothing," he said. I followed with several other questions, such as how could he be sure that Negroes did not understand the value of the ballot. I asked if it was possible that the refusal of Negroes to register might mean that the process was too slow to effect the change desired, and can it be that Negroes feel that they have no one to vote for? And, finally, I asked him if it was not possible that the problems with which most Negroes are concerned are not ever being raised in politics today. These questions only served to confuse Dr. Brown. His answers were embarrassing to both of us.

Mr. Frank Reed:

I talked with Mr. Reed in his home (10338 S. W. 172nd Street, Perrine, Florida). Mr. Reed is president of the Perrine Improvement Assn., a disabled veteran, and the leader of the registration drive in his community.

Mr. Reed was warm in his reception, and free with his statements. He made us comfortable and offered drinks.

I asked Mr. Reed how he would explain the success of the drive. He answered by saying, "We had the book out here - thanks to your boy.... [referring to Rougeau]....We could have registered twice as many if it had not rained every day."

I asked Mr. Reed, "How old is your Improvement Association?"
Answer: "Ten years."

Question: "Are there other organizations that do the same kind of work?"
Answer: "No."

Then came my big question: "Why hasn't someone risen to challenge your leadership?" Mr. Reed explained, "We elect a man in the association with the understanding that as soon as he learns the job of his office, that we are going to take him out. We call ourselves training leadership. It's a kind of honor to be taken out of office."

Anticipating Mr. Reed's inability to deal with the next question, I asked hesitatingly, "How much do the people understand about the ballot?" He answered, "Not much." I did not push him. I just let him talk. In less than five minutes, he was telling me how they decided what they were going to demand of politicians, how they communicated to the community who they were going to vote for, based on who was making the greatest offer. He pointed out how they had gotten sewage, paved streets, and the like.

He told me of an instance in which a politician, to use his words, "....approached me with an envelope as big as me, stuffed with dollars; the old man said there was money enough to buy three new cars. We turned him down."

Mr. Reed suggested that we wait around, because he was waiting on a call from a man (Mr. Saslow), who was running for the town council. We waited. The call came. I heard him say on the phone, "I think the people are going to vote for you, but I think you had better build those two tennis courts before all the voting breaks out to make sure the people vote right."

When the conversation was over, Mr. Reed rejoined us and said, "That bastard said he would start to work on the tennis courts in the morning." Laughing, he added, "We get what we want - the people know what we are asking - and they are watching to see if it comes forth."

I asked Mr. Reed if anything was being done to bring about any kind of unity between Negroes, poor whites, and Cubans, on such issues as employment. Mr. Reed stopped laughing for the first time, and became very sober. He then said, "I don't try to meet any whites. The white man is dirty. I don't want to know any of them by name because I might have to kill one of them; if you kill a man, its better on you if you don't know him." What Mr. Reed had to say was disconcerting at points, and yet I had the feeling that I was talking with a man that had a real understanding of integrity and friendship. His respect and affection for Rougeau was so very obvious. He told me of how he helps people with their taxes and other semi-legal matters. Mr. Reed gave me his rules of effective leadership. They were: 1. Don't lie, and 2. Treat all people with respect.

I found it interesting to hear him spell out the association's elaborate system for checking on who in the group was informing to the white community.

They are very desirous of getting back into a drive.

Mr. Alvin Bryant:

I talked with Mr. Bryant in the teacher's lounge of the Mays Junior High School. He is a teacher of social studies, and boy scout master in the community. Mr. Bryant appeared to be about 22 years old, very serious in his demeanor, and very interested in the progress of Negro people.

I said to him that the VEP was very pleased with the part that he and his boy scouts had played in the recent drive. I asked whether the fact that he was a teacher had played a part in the willingness of the people to cooperate with him. He expressed the view that this was not a community in which the people had any trust or respect for teachers. He said, "Other than as teachers, the people think of us as only doing what the people downtown want." I asked him why did they support their drive, and he answered, "I think it is because we explained voting in terms of what the people want, but the big thing was the fact that the book was convenient. We could have registered twice as many if it had not rained."

Mr. Bryant talked about the fact that he had promised the people that he could get street lights for them if they would vote.

It was interesting to hear Mr. Bryant say, almost as if it had not occurred to him before, that "....they registered because the books were out in the community.....after a few people registered, they went back and told others, and it gained momentum like a snowball."

Rev. Luther C. Pierce:

I talked to Mr. Pierce in his office, 309 Huntington Building. Mr. Pierce is a white man, chairman of the Greater Miami Council of Churches, and a member of the Community Relations Board.

There was general conversation. I explained the research nature of VEP, and then raised the question as to what in his opinion had been persuasive in getting the county to make the book available in the Negro community.

Mr. Pierce explained that a white woman had demanded the book in her community under a law that the county seemed not to be aware of, and had proven her point. So, the county directors knew that there was legal authority for such. And secondly, the Community Relations Board had pushed the proposal.

He said he felt that Miami was favorable on race relations, because of its dependence on the tourist trade, and because of the numbers of Easterners in the state.

He pointed with pride to the fact that in the matter of race relations, the churches have willingly given leadership to the community.

I asked Mr. Pierce if the publicity about the big registration drive among Negroes had caused any great concern in the white community.

He said that he had not heard of anything that he thought could be considered undue concern. He said that someone had raised the question about the fact that there were eleven special stations in the Negro community, and only eight in the white. The explanation, he said, came quickly that whites had had the books before, but not so for the Negroes.

I asked Mr. Pierce if there was a possibility that Negroes and Cubans might get pitted against each other. He said that this was once a problem of great fear, but that it was being eased by the rapidly re-location of the Cuban people.

I asked about the emergence of the extreme right in the South, and whether it was going to mean a setback for race relations. Mr. Pierce dismissed the question with the statement, "We don't have an extreme right problem."

Mr. Neal Adams:

I talked to Mr. Neal Adams, owner of a very successful grocery store, and a member of the Community Relations Board.

I asked Mr. Adams what he thought had been the basis for the success of the drive. Mr. Adams expressed the view that the success had come because of three main facts:

1. The books were available.

2. The books were in the hands of Negro registrars.

3. There was a man not identified with any of the local factions that could work full time sparking the drive in every community.

I asked Mr. Adams what he said to people in order to get them interested in registering. He said that he told people that if they did not take a part, they were going to lose the things they had.

He said, "I don't talk about what they can expect if they do vote, because many things that people ought to expect are hard to perceive from where they presently stand. People don't believe me when I try to tell them that one day their children will work in the city hall and county courthouse as officials and clerks."

Dr. Simkins:

Dr. Simkins is a Negro physician in the Miami community, and a very loyal NAACP member. I knew that he was a part of the stand-back established leadership group. He had not participated in the drive. I felt that it would be desirable to talk to someone that had not been involved.

I asked Mr. Simkins what in his mind was the basis for the success of the drive. He listed the forces in this order:

1. Paid trained workers.

2. The offerings of candidates.

I discovered that Dr. Simkins was not talking about the drive, but was spelling out a philosophy for success. I was embarrassed to learn that he was not talking about the big drive just completed. I suspect he did not know very much about it.

I changed the conversation to the Cuban crisis. I asked if the Negro and Cuban communities could possibly get together. He said he did not think so.

I had been told that Negroes resented the treatment given the Cubans. Dr. Simkins said that there is just no basis for communication. Negroes don't feel that the Cubans are taking their jobs; they know the Cubans are better trained, he said. I asked how the Negroes felt about the Cubans receiving $100 per month. Dr. Simpkins said the $100 had stimulated the entire economy, and Negroes are benefitting.

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SUMMARY

There are several factors that were mentioned time and time again in the interviews relative to the success of the Dade County September drive. They are listed below in the order of their importance and occurance:

1. The availability of the books.
2. The leadership of Rougeau.
3. The absence of group conflict.
4. The use of Negro registrars.
5. The apparent endorsement of, or cooperation of, county officials.
6. Political education of the issues.
7. The absence of a climate of tension in the community.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

12/4/63

WAB:

I reminded RTB about the cartoon that was to be attached to this report. He informed me that he has lost, or misplaced, the paper that contained the cartoon. Sorry.

js

WAB: 11/21/63

The cartoon will be attached later. RTB left it at home the day this was completed.

js

November 19, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to Columbus, Georgia, November 14-15, 1963

INTRODUCTION

Columbus, Georgia, perhaps more than any other city with which VEP is working, seems to be an ideal community for serious social research. There appears to be individuals and institutions that span entirely the political education spectrum. The forces that sustain the existing order, as well as those that make for change, lay very close to the surface of accepted common knowledge. These forces can be unearthed and examined with much less speculation than would be necessary in most communities.

The field trip that is the subject of this report was undertaken for the primary purpose of making an on-the-spot examination of the NAACP voter education project now being carried on in Columbus with VEP sponsorship.

For convenience, the report is divided into five sections, each of which describe what might be regarded as a different political camp; all of which influence the operation of voter education activity. A conclusion is attached.

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Section I: The Non-Partisan Voters League

The Non-Partisan Voters League is an organization that came into existence during the middle 1940's, largely under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Brewer. In the early days of its history, the organization enjoyed the respect and support of most of the community. Militant was the word that was used to describe its activities in those days. Most citizens remember the organization as the backer of the Primus King case. Now it seems that most of what the organi-

zation stood for died with Dr. Brewer. And yet, the organization still lives. Several personalities are always mentioned when the organization is mentioned. Among them, Rev. Blue, Rev. Reynolds, and Mr. Marshall.

The League restricts its activities in the main to getting out the vote. One does not have to search very hard to find persons that will, in vile language, accuse the members of the League of selling the Negro vote to the highest bidder. Investigation and interrogation in this regard revealed that most of what is said is based on what people think or believe, rather than on what they know. We were able, however, to get a lead on a tape recording between a county commissioner candidate and a member of the League. This tape, though made secretly, reflects the leadership in action. We are told that all of the terms of the bargain are clear and understandable.

It is interesting to talk with members of the League. They represent themselves to be militant leaders of the community. One member explained that they are the ones that get the candidates out into the Negro community for examination.

A non-member of the League explained that he once went to one of the League's examination meetings. He said that none of the candidates that were to make appearances came; that as the evening grew old, the presiding officers of the League apologized for their absence, and then proceeded to read a suggested slate of candidates. Another member moved the adoption; the motion was put to a vote. There were crys of "not ready," but the vote was taken, and the motion carried. My informer said the action almost precipitated a physical fight.

The next order of business in the meeting was a consideration of how the decision was to be reported to the community. When this matter had been disposed of, one member suggested that since there was more than one organization represented, the expense money that had been received ought to be divided. I am told that it was obvious that this person had not understood how these matters were handled. This matter was not to be discussed. My informer commented, "....He should have known...." The officers of the League were found without words. Then, it was quickly stated that this was just the thing to do, and that the two groups would meet the next week to take care of this matter. The next day, members of the League were out on the street explaining the advantage of block voting, naming the men to vote for, and citing some of the concessions that had been gotten by the wise use of the vote.

Most of the members of the League are over 50 years of age with very limited education.

Once, in one of the League meetings, the suggestion was made that an effort should be made to get all of the community organizations together to conduct a registration drive. Mr. Marshall, who was presiding, interrupted the meeting to explain in all seriousness that the Non-Partisan Voters League was chartered to do registration work, and that no other organization could work in that area of community activity. Such confusion was caused that agreement was impossible.

The above describes the meetings and practices that seem to be standard procedure with the League. It would be a mistake if the assumption is made that the League and its members are without influence on opposition in the community. One person in another political group said he could not afford to be associated with the League.

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Section II: The Liason Committee

The Liason Committee came into existence as an adult organization to support the student demonstrations. This camp is made up of the middle-age group of the community. This organization enjoys the support of most of the professionally trained people in the community.

Outstanding in this group are such men as Mr. McClury, secretary of the YMCA; Dr. Scott, physician, Mr. Thompson, attorney; Mr. Kitchen, secretary, USO. This groups seems to feel that it has a right to lead the community. Its attitude is strengthened by the fact that some of the members have been chosen to sit on a bi-racial committee.

This group feels perfectly free to sit in judgment on all segments of the community. It knows exactly what all other parts of the community should be doing. It is committed to the idea that no additional demonstrations are needed. Negotiation is the proper way, by their success, they say. The Liason does not participate in any of the registration activities because the motive of the persons are questionable, or either because there is too much confusion involved.

The work and influence of this group will be reflected in the description of the other groups. Rev. Blue of the Liason leaders, was quoted by the local daily press as having referred to the leaders of the NAACP and SCLC as "outside agitators." It was explained to me by another Liason member that it is strategy to tell the white people about the coming of the "outside agitators" as a way of getting concessions. Rev. Blue is under attack by one of the registration leaders who is also an owner of a Negro weekly. (See the attached cartoon).

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Section III: The Muscogee County All Citizens Registration Committee

The Muscogee County All Citizens Registration Committee is an affiliate of the Georgia State Registration Committee, which is affiliated with SCLC. This organization has, for the past three years, carried on registration activity in Columbus. The Committee has a membership of young and old citizens. Some of the persons that are members of the Non-Partisan Voters League are also members of the Committee.

Vernon Mitchell is perhaps the most active person on the committee. Previous trip reports will reflect the nature of the program that he directs.

A visit to the office of the Committee on Friday, November 15, proves that he is finding it possible to carry on registration activity. There were seven women and one man in the office - all appearing to be in their early twenties. The group was holding what appeared to be a brief session. There was a discussion of what section of the city that was to be worked that day.

Mitchell read to the group a letter from Rev. Andrew Young (SCLC) which contained a check for $59. The letter and its contents was not well received. It appeared that the group had expected a larger sum. Mitchell expressed regrets that there were not funds to pay the expenses that the group had incurred, such as baby sitters and transportation. Some discussion followed as to whether they could afford to continue to work. The group agreed that it would work on. There was also some discussion of whether the group would continue to have its Sunday evening canvassing dinners. They decided that they would meet on Sunday evenings, but cut back on food.

I asked the group to tell me some of the problems that they are encountering in their work. They listed the following:

"....NAACP taking credit for what we are doing....

....NAACP telling people not to go with us to register....

....NAACP promising people that they will pick them up and then failing to do so....

....We got a list of high school students that said they would go down and register. The list comes from the principal. A few hours after we had the list, a man came an got it back and took it over to the NAACP office....

....The county has promised that it will bring the book out into the Negro community - the Liason Committee says we should wait....

....Somebody has spread the rumor that we are being paid....

....Mrs. Wooten tried to discourage us by saying that she is being paid, and that we are fools if we are not. We lost one of our workers as a result of this statement...."

I asked Mitchell in a private conversation why he had denied to Wiley that I had visited him. Mitchell stated that he did not associate me with the name Blackwell. He said that when he came to the VEP office, and was received by a white secretary, he assumed that Wiley was white also, and that he was off-guard, and did not connect me with the project. He said that he had planned to tell how Calhoun had exploited him, and had just about destroyed his program. Mitchell insisted that he had to decide what he was going to say and not say. Quoting Mitchell, he said, "Man, I don't tell white people but so much, and I was trying to decide what I was going to say and not say, and in the process, I denied knowing you or VEP. My impression of Wiley messed up the whole interview." Mitchell suggested, feeling that I doubted his story, "You ask Andy Young if I did not ask him why he did not tell me that the director of VEP was a white man."

As we talked to people around the city of Columbus, we found more conflicting views about Vernon Mitchell than any other person. The youth have a great deal of respect for him. Mrs. Wooten, director of NAACP voter education, described him as the biggest liar in the county. McClung has mixed feelings about him, suggesting at one point that the man is overcome with bitterness. A group of military wives seemed ready to follow his leadership. I did not find anyone that would play down Mitchell's efforts in voter registration.

I examined the records in the Committee office. There were canvass sheets that reflected that there is registration activity taking place. There were records that indicated that the group had registered about 80 people during the week, and 103 the week before.

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Section IV: <u>National Association for the Advancement of Colored People</u>

The NAACP camp in Columbus, Georgia, consists of a very active youth council and an adult branch that is rather conservative and inactive. At the present time, the youth council is carrying on a voter registration drive under VEP sponsorship. The drive enjoys support of the NAACP adults. However, this support is very much limited. The

adult branch rarely draws more than twelve or fifteen members to a meet. This low ebb, I was told, is due in part to the prestige that the branch lost this summer when it tried to check the demonstrations of the youth. This issue, I am sure, does effect the success of all activities in this camp.

There are many conflicting ideas as to what the facts are of this conflict. Mrs. Jean Benton, advisor to the youth council, described the situation in this language: "....they treated the youth dirty....they closed the churches to them....the national youth secretary couldn't even get a room at the YMCA...." McClung says the youth secretaries that came in from Savannah and New York were impossible. "When they arrived," he said, "they started by saying, 'We have come to start some demonstrations.' The adults objected to some outsiders deciding what Columbus needed. We couldn't reason with them."

In one meeting, after negotiation had been held downtown, one of the youth secretaries, a Mr. Brown, told the membership, "You should have seen your president in that meeting, you would have been ashamed of him. He really played the part of an 'Uncle Tom!'" McClung said, "The group didn't even listen to what the young man was saying. He was planning to go on from there, but I interferred and told him that Mr. Ford /the president/ is a man that we have a great deal of respect for - if I was Ford, I would not have been quite as composed."

McClung said that another youth secretary, Mr. Hill, in the same meeting, told the group that if they did not support the youth, they would lose their charter. At that point, the threat was made that they would deliver the charter. The conflict continued until contact was made with the national office. The youth secretaries were withdrawn.

The conflict left the community divided among those who agree with the adults, those who agree with the youth, and those who try to say that there was no real conflict.

One person made much of the fact that the NAACP president did not attend the trial of Colfus Tyson, the very active youth leader. Another talked about how limited Tyson was in ability. (I did not find him so). And still another insisted that the youth are more loyal to Mitchell than to their NAACP advisor.

This side-choosing, I would believe, would have its effect on a NAACP drive, no matter how well planned.

I visited the office of the NAACP voter registration drive, and talked with a Miss Annette Brown. She had been with the project only two weeks, and though appearing to be efficient, she did not seem to know very much about voter registration in general, or the project in particular.

I asked how they went about getting people to register. It was explained that the students canvassed after school, and they called the office and reported the number that had agreed to go register; that she and Mr. Wooten went out the next day and carried the people down. This approach, I was told, involves more than 50 youths, and had resulted in about 231 people being registered since the project started.

There appeared to be the need for better organizing in the project and the office - only four canvass sheets could be found, even though some 18 youths are called by the director as "regular" in their participation.

I talked with Mr. Wooten, the director of the project. She was very cordial. She expressed the feeling that the drive was picking up, that Mitchell was creating confusion by telling lies, and that she felt that there would be better results if there was no group conflict. Mrs. Wooten said that she felt that the conflict could be worked out, that she had no objection to working with Mitchell.

I went with Mrs. Wooten out to Carver High School to meet with Tyson, the youth council president. Tyson and I talked about what he is saying to people when they went canvassing. The essence of which was that they simply ask people to register to vote.

I asked Tyson if he ever saw any of Mitchell's people in the field. He said that he never had. I asked how he felt about Mitchell's project. He interpreted this as a kind of check on Mitchell, and hastened to explain that Mitchell had worked with them in the demonstrations, and that the only reason he was not working with him was because he had been told that voter registration was a NAACP project.

My interview with Mrs. Jean Benton concluded my study of the NAACP camp. Mrs. Benton is advisor of the youth council. She operates a very successful real estate business. She moves in the NAACP camp, the Liason camp, and has an open mind on the Mitchell camp. As a matter of fact, she said that she had thought that they were going to work together. This would have been the case if Mr. Patton had not said that if there was coordination, the NAACP would pull out entirely. This point, Mrs. Benton said, was made clear in the first meeting at which Mitchell was present.

Mrs. Benton said that she would try to arrange a reconcilation meeting now that Mr. Patton doesn't object, because, as she puts it, "....I don't have time to play - I got off the bi-racial committee because all the Negroes on it seem to have turned white."

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Section V: The Camp of the Unidentified

In Columbus, aside from the identifiable organizations expressing an interest in civic matters, there are some that are not so easy to identify.

There is a group of ladies that are married to soldiers stationed at Fort Benning that are interested in doing something to change the community. A Mrs. Brown seemed to be the prime mover. I talked with her about the efforts that she has made to get a citizenship school started. Mrs. Brown said that she has found it very discouraging to work with the people in Columbus; she said that in her efforts to get a place for the classes to meet, she had gone to the USO now under the direction of Mr. Gordon Kitchen. After the first meeting, she informs me that she was told that she probably would not be able to use the USO in the future, and that she really ought not concern herself because the people of Columbus did not need to be encouraged to register. These ladies are planning to stop a number of visits to segregated public accommodations.

Another member of the Liason Committee told me that he agreed with Mr. Kitchen's attitude in regard to the use of the USO, because he had been told that in the very first meeting, they were in the building singing freedom songs.

There are other unorganized unidentified groups in the community that might possible get civic social action in the near future.

Mrs. McClung suggested that the possible solution to Columbus' leadership problem would be for some group, that has not before expressed an interest in civic affairs, to come forward. Going further, she suggests that a group like the Pan Hellenic Council could take leadership without having to labor under the various burdens that the other groups labor under. She said that this kind of suggestion is being seriously examined in some quarters.

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this field trip, we were concerned primarily with checking the effectiveness of the NAACP project under VEP sponsorship. And yet, in back of our mind was the standing commitment of the VEP to study selected projects in some detail.

Not in a single instance has time allowed for the kind of investigation that our research design would require, yet it is hoped that this report will provide a kind of door-opener to some of the areas that must be entered if the requirement is to be met. There is no pretense that this report meets that requirement.

The statement of the research problem in our February, 1963, "A Statement of the Research Aims and Methods of the Voter Education Project" provides as to the problem:

> "A study of the effectiveness of organized effort and political activity in the broadest sense - in attacking the cause of low registration in various sections of the South."

With this as the state problem - it would seem that there is information here from which some meaningful insight can be drawn. More specifically, there is information about organizational attitudes, structure, and practices. This information will be helpful in the final study of theeffectiveness of organized effort.

The information herein does allow conclusions as to the effectiveness of the NAACP project and sources from which the frustration comes.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachment: 1 (cartoon from the Columbus News)

WB

December 4, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to Winter Haven, Florida and Marianna, Florida

On Friday, November 8, 1963, I arrived in Winter Haven, Florida, to attend the 23rd annual meeting of the Florida State Conference of NAACP branches. It was a pleasure to attend a conference in which the planners seemed to have put some serious effort into constructing the meeting. This I had not experienced in other conferences.

I attended seven sessions and found each of them worthwhile. These sessions will not be discussed here, but will be included in a much more inclusive statement of findings and observations relative to the NAACP's effectiveness as a voter registration agency later.

It is important here to note several aspects of the conference that relate directly to voter registration:

I attended a workshop under the direction of Mr. W. C. Patton, NAACP voter registration Regional Director. Mr. Patton began by reviewing the work of the various branches in voter registration. In some instances, he congratulated branches, and in some, he critized them. It was interesting to see this done, because there seems to be a tendency on the part of NAACP officials to scold conferences as if this is the only way of motivating them. I have, from time to time, inquired into this practice. The answer has most often comes back, "You have to put it on the line."

After Mr. Patton had finished his remarks, he went into an explanation of some canvass sheets that he had passed out, and then informed the delegates that the conference was going to recess for two hours, and that every one was going and canvass the Winter Haven community. This came as a real surprise, but was taken in good spirit.

When the group returned from canvassing, I moved about in the crowd, listening to what was being said. The group was enthusiastic. It was easy to see that many of the people had not done canvassing before, but had found the experience interesting.

Mr. Patton's workshop raised several questions worthy of research. Among them:

1. How effective are registration workers that have not been through some kind of instructive program on how to canvass?

   a. If relatively effective, can it be assumed that there is a community of understanding already existing for which no instruction is needed?

   b. What then is the contribution being made by the traditional workshops that teach how to canvass?

   c. Might this workshop time in conferences be better used for other things?

2. Which is more motivating - the scolding ("Put it on the line" speech), or the speech that is devoted to a clear, frank appraisal of work done?

We see some of all kinds of speeches as we move around. This last question is one that studies in persuasion have not dealt with, so far as Negro people are concerned. (If this is an area that we would be interested in exploring, I can recommend a friend that has just completed the doctoral requirements in public address and persuasion).

The sessions, speeches, and discussions in the conference were traditional, but by and large, effective. In this conference, I had a chance to observe the famous Father ~~Goodson~~ GIBSON. He is one of the most prominent NAACP members in the state of Florida. I had tried several times to interview Father G~~oodson~~ IBSON when I was in Miami, but found it impossible. I spoke to him after one of the sessions, and explained to him how imperative I felt it was to have his appraisal of the Dade County registration drive. He assured me that he would talk with me. The effect was that he spent the entire conference time avoiding me.

Father ~~Goodson~~ GIBSON is extremely impressive, handsome, and articulate. I watched him deliberately precipitate three or four floor fights, just to place himself at the center of the stage. He lost the vote in each of these fights. All of his assets were not enough to sustain him. I concluded as I observed Father ~~Goodson~~ GIBSON, that I was seeing the passing of the day when a leader can make it on what he says. The question of the hour for leaders seemed to be, "What are you prepared to do?" The conference unseated Rev. A. Leon Lowry, and elected Mr. Rutledge Pearson, a much younger man.

The vitality of the youth delegates was almost frightening. We could not help but ponder all of the many things that they could be used to accomplish. Their present direction seemed to me to leave much to be desired.

desired.

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On November 10, 1963, I arrived in Marianna, Florida, to address the NAACP branch upon the completion of a successful registration drive. The invitation had been arranged by Mr. W. C. Patton. My host was Rev. Walter Pope, president of the local branch.

Marianna is the community in which several years ago, a mob lynched a Negro man and drug his body through the streets until it was greatly mutilated. I talked with two people that observed part of this affair. I went in with some reservation, expecting to find the community living in an atmosphere of oppression. This was not the case.

The meeting was truly a reward for me. Some 600 people came out for the program and interrupted the speech several times with applause.

The people of Marianna are on their feet. The motivation stems from within the community, and will continue with or without the NAACP or VEP.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Accuse Officers

OXFORD, Miss. AP)—Three Negro civil rights workers told a federal court jury Tuesday they were beaten while prisoners at the Winona, Miss., jail.

Five white men are on trial in federal court on a [redacted] forcement officers, or former officers, at Winona. The Justice Department filed the charge.

In other testimony, a Negro man said police gave him a blackjack and he struck one of the civil rights workers with it.

Willie Kidd, who said he lives at the jail and acts as a sort of janitor, added that he didn't hit the prisoner very har.

Those who testified as to the beaings were Fannie Hamer James West and Lawrence Guyot, a worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The commitee said it sent workers to Winona to test whether the bus depot was desegregated, as ordered by law. They were arrested.

Defendants are Charles T Perkins, a former state highway patrolman; John L. Basinger, a highway patrolman; Winona city policeman William Surrell; Chief of Police Thomas J. Herod and Sheriff Earl Wayne Patridge.

Greenwood Commonwealth
12-4-63

VEP 3-3

WH

December 5, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO DECATUR, GEORGIA

Sunday, November 24, I went to Decatur, Georgia, and spoke for the Dekalb County Citizens Committee, on the occasion of their Voter Registration Appreciation Program and Reception.

This affair was well attended with what appeared to be a good cross-section of community leadership on the platform. It was interesting to note that one of the officials of the county Information Department was present to urge the citizens present not to consider their job finished as there are still many other citizens that are still unregistered. He expressed the fact that the county intends to register every person of age, and passed out literature indicating that night registration is now being conducted in the county.

I was greatly impressed by Miss Rosetta Williams, the project director, and will favor another drive under her sponsorship should she apply.

A copy of the night registration announcement and the Appreciation program is attached.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachments: 2

Registration Information

From the DEKALB COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

and the DEKALB COUNTY BOARD OF REGISTRARS

Neighborhood voter registration has been started in DeKalb County in order to make it easier for qualified citizens to register to vote. This new program carries the Registrar's Office throughout DeKalb County for nighttime voter registration.

We believe the neighborhood voter registration program will result in a large increase in the number of DeKalb County voters. This program brings voter registration officials to you, and we encourage our citizens to utilize this means of registration.

Before being eligible to register, a person must be 18 before the next general election (November 3, 1964) and he must have lived in DeKalb County for six months and in the State of Georgia for one year.

Sixteen militia districts in the county each will be visited once a month by the Registrar's Office. Hours for the neighborhood voter registration are from 6 p. m. to 9 p. m. The schedule for each month is:

MILITIA DISTRICT	DATE	LOCATION
REDAN	FIRST MONDAY	REDAN SUPPLY COMPANY, REDAN ROAD
STONE MOUNTAIN	FIRST TUESDAY	FIRE STATION, 6715 MEMORIAL DRIVE
LITHONIA	FIRST WEDNESDAY	SCOUT HUT, LITHONIA
PHILLIPS	FIRST FRIDAY	MURPHEY CANDLER SCHOOL, KLONDIKE ROAD
SHALLOWFORD	SECOND MONDAY	DUNWOODY SCHOOL, 5339 CHAMBLEE-DUNWOODY ROAD
DORAVILLE	SECOND TUESDAY	COMMUNITY CENTER, PARK AVENUE, DORAVILLE
DIAMONDS	SECOND WEDNESDAY	ROCK CHAPEL SCHOOL, STEPHENSON ROAD
EAST ATLANTA	SECOND FRIDAY	LESLIE J. STEELE SCHOOL, 2162 SECOND AVENUE
BROWNINGS	THIRD MONDAY	FIRE STATION, 4013 LAWRENCEVILLE HIGHWAY, TUCKER
PANTHERSVILLE	THIRD TUESDAY	FIRE STATION, 2522 MCAFEE ROAD
KIRKWOOD	THIRD WEDNESDAY	PARKVIEW CIVIC CLUB, 353 WILKINSON DRIVE, S. E.
CLARKSTON	THIRD FRIDAY	FIRE STATION, 2559 LAWRENCEVILLE HIGHWAY
EDGEWOOD	FOURTH MONDAY	CANDLER PARK CIVIC CLUB, CANDLER PARK DRIVE, N. E.
EVANS	FOURTH TUESDAY	MOUNTAIN VIEW CIVIC CLUB, REDAN ROAD
MILLS	FOURTH WEDNESDAY	FIRE STATION, 1686 CONSTITUTION ROAD
CROSS KEYS	FOURTH FRIDAY	FIRE STATION, 5472 PEACHTREE ROAD, CHAMBLEE

The Decatur Militia District, which is the largest in the county, will use the regular Registrar's Office in the DeKalb Building in Decatur. This office will be open until 8 p. m. every Thursday night, and it is open from 8:30 a. m. to 5 p. m. Monday through Friday.

Mrs. Irene B. Scott, Chief Registrar, says no site was located for neighborhood voter registration in the McWilliams Militia District in southeast DeKalb. But citizens in this district can register at one of the adjacent militia districts, because a person does not have to register in his own militia district. He can register at either the regular office in the DeKalb Building in Decatur or any of the 16 neighborhood sites.

We urge all qualified DeKalb County citizens who are not yet registered to utilize the neighborhood voter registration program. Register. . .then vote.

VOTER REGISTRATION APPRECIATION PROGRAM AND RECEPTION

SPONSORED BY

THE DEKALB COUNTY CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

AT THE

THANKFUL BAPTIST CHURCH

427 ATLANTA AVENUE, DECATUR, GEORGIA

REV. LEON TUCKER, PASTOR

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REV. WILLIAM MOSELEY
CHAIRMAN:
MISS. LAVENIA WOODS
SECRETARY,
MISS. ROSETTA WILLIAMS
DIRECTOR:

P R O G R A M M E

SELECTION.....LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

INVOCATION.....REV. W.L. TUCKER

SELECTION.....LEANING ON JESUS

WELCOME.....MR. AUTHUR McFARLAND

SOLO.....MR. WYLIE ROBINSON

REMARKS.....MR. WILLIAM D. OSBORNE
DIRECTOR RESEACH INFORMATION
FOR DEKALB COUNTY

SELECTION.....

FINANCIAL APPEAL.....MR. GEORGE ANDERSON
REV. WILLIAM MOSELEY
MR. THOMAS STEELE

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER.....MR. LUCIOUS SANDERS

SPEAKER.....MR. RANDOLPH BLACKWELL
DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
FOR VOTER EDUCATION

SELECTION.....

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS.....MR. W.C. PATTON
FIELD SECRETARY FOR
VOTER REGISTRATION

REMARKS.....MISS. ROSETTA WILLIAMS
DIRECTOR DEKALB COUNTY
REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

SELECTION.....DEKALB COUNTY YOUTH CHOIR

BENEDICTION.....REV. WILLIAM MOSELEY

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WB

December 5, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO NORTH CAROLINA - SPECIAL NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION WORKSHOP
NOVEMBER 22-23, 1963

Every man is entitled to at least one defeat. I have had mine.

Thursday, November 21, 1963, I left Atlanta enroute to Rocky Mount, North Carolina, to attend a special statewide voter registration workshop being conducted by the youth councils and college chapters of NAACP.

The idea of a special workshop came about as a result of many having concluded that the adult NAACP branches in North Carolina could not be expected to be effective in voter registration in the near future. The attitudes expressed by officials at the October state conference had given me just cause, I felt, for this conclusion. Before I left the state conference, I sold John Edwards, a regional voter registration officer, and Quinton Baker, state youth president, on the idea of taking up the task of holding a registration workshop.

Even before I left Atlanta, I felt that I was having more difficulty than was necessary in learning the details of the meeting. But, even so, I moved out for Rocky Mount, not only with optimism, but with communications from the national offices of the Delta Sigma ~~Chapter~~ THETA, and the YMCA, both indicating that they wanted to help. We also carried with us a list of all the Negro school principals, many of whom could have been called on to do special jobs in a registration drive.

The special registration workshop and all of the side-line planning was undertaken with a view to taking advantage of a special thirteen day registration period in December, 1963, in which the books will be open in all of the counties. In North Carolina, the registration books are only open before election (usually once or twice per year), in 91 of the 100 counties.

I arrived in Rocky Mount Thursday evening, twenty-six hours before the first session of the workshop was to begin. I was intent upon helping Edwards and Baker pull the loose ends of the meeting together, as well as helping them to structure the meeting in such a way as to come out of it with individuals with the kind of training and information that would possibly lead to activity in some seventy or eighty of the 100 counties.

I was in the company of Mr. Edwards six hours Thursday evening, and all day Friday. I tried numerous times to discuss plans for the workshop, but found him totally imperious in this regard. When I would suggest that we make plans, Edwards would answer that he could not do anything until Mr. John Brooks arrived from Richmond.

On Friday evening, about 8 p. m., delegates began to arrive. I had the feeling that my asking questions was beginning to make Edwards uncomfortable. I did observe some getting together between Edwards and Baker, but they were not ready to take me in.

The next day, and before John Brooks arrived, I went to the church and found that printed programs had been prepared. (A copy is attached). This suggested to me that planning had been going on for some time. The most regrettable thing about the planned program, and the thing that I had hoped would be avoided, was the holding of a workship that was set in the traditional fashion. This I was not successful in preventing. And so, the workshop went off to no avail. The content of the various sessions is hardly worth reviewing.

There must have been about 170 people present representing some 40 counties. I tried in every conceivable way, to get the director of the workshop to talk about a statewide program for the month of December, and what the attending individuals would be expected to do in their counties. I had prepared for the workshop, a table showing a distribution of 25,000 voters over the 100 counties. In this table, we used 10% of the Negro potential. Most of the quotas were realizable, we feel. In several counties, the quotas were under 20%. The tables were never used.

By mid-day Saturday, I had given up all hope of getting a full-blown statewide drive out of this group. I asked Edwards if he would try to establish some special congressional district committees that would spend the next two weeks building around themselves some kind of registration committee. Edwards said that he did not have any authority to do any such thing. There was, in what he said, a ring of intimidation coming from higher-ups.

I did not want my trip to North Carolina to be completly fruitless, so I decided to explore the thinking of Earl Davis of COPE, and John Brooks of NAACP, relative to the whole area of voter registration.

This, I felt needed to be done in John Brooks' case mainly, because he has chosen to almost completely ignore VEP. His attitude has always been interesting, in that he is one of the two NAACP officials working directly in voter registration. In previous field trip reports, I have suggested that while Brooks has been personally friendly, he has never failed to be very critical of VEP.

The opportunity came for me to raise some questions when the three of us went out for lunch. Brooks was up to his old game of talking about how VEP was wasting money that could be used wisely. This time, he had the full support of Earl Davis. I suggested several times that VEP is a research organization in the area of voter registration, and that our operation would naturally be a bit different from an organization that had registration as its sole objective. This gave cause for great laughter, with one of them saying, "We don't need any more research, surely not at the rate of spending that is presently going on." Davis commented, "What is it about Negro registration that you can't find out in a library in a few hours?" Following this idea, he said, "Anything you want to know, I can tell you." Brooks laughed agreeably. I was appalled by their ignorance, and lack of appreciation for serious social research.

Taking up the challenge, I said, "You know as I move around, I find many different approaches to motivating people. Sometimes, a speaker talks about pressing issues, employment, and the like; sometimes the approach is, 'This is what Negro people are doing all over the South'; and then sometimes, its a matter of saying, 'Register because it is right - its good citizenship', or the like." I named individuals that follow each of the lines, and suggested that we would be better equipped if we knew which of these lines is the most motivating. I did not feel at the time that I could simplify the matter any more than I had, but they did not see any value in knowing things like this. Brooks' reaction was, "Well, Patton does it one way, I do it another. That's just the way it is."

I tried to get them to explore the question of why it seemed impossible to get tens of thousands of Negroes to register when at the same time, they seemed quite willing to participate in demonstrations around public accommodations issues. Several other questions were raised, but to no avail.

We ended with Brooks saying as he has many times before, that VEP is possibly doing a lot of harm to the civil rights movement by making grants because this would cause people to become dependent, and not willing to raise their own funds. I tried to point out that our big agencies are administers of the funds, and that they decide what money is needed and how it is to be used. Brooks closed the conversation with, "Well, this is a good conversation, but I suppose we had better get back to the meeting." I realized then that I had not gotten to first base with my efforts to get them to thinking about some of the obvious questions that we don't know the answer to. So far as Brooks was concerned, we had just been talking - nothing worthy of thinking about had been said.

Now, of course, it would seem to me that in the process of exploring the thinking and attitudes of these two men, both important in the area of voter registration, we have, in part, learned something of the problems of increasing political participation among the people that they work with.

I left shortly after lunch for Atlanta.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachment

P. S. Since being back in the office, I have talked with Mr. Brooks by phone. He informed me that he had decided not to try to do very much in North Carolina this year since Mr. Kelley Alexander, state conference president, had announced to the press that he is going to conduct a drive next year and register 100,000 Negroes in the state.

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE
YOUTH COUNCILS AND COLLEGE CHAPTERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

NORTH CAROLINA STATE WIDE VOTER REGISTRATION CONFERENCE

November 22-24, 1963
Mount Pisgah United Presbyterian Church
Rocky Mount, North Carolina

THEME: THE BALLOT: FOR FREEDOM NOW!

---------- PROGRAM ----------

Friday, November 22

Registration 4:30 - 6:30 P.M.

Mass Meeting (Opening) 8:00 P.M.

Speaker: Quinton E. Baker, President
North Carolina State Conference
Youth College Chapters, NAACP

Saturday, November 23

Registration 8:30 A.M.

Voter Registration Workshops 9:00 A.M.

1. Why Register and Vote

Mr. Kelly Alexander, President, N.C. Conference of Branches NAACP

Rev. W. E. Banks, State Advisor
North Carolina State Conference
Youth and College Chapters NAACP

10:00 A.M.

2. North Carolina State Voter Registration Laws and Procedures

Attorney F. B. McKissick, National Chairman, CORE

Attorney W. O. Warner, NAACP Legal Counsel

11:30 A.M.

3. Organization of Voter Registration Committee

Mr. John Edwards, Field Secretary, National Voter Registration Office NAACP

Mr. Charles McLean, Field Secretary, NAACP (North Carolina)

1:00 P.M.

Lunch

2:00 P.M.

4. Voter Registration Campaign

This workshop will be broken into several different sections. It will cover such topics as "Door-to-Door Canvass," Voter Education", Political Parties", "What to do on Voting Day". Consultants for this workshop will include:

Mr. George Booker, National Democratic Party
Mr. Wilbert Hobby, Committee on Political Action, AFL-CIO
Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Baltimore, Maryland
Mr. Randolph Blackwell, Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Georgia
The honorable Leroy Johnson, State Senator of Georgia
Mr. John Brooks, National Voter Registration Director, NAACP
Mr. Earl Davis, Committee on Political Action, AFL-CIO

8:30

Social Youth Delegates

Sunday November 23
Mass Meeting 3:00 P.M.
Speaker: Mr. L. E. Austin, Editor
The Carolina Times Newspaper
Durham, North Carolina

St. John's AME Zion Church
Atlantic and Goldleaf Streets

STATE YOUTH OFFICERS

Quinton E. Baker, President, Durham, N. C.
Constance Sprangle, Vice Pres., Dunn, N. C.
Sylvia Crudup, Secretary, Durham, N. C.
Betsy Washington, asst. Sec., Durham, N. C.
Morris W. Johnson, Treasurer, Durham, N. C.
Rev. W. E. Banks, State Advisor, Thomasville, North Carolina

A Leon Henry Sampson
Rutledge Pearson

Programs: Courtesy of
Durham Business College
Durham, North Carolina

Record Order

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — A Mississippi voter registrar was under orders of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals today to open his records to federal inspection.

The appeals court decision Friday was the latest in the long series of court battles which started in 1960 when the Bolivar County registrar of voters refused to show his books to federal inspectors.

Earlier a U.S. District Court had ordered that the books must be opened for inspection, but only for the "listed voters" for the 1960 elections.

The Department of Justice contended that the district judge had erred in limiting the inspectors to only the listed voters. They contended that "the limitation completely denied the attorney general an opportunity to inspect the records as to those who may have been denied illegally the right to qualify."

Greenwood Commonwealth 12-7-63

Officers Acquited

OXFORD, Miss. (AP)—Five white men were acquitted Friday for allegedly beating six Negro prisoners in the Montgomery County jail in Winona.

The 12-man all white federal court jury deliberated one hour and 15 minutes.

The defendants were charged with conspiracy to deprive six Negro prisoners of their civil rights by inflicting summary punishment.

Winona Police Chief Thomas Herod, Sheriff Earl Patridge, Winona Policeman William Surrell, state highway patrolman John Basinger and former highway patrolman Charles Perkins were the defendants.

The six Negroes were among a group arrested June 9 for disturbing the peace in a Winona bus depot.

Mass Drive Seen

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — An Alabama Negro who has figured in civil rights demonstrations in the South says a vote registration drive in Mississippi next summer may create such a crisis "the federal government will have to take over the state."

John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, said Friday the group would send a host of volunteer voter-registration workers into Mississippi from the nation's college campuses.

He said the result will be to have hundreds of thousands of Negroes "standing in the voter registration places all over the state at one time" and mass arrests probably would result.

Lewis, in San Francisco to address a church "freedom rally," told a news conference the goal of his organization in such a plan was to assure "that Negroes should be allowed to vote in the 1964 election."

Lincoln Star Com. 12-76

COFO Launches Vote Campaign

Mississippi Free Press 12-21-63

"Our goal is that 20,000 Negroes attempt to register between now and March first."

With this announcement the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) chartered its main course for the coming weeks at its convention Sunday in Jackson. For the success of this renewed voter registration drive COFO needs the active support of all those who want Freedom.

"We can't just talk about Freedom," Dave Dennis told the convention. "We've all got to do something about it. We've heard from too many people who are behind us and not enough who are up in front working with us."

The convention also announced a poll tax drive to go hand in hand with voter registration. With the deadline for paying the $2 tax less than two months away, Dennis declared, **"We must pay our poll tax now to be able to vote in next year's elections."** Members of the House of Representatives and the seat now held by Senator John Stennis will be decided in 1964.

Although an amendment to abolish the poll tax is on the verge of ratification, it would apply only to federal elections. Poll tax receipts for two years are still required for voting in state and local races.

In order to ease the burden of the tax, COFO will attempt to raise money to pay the tax for citizens who can not afford it.

In further action, Aaron Henry, President of COFO, suggested that an attempt be made to open channels of communication with Governor-elect Paul Johnson.

"We are going to have to live with Johnson for four years," he said. "It is up to the Negro leaders in the state to take the first step in seeking some understanding with him on the problems facing Mississippi."

In keeping with the goal of creating a state-wide political organization which is representative of Negroes, the convention set up executive committees in each of the five Congressional Districts.

The committees will be responsible for carrying out COFO programs in their areas, beginning with the current voter registration drive. Their success will depend on the willingness of every Negro to do his part for change and progress in the state.

For additional information about COFO, write to 1017 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss.

WB

December 27, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trips to Manning, Orangeburg, and Columbia, South Carolina

Friday, December 6, 1963, I attended the meeting of the First Congressional District Voter Education Project which met in Manning, South Carolina, at the home of Mr. Billie Flemming, chairman of the group.

This was one of the semi-monthly meetings that the group has held since their organizational meeting September 21, 1963. There were two principal matters on the agenda for consideration.

1. Discussion of the VEP grant.

2. Progress reports from each of the county groups.

After the meeting was called to order, and the preliminaries disposed of, Mr. Flemming read two letters. One of the letters was from Mr. Branton to the group, and the other, a copy of a letter from Mrs. Bernice Robinson addressed to Mr. Branton. (Copies of both letters are in our files.) With the reading of these two letters, the principal issue was clearly drawn, which was: Would the First Congressional District organization want to pay Mrs. Robinson the money that it had promised in view of the fact that the grant was much smaller than expected. The organization had conceived of a six-month program with a budget of $20,000. Of this sum, it had allocated the sum of $2,000 to pay Mrs. Robinson's salary as Field Secretary, and $2,000 for field expenses. The total grant from VEP was $6,000 for a four months project.

The issue having been made clear, Mr. Flemming asked me to have something to say. I responded with a statement that included the following ideas:

....That VEP was pleased with the consistancy of the meetings and the work being done....

....That the demand for VEP funds across the eleven Southern states had compelled us to limit the grant to the stated sum....

....That experience dictates that an organization such as theirs should think seriously about the real contribution a field person could make in holding the organization together....

...

....That I was sure that they would find it possible to supplement the grant with funds in the local communities.

After I finished my remarks, several persons from the floor were recognized. Each of them made passionate appeals to the group to keep Mrs. Robinson on as the Field Secretary. Perhaps the most influencial statement came from Mr. Boyd. Mr. Boyd is the much respected past president of the NAACP, rememberd mainly for the Clarendon County school desegregation case. He told the group that the First Congressional Voter Education Project was the best thing that he had seen in the area in his 89 years, and that it must not be allowed to die. The tone of the statements was adapted by the group as a matter of common consent. Mrs. Robinson was retained at the promised salary.

It was agreed that Mrs. Robinson, the chairman, and the treasurer would meet and try to work out a system for reducing the field expenses. Progress reports for each county will be submitted by the group secretary in detail at a later time.

Delicious refreshments were served by the host.

****

On December 7, I talked with Dr. Thomas in Orangeburg about his project and organization in the Second Congressional District. He spelled out to me a very elaborate plan that the Statewide Centennial group has for conducting a statewide registration program. I did not make an effort to discuss this matter in detail with him because he said that he plans to submit the entire plan to us after a meeting that they will be holding early in 1964.

I also talked with Ben Mack in Columbia, South Carolina. In the course of the conversation, it was reflected that SCLC is now conducting 38 citizenship classes in the state of South Carolina.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

SAMPLES OF LITERATURE USED IN ORANGEBURG, S. C.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Orangeburg Office
Orangeburg, South Carolina
January 22, 1964

Dear Co-Worker:

We have worked hard during the past year and many of our people have registered.

We appreciate your co-operation and feel that without your help, the job could not have been put over.

We still have many who are qualified but have not registered and there is much work to be done.

OUR GOAL IS EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO REGISTERED NOW!

The books will be open at the courthouse the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in each month.

You are invited and urged to attend a special Voter Education Meeting at Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina, Sunday, January 26 at 3:00 P. M. Bring as many as possible with you.

Please pool your transportation and if you bring a load, we may be able to make a donation on your expense.

WE MUST MAKE 1964 A GREAT YEAR IN REGISTERING AND VOTING

It can be done! It must be done!! Let us all pull together and put the job over!

WE MUST PUT THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ON TOP.

Yours truly

Voter Education Project
Orangeburg Office

J. W. McPherson

J. W. McPherson, Chairman

N O T I C E

YOUR VOTE WILL SOLVE MOST OF THE RACE PROBLEMS.

YOUR VOTE CAN CHANGE MANY THINGS.

REGISTER! TAKE A FRIEND TO REGISTER.

THE BOOKS WILL BE OPEN AT THE COURTHOUSE MONDAY,

TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY JANUARY 6, 7 & 8, 1964.

HELP YOURSELF AND YOUR RACE.

REGISTER! REGISTER!! REGISTER!!!

- ORANGEBURG OFFICE on VOTER REGISTRATION

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Orangeburg Office
Orangeburg, South Carolina

November 14, 1963

Dear Co-Worker:

As you know we had a great day on November 4th.

We registered 161, 16 were rejected and 47 had not registered when the office closed at 5:00 o'clock.

Let us look forward to December 2, and have all who were there and did not register before the office closed there at the office on time.

We have many others who are qualified, but have not registered.

THE BALLOT IS POWER! GET IT!! USE IT!!! Now is the time. WE MUST PUT ON A BIG DRIVE FOR DECEMBER 2, 1963.

OUR GOAL IS EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO REGISTERED NOW. IF YOU DO NOT REGISTER! IF YOU DO NOT VOTE, DO NOT COMPLAIN!

Please address all mail to 496 Middleton Street, S.E.

Let us all pull together and put the job over.

REGISTER! REGISTER! REGISTER!

Yours truly

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Orangeburg Office
Orangeburg, South Carolina

October 18, 1963

Dear Co-Worker:

As you know we had a great day on October 7th.

We registered 220, 26 were rejected and 115 had not registered when the office closed at 5:00 o'clock.

Let us look forward to November 4th and have all who were there and did not register before the office closed there at the office on time.

We have many others who are qualified, but have not registered.

Now is the time. WE MUST PUT ON A BIG DRIVE FOR NOVEMBER 4th.

OUR GOAL IS EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO REGISTERED NOW.

Please address all mail to 496 Middleton Street, S.E.

Let us all pull together and put the job over.

Yours truly,

J. W. McPherson

J. W. McPherson

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Orangeburg Office
Orangeburg, South Carolina

October 17, 1963

Dear

We are working very, very, hard to register all qualified Negroes in order that they may be able to vote in the next elections.

We must also help those who are not qualified to prepare themselves.

This is necessary if we want full citizenship in this Country. The BALLOT means POWER.

WE MUST GET IT! WE MUST USE IT!! would you PLEASE! PLEASE join this campaign for FREEDOM?

We would like to meet with a group in your Town or Community and talk this matter over and plan a full scale DRIVE for your county before the end of this month.

The registration books will be open Monday, November 4, in the Court House from 9:00 A. M. until 5:00 P. M. We registered 220 in Orangeburg County on October 7, we have only a partial report from Bamberg and Barnwell Counties.

Urge all who go to register to take their tax receipts also.

I know you are interested in this work and we certainly appreciate your full co-operation.

Please address all mail to 496 Middleton Street, S. E., Obbg.

Yours truly,

J. W. McPherson

Voter Registration Program

Bamberg, Barnwell and Orangeburg Counties

Trinity Methodist Church

Orangeburg, S. C. September 16, 1963

Singing "America"

Scripture

Prayer

Singing Youth

Purpose of Meeting

Special Prayers for our Brothers in Birmingham, Ala.

Business Presentations

Sit together by Counties Adults and Youth

Counties divided into Towns and Communities to organize (not organized already)

Reports turned in Remarks

Detailed instructions on how to get persons registered. Requirements

Approach to individuals

House to house canvass

Farm to farm canvass

Singing "Battle Hymn of the Republic"

Benediction

SAMPLE

State of South Carolina

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

Dated at ....., S. C., ...day of ....., 19.....

I .....
hereby apply for registration as an elector and certify under oath that:

1. I am a female, a member of the ..... race, born at
male

....., on .....

I reside at .....Street in the town or city of

..... or

on.....Road in .....

Township or Parish in .....County. My nearest

voting place is ..... My weight is .....lbs.

my height is ..... ft. ..... in., the color of my eyes .....,

the color of my hair .....

( ) 2. I (a) will have resided in South Carolina for at least two years, in this County for at least one year and in my voting precinct for at least four months prior to any election at which I will be entitled to vote if a registration certificate is issued to me upon this application, or

( ) (b) am a minister or spouse of a minister in charge of an organized church in this state, or

( ) (c) am a teacher of public school or spouse of a teacher and will have resided in South Carolina for a period of six months prior to any such election.

( ) 3. I am not an idiot, or insane, a pauper supported at public expense or confined in any public prison.

4. I will demonstrate to the Registration Board that

( ) (a) I can both read and write a section of the Constitution of South Carolina; or

( ) (b) I own and have paid all taxes due last year on property in this State assessed at $300.00 or more.

( ) 5. I (a) have never been convicted of any of the following crimes: burglary, arson, obtaining goods or money under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, robbery, bribery, adultery, bigamy, wifebeating, housebreaking, receiving stolen goods, breach of trust with fraudulent intent, fornication, sodomy, incest, assault with intent to ravish, miscegenation, larceny, or crimes against the election laws; or

( ) (b) Have been legally pardoned for such conviction.

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this .....day of
....., 19.....

.....
Applicant
Examined and found (not) qualified

.....
Member of Registration Board

.....
Member of Registration Board

VOTEless People Are Hopeless People

(Courtesy of S. C. Conference of Branches — N. A. A. C. P.)

N O T I C E

The registration books will be open Monday_____

_____

from 9:00 A. M. to 5:00 P. M.

PLACE: Registrar's Office in the basement of the Court House.

WHO CAN REGISTER: Must have resided in this State one year, in this County at least six months and in your voting precinct at least three months before any election, must be able to read and write or pay tax on property assessed in this State at $300.00 or more, must be over 21 years of age.

YOU ARE URGED TO REGISTER IF YOU ARE QUALIFIED.

YOU ARE URGED TO ENCOURAGE AS MANY QUALIFIED PERSONS AS POSSIBLE TO REGISTER.

THIS IS EVERYBODY"S BUSINESS.

VOTELESS PEOPLE ARE HOPELESS PEOPLE.

J. W. McPherson

H. W. Harvey

Earl Middleton

PLAN

Approved February 21, 1963

Organize each town and community in the county.

The towns will be divided ward by ward, street by street and block by block. A chairman will be in charge of each town and each community. A leader will be in charge of each street and a leader in each block.

The chairman of each community will divide his territory in the most convenient manner for his workers.

Leaders and workers will be called together for a Training Session:

Method of approach
Time to call
Qualifications of voter
Explain application blank for registration certificate.

This is a map of the County of Orangeburg. Most churches and schools are marked on this map.

This is a map of the City of Orangeburg. The five wards and three suburban wards are marked on this map.

We will hold meetings of all workers at stated times for workers to report progress.

THE NON-PARTISAN CO-ORDINATING VOTER REGISTRATION CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATION

OUR GOAL: 100,000 REGISTERED VOTERS

1. Precinct or Ward Number
2. Place of Voting
3. County
4. Your name, address and certificate no.

Name of persons you take to register.	Address	Certificate no.

POOL YOUR TRANSPORTATION

1963 SUMMARY REPORT FOR ORANGEBURG SECTION
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Voter Education Project

Orangeburg Office
Orangeburg, South Carolina
January 25, 1964

In November 1961, we asked the Chairman of Board of Registrars to allow us to get names of registered Negroes from books. He referred us to the State Senator.

He inturn referred us to the Chairman of the Board who again sent us to the Senator.

The Senator than said he would take it up with the Attorney General on his next trip to Columbia.

The Senator again sent us to the Chairman of the Board.

We then wrote the Secretary of State, who referred us to the Registration Board.

We wrote the Attorney General and he sent us to the Board or the Clerk of Court.

At last, on August 4, 1962 we received a phone call that the office would be open on the 6, 7 & 8th of August at which time we could get the names.

Results: We checked the books on the dates named and through August 8, 1962 there were 3,223 Negroes registered in Orangeburg County.

Registered through August 8, 1962	3,223
" August 9, 1962 to September 1963	232
Total	3,455

Registered	Sept. 3, 1963	112
"	Oct. 7, 1963	220
"	Nov. 4, 1963	161
"	Dec. 2, 1963	52
"	Jan. 6,7 & 8 1964	80
Total registered in Orangeburg County during this project		625

Total registered to date..... 4,080

Orbg. Co. Office
Thomas H.
1/25/64

(cont'd)

Registered	Bamberg	Barnwell
Sept. 3, 1963	6	0
Oct. 7, 1963	8	8
Nov. 4, 1963	15	14
Jan. 6, 7 & 8 - 1964		
	29	26

Total registered in Orangeburg Office..... 680

We may not have all persons from Bamberg and Barnwell Counties who registered during this drive because we can obtain the names easier in Orangeburg County than in the others counties.

See Organization of Orangeburg County attached.

With the very, very small amount of cash that we had for expense and with the loyalty of volunteer workers, the above has been accomplished to date.

Orangeburg Office Voter Education Project

J. W. McPherson, Chairman

Jan-6-7-8
1964

ORANGEBURG COUNTY - S. C.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REGISTERED JANUARY 6, 7 and 8, 1964

No.	R.C.No.	Name		Address	
1.	244	Glemer, Margena	Mrs.	P.O.Box 424	Bowman,S.C.
2.	4151	Dickson, Charlotte, Jr.	Mrs.	Rte. 1 (Duplicate)	Bowman,S.C.
3.	251	Fogle, Mary Sue	Mrs.	Rte. 1	Bowman,S.C.
4.	217	Johnson, Florence	Mrs.	Rte. 1	Branchville,S.C.
5.	218	Simpson, Odell	Mr.	Rte. 2	Cope,S.C.
6.	222	Simpson, Leon E.	Mr.	Rte. 2.	Cope,S.C.
7.	284	Green, Philip	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 151-A	Cope,S.C.
8.	233	Jennings, Willie M.	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 142	Cope,S.C.
9.	279	Haigler, Cecil	Mr.		Elloree, S.C.
10.	4592	Davis, James	Mr.	(Duplicate) Rte.1,Box 8	Eutawville,S.C.
11.	268	Bryant, Mayboll	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 23	Eutawville,S.C.
12.	323	Burgess, C. C.	Rev.	P.O.Box 443	Holly Hill,S.C. (W-1)
13.	326	Burgess, Connie M.	Mrs.	P.O.Box 433	Holly Hill,S.C. (W-1)
14.	294	Bradley, Catherine	Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 45	Holly Hill,S.C. (W-2)
15.	292	Bradley, Bennett	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 45	Holly Hill,S.C. (W-2)
16.	322	Walker, Caere	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 72	Holly Hill,S.C.
17.	215	Washington, Colie	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 259	Holly Hill,S.C.
18.	267	Gordon, Rose Mary	Mrs.		Livingston,S.C.
19.	270	Bloome, Odessie	Mrs.		Livingston,S.C.
20.	269	Corley, Idean	Mrs.		Livingston,S.C.
21.	273	Glover, Ida	Mrs.		Livingston,S.C.
22.	243	Brailey, Henry Lee	Mr.	Rte. 2	Neeses,S.C.
23.	258	Ishmal, Earl L.	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 16	Neeses,S.C.
24.	272	Higginbottom Retha	Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 137	North,S.C.
25.	276	Arthur, Loudesta		Rte.2,Box 130	North,S.C.
26.	283	Wade, Ethel M.	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 75	Norway.S.C.

No.	R.C.No.	Name		Address
27.	285	Anthony, Joe	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 148 Norway,S.C.
28.	286	Denberry, Martha	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 148 Norway,S.C.
29.	288	Anthony, Martha	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 148 Norway,S.C.
30.	314	[illegible], Clifton	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 133 Norway,S.C.
31.	13	Haynes, Daniel R.	Mr.	395 Broughton Street Orangeburg,S.C.
32.	2567	Hammond, Daniel A.	Mr.	(Duplicate) P.O.Box 76 Orangeburg,S.C.
33.	319	Wilson, Thomas J.	Mr.	Rte.1 (P.O.Box 1825 State College) Orangeburg,S.C.
34.	271	Mack, Ellis D.	Mr.	833 Pearl Street-Orangeburg,S.C. (W-3)
35.	260	Harvey, Willie Clay	Mr.	260 Goff Ave. Ext. -(State College)
36.	242	Young, Estelle	Miss	204 Glover Street,S. W. Orangeburg,S.C.
37.	225	Hawkins, Carl	Mr.	237 Langston Ave., S.W. Orangeburg,S.C.
38.	14394	Owens, James	Mr.	(Duplicate) 327 Liberty Street Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
39.	9	Baxter, Janie	Mrs.	351 Liberty Street Orangeburg,S.C.(S-1)
40.	309	Owens, Louise	Mrs.	351 Liberty Street Orangeburg,S.C.(S-1)
41.	14025	Brown, Mattie	Mrs.	P.O.Box 255 Orangeburg,S.C.
42.	219	Whestone, Celia M.	Mrs.	353 Lloyd Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
43.	236	Bowman, Addie B.	Mrs.	523 Maple Street,S.W. Orangeburg,S.C. (W-2)
44.	20	Frederick, Samuel	Mr.	895 Oak Street Orangeburg,S.C. (W-3)
45.	224	Dash, Ethel M.	Mrs.	436 Quick Street Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
46.	12473	Houser, Leaila A.	Mrs.	382 Quick Street (Duplicate) Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
47.	228	Jones, Lee J.	Mr.	221 Rowe Street Orangeburg,S.C. (w-2)
48.	275	Davis, S. Thelma	Mrs.	1649 Russell Street, N.E. Orangeburg,S.C.
49.	289	Haigler, Frank	Mr.	280 Sunnyside Street Orangeburg,S.C. (W-3)
50.	291	Walker Nelson, Jr.	Mr.	488 Sunnyside Street Orangeburg,S.C. (W-3)
51.	315	Reed, Gertrude	Mrs.	315 Treadwell Street,N.E. Orangeburg,S.C. (W-3)
52.	318	Williams, Mary	Mrs.	333 Treadwell Street,N.E. Orangeburg,S.C. (W-3)

(cont'd)

No.	R.C.No.	Name		Address
53.	316	Miller, Annie Bell	Mrs.	176 Treadwell Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
54.	320	Frinks, Isaac	Mr.	1010 Whaley Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
55.	257	Grant, Allen	Mr.	1170 Whaley Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
56.	230	Williams, Dorothy	Mrs.	Ellis Ave. Ext. Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
57.	232	Davis, Lillie	Mrs.	Ellis Ave. Ext. Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
58.	13974	Pressley, Lucinda	Mrs.	Rte.4,Box 366 Orangeburg,S.C.
59.	310	Mintz, F. W.	Rev.	Rte.4,Box 367 Orangeburg,S.C.
60.	311	Bowman, Florence	Mrs.	Rte.3,Box 273 Orangeburg,S.C. (Pine Hill)
61.	10	Jacobs, Booker	Mr.	Rte.5 Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
62.		Pinckney,Azilee	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 652 Orangeburg,S.C.
63.	239	Johnson, Clay E.	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 429-A Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
64.	277	Daniels, Leviticus	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 700 Orangeburg,S.C.
65.	281	Jamison, Jesse	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 971 Rowesville Road Orangeburg,S.C.
66.	287	Randolph, Christen	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 738 Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
67.	241	Wright, Thomas S.	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 242 Orangeburg,S.C.
68.	247	McMichael, Robert L.	Mr.	Rte.2 Orangeburg,S.C.
69.	254	Benjamin, Rachel	Mrs.	Rte.4 Orangeburg,S.C.
70.	262	Williams, Thelma	Miss	Rte.5,Box 236 Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
71.	264	Govan, Martha	Mrs.	Rte.5,Box 236 Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
72.	261	Edwards, Iretha	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 711 Orangeburg,S.C. (S-1)
73.	263	Wolfe, Bertha	Mrs.	Rte.2 Orangeburg,S.C.
74.	266	Houser, Eva	Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 44 Orangeburg,S.C.
75.	274	Sharperson, Bertha L.	Mrs.	Rte.3,Box 389½ Orangeburg,S.C.
76.	?	Dawkins, Ervin C.	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 170-Atlantic Avenue (Registered October 7,'63)Orangeburg,S.C.
77.	?	Dawkins, Delia M.	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 170-Atlantic Avenue (Registered October 7,'63)Orangeburg,S.C.
78.	259	Gooden, Andrew	Mr.	P.O.Box 2 Rowesville,S.C.
79.	282	Daniels, McKinly	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 33 Rowesville,S.C.
80.	12277	Perry, Ed.	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 113 Vance,S.C. (Duplicate)

Dec 2-63

ORANGEBURG COUNTY S. C.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REGISTERED DECEMBER 2, 1963

No.	R.C.No.	Name		Address	
1.	17050	Murry, Emma	Mrs.		Bowman, S.C.
2.	11	Rush, Rosa Ann	Mrs.		Bowman, S.C.
3.	17041	Brown, Ada	Mrs.	Rte.2, Box 150	Bowman, S.C.
4.	17064	Lincoln, Rachel	Mrs.		Branchville, S.C.
5.	205	Lincoln, Hattie	Miss		Branchville, S.C.
6.	207	Williams, Cleo	Mrs.		Branchville, S.C.
7.	216	Funchess, Willie Dean	Mrs.	Rte.2, Box 69	Cameron, S.C. (Orbg)
8.	17049	Phillips, Rovenia W.	Mrs.		Elloree, S.C.
9.	17040	Jenkins, Flora B.	Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.
10.	189	Wright, Dorothy	Mrs.	P.O.Box 124	Eutawville, S.C.
11.	191	Ladson, Lizzie D.	Mrs.	P.O.Box 92	Eutawville, S.C.
12.	202	Anderson, S.S.	Rev.		Holly Hill, S.C. (S-1)
13.	206	White, Sarah B.	Mrs.		Holly Hill, S.C. (S-1)
14.	17647	Pough, Lillian C. (R)	Mrs.		North, S.C.
15.	198	Fields, Myrtle V.	Mrs.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
16.	17054	Brown, Gladys	Mrs.	377 Loyd Street	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
17.	12910	Williams, Eloise	Mrs.	171 Boulevard	Orangeburg, S.C. (W-3)
18.	8942	Coulter, Anna	Mrs.	Sunnyside Street	Orangeburg, S.C. (W-3)
19.	17058	Pitt, Edward L.	Mr.	State College	Orangeburg, S.C. (W-5)
20.	214	Bonnett, Roberta	Mrs.	431 N. Windsor Street	Orangeburg, S.C. (W-1)
21.	9418	Johnson, Robert L.	Mr.	388 Fair Street	Orangeburg, S.C. (W-3)
22.	194	Payton, Cecil W.	Mr.	492 College Ave.	Orangeburg, S.C.
23.	197	Owens, Mary	Mrs.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-3)
24.	199	Teachey, Estelle G.	Mrs.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
25.	17055	Glover, Marie	Mrs.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
26.	17057	Snell, Dorothy G.	Mrs.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
27.	14935	Johnson, Jimmie Dean	Mrs.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
28.	203	Summers, Lelia Mae	Miss		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
29.	17056	Shuler, Wesley B.	Mr.		Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
30.	14489	Swett, Georgia	Mrs.	(Duplicate) 902 College Ave.	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)

(cont'd)

No.	R.C.No.	Name		Address	
31.	17066	Scott, Florine	Miss	139 Lovell Street,N.E.-	Orangeburg,S.C.(W-5)
32.	12677	Johnson, Vernell	Miss	Rte. 1 (Duplicate)	Orangeburg,S.C.(S-1)
33.	302	Cropp, Naomi H.	Mrs.	Rte.5,Box 537	Orangeburg,S.C.
34.	304	Allen, Vernell	Mrs.	Rte.5,Box 537	Orangeburg,S.C.
35.	17048	Owens, Willie	Mr.	Rte. 1	Orangeburg,S.C.(S-3)
36.	17052	Sellers, Janie	Mrs.	Rte. 4	Orangeburg,S.C.(S-3)
37.	201	Mintz, Rosa Mae	Mrs.	Rte. 4	Orangeburg,S.C.(S-3)
38.	17060	Dash, Annette	Miss	Rte. 3	Orangeburg,S.C.
39.	17063	McMichael, Hattie Mae	Miss	Rte.2,Box 443	Orangeburg,S.C.
40.	17065	Pelzer, James L.	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 236	Orangeburg,S.C.
41.	208	Sellers, George	Mr.	Rte.4,Box 269	Orangeburg,S.C.
42.	17068	Dyches, Deborah F.	Mrs.	Rte. 3	Orangeburg,S.C.
43.	211	Lowery, Sammie B.	Mrs.	Rte. 3	Orangeburg,S.C. - Pinehill (V.P.)
44.	7001	Jones, James, Jr.	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 307	Orangeburg,S.C.(S-1)
45.	11208	Henderson, Geraldine	Miss	(Duplicate)Rte.1,Box 117 -	Orangeburg,S.C.
46.	301	Eason, Johnny B.	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 484	Orangeburg,S.C.(S-1)
47.	17038	Seawright, Lessie	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 4	Orangeburg,S.C.
48.	17042	Sanders, Preston	Mr.	Rte.2	Orangeburg,S.C.
49.	195	James, Bertha	Mrs.		Springfield,S.C.
50.	17046	Staley, Blanch	Mrs.		Springfield,S.C.(S-1)
51.	185	Jones, Wilson	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 125-A	Vance,S.C.
52.	17039	Jones, Thelma	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 125-A	Vance,S.C.

REJECTED

1.	Sanders, Margarite	Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 109	Cameron,S.C.
2.	Washington, Paul J.	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 72	Holly Hill,S.C.
3.	Wilson, Sarah	Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 265	Holly Hill,S.C.
4.	Dingle, Anna Lee	Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 264-A	Holly Hill,S.C.
5.	Stroman, Henry	Mr.	Rte.5,Box 568	Orangeburg,S.C.
6.	Summers, Willie, Jr.	Mr.	Rte.2,Box 240	Orangeburg,S.C.

Nov-4-63

ORANGEBURG COUNTY, S. C.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REGISTERED NOVEMBER 4, 1963

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address	
1.	120	Johnson, Eugene	P.O. Box	Bowman, S.C.
2.	17000	Bookard, Rosia Mrs.		Bowman, S.C.
3.	164	Bruce Janie D. Mrs.		Bowman, S.C.
4.	11893	Bookard, Dave Mr.	Rte. 2	Bowman, S.C.
5.	11837	Funderburk Alex Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 151	Bowman, S.C.
6.	16060	Little, Thurmond L. Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 205	Bowman, S.C.
7.	139	Minus, Pearlie Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 184-B	Bowman, S.C.
8.	138	Davis, Ruby Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 131-A	Bowman, S.C.
9.	133	McClellan, Arthur Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 206	Bowman, S.C.
10.	142	Minus, Arlene Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 184	Bowman, S.C.
11.	109	Williams, Iver Lee Mrs.		Branchville, S.C.
12.	123	Barton, Gladys Johnson Mrs.		Branchville, S.C. - (North)
13.	135	Johnson, Alice Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 95-C	Branchville, S.C. - (North)
14.	144	Dingle, Gladys Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 66	Branchville, S.C.
15.	146	Dingle, James Mr. ?	Rte. 1, Box 66	Branchville, S.C.
16.	16088	Bowman, Ethel Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 76	Branchville, S.C.
17.	16090	Stokes, Clinton	Rte. 1	Branchville, S.C.
18.	8	Owens, Henry Jr. Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 173	Branchville, S.C.
19.	16553	Williams, David Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 125	Branchville, S.C.
20.	160	Dantzler, Mary Mrs.	Rte. 2	Cameron, S.C. - (Tillman)
21.	17033	Abraham, Georgianna R. Mrs.	Rte. 2	Cameron, S.C. (East Orange)
22.	121	Williams, Lessie Mrs.		Cope, S.C.
23.	122	Wilkaite, Geneva Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 310	Elloree, S.C.
24.	11891	Oliver, Christine Mrs.	Rte. 2	Elloree, S.C.
25.	4736	Fuller Joseph	P.O. Box	Eutawville, S.C.
26.	119	Wright, Mallie	P.O. Box 102	Eutawville, S.C.
27.	16071	Prailene, Catherine Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.
28.	16073	Small, William		Eutawville, S.C.
29.	11889	Taste, Lucy	Rte. 1, Box 17	Eutawville, S.C.
30.	11892	Taste, Sam	Rte. 1,	Eutawville, S.C.
31.	16081	Brown, Jessie Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 120	Eutawville, S.C.
32.	17008	Rowell, Catherine Mrs.	Rte. 1	Eutawville, S.C.
33.	1	Richburg, William Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 6-A	Eutawville, S.C.
34.	17013	Young, Omega Mr.	Rte. 1	Eutawville, S.C.
35.	17010	Davis, Lola J. Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 142	Eutawville, S.C.
36.	16091	Laval, Willie Mae Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 143	Eutawville, S.C.
37.	152	Davis, Florrie Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 140	Eutawville, S.C.
38.	149	Washington, Lula Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 144	Eutawville, S.C.
39.	11896	Green, Samuel Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 188	Eutawville, S.C.
40.	16095	Gadson, Isaac Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 117	Eutawville, S.C.
41.	16096	Washington, Eddie Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 42	Eutawville, S.C.
42.	111	Young, Ellen J. Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 22	Eutawville, S.C.
43.	114	Young, Mamie Lee Mrs.	Rte. 4, Box 24	Eutawville, S.C.
44.	116	Young, Leola Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 23-A	Eutawville, S.C.
45.	16055	Fuller, Mary Lee Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 15	Eutawville, S.C.

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address	
46.	117	Fuller, Wilhelmina Mrs.	P. O. Box 131	Eutawville, S.C.
47.	16062	Mitchum, Welena Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.
48.	16550	Fuller, J. O. Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 15	Eutawville, S.C.
49.	112	Coger, Willie Mae Mrs.		Holly Hill, S.C.
50.	128	Mazyck, John Mr.		Holly Hill, S.C.
51.	130	McKelvey, Ruth Mrs.		Holly Hill, S.C.
52.	156	Sweat, Oles Mrs.	P.O. Box 414	Holly Hill, S.C.
53.	11895	Jenkins, Prezzy Mr.	P.O. Box G.	Holly Hill, S.C.
54.	16089	Allen, Hagar Lou Mrs.	P.O. Box 524	Holly Hill, S.C.
55.	113	Bennett, Ida Kay Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 245	Holly Hill, S.C.
56.	115	Mack, Eva Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 275	Holly Hill, S.C.
57.	16057	Jamison, Albertha Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 55-A	Holly Hill, S.C.
58.	16054	Bell, Ruth Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 212-A2	Holly Hill, S.C.
59.	16061	Dalicy, Clayton Mr.	Rte. 2, Box 216	Holly Hill, S.C.
60.	118	Sweat, Bon Mr.	General Delivery	Holly Hill, S.C.
61.	16063	Jefferson, Harry Lee Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 147	Holly Hill, S.C.
62.	16065	Williams, Banister	Rte. 1, Box 101	Holly Hill, S.C.
63.	16076	Grant, Tommie Lee Mr.	Rte. 1, Box 13-B	Holly Hill, S.C.
64.	140	Sellers, Dorothy Miss	Rte. 1, Box 99-A	Holly Hill, S.C.
65.	16083	Williams, Mary A. Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 101	Holly Hill, S.C.
66.	16085	Capers, Regina Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 19	Holly Hill, S.C.
67.	137	Johnson, Maggie Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 101	Holly Hill, S.C.
68.	16087	Williams, Virginia Mrs.	Box 633	Holly Hill, S.C.
69.	16064	Mobley, Mamie Mrs.	Rte. 2	Holly Hill, S.C.
70.	151	Simmons, Janie Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 20	Holly Hill, S.C.
71.	16097	Washington, Daisy Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 245-A	Holly Hill, S.C.
72.	153	Benjamine, Carrie Ella Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 245	Holly Hill, S.C.
73.	16094	Jones, David Mr.	Rte. 1	Holly Hill, S.C.
74.	16093	Wright, Bennie L. Mr.	Rte. 2, Box 13	Holly Hill, S.C.
75.	170	Jamison, Martha Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 15	Neeses, S.C.
76.	4	McMichael, Aris Mrs.	Rte. 2, Box 10	Neeses, S.C.
77.	2	McMichael, Conrad Mr.	Rte. 2, Box 10	Neeses, S.C.
78.	7	Furtick, Charlie Mr.	Rte. 2, Box 12	Neeses, S.C.
79.	17018	Burgess, Janie A. Mrs.	Rte. 2	Neeses, S.C. (Liberty)
80.	16051	Harrison, Bernice Mrs.	P.O. Box 56	North, S.C.
81.	16048	Harrison, O. J. Mr.	P.O. Box 56	North, S.C.
82.	126	Floyd, Carrie Mrs.		North, S.C.
83.	150	Harth, Alton Mr.	Rte. 2, Box 263-A	North, S.C.
84.	17037	Mack, Clyde Jr. Mr.	P.O. Box 111	North, S.C.
85.	17036	Mack, Willie L. Mrs.	P.O. Box 111	North, S.C.
86.	1491	Jamison, Alonza Mr.		Norway, S.C.
87.	2033	Barnes, Benjamin Mr.	P.O. Box 223	Norway, S.C.
88.	16082	Parler, Fannie B. Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 223	Norway, S.C.
89.	125	Goodwin, Malvena Mrs.		Vance, S.C.
90.	16072	Asbury, Herbert Mr.	Rte. 1	Vance, S.C.
91.	132	Johnson, Lucile Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 105-A2	Vance, S.C.
92.	16075	Grant, Elouise Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 106	Vance, S.C.
93.	131	Williams, Rosa Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 118-A2	Vance, S.C.
94	16077	Williams, Lula Mae Mrs.	Rte. 1, Box 141-A2	Vance, S.C.
95	16074	White, Benjamin Mr.	P.O. Box 33	Vance, S.C.

(cont'd)

No.	R.C.No.	Name		Address		
96.	145	Abraham, Earline	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 55	Vance,S.C.	
97.	134	Williams, James	Mr.	Rte.1,Box 141-A2	Vance,S.C.	
98.	174	Goodwin, Celia	Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 139	Vance,S.C.	
99.	16052	Green, Viola	Mrs.	630 Amelia Street	City	
100.	16059	Johnson, Jean	Mrs.	340 Fair Street	City	
101.	16058	Walker, Gloria		593 Sunnyside	Orangeburg,S.C.	
102.	16070	Wolf, Hercules	Mr.	351 Cemetery Street	City	(W-3)
103.	16079	Jamison, Mabel	Mrs.	295 Cemetery Street	City	(W-3)
104.	11894	Robinson, John	Rev.	1191 Whaley Street	City	(W-5)
105.	16078	Mack, Pearl	Mrs.	295 Cemetery Street	City	(W-3)
106.	16080	Sweat, Ella Mae	Mrs.	568 Rigg Street	City	(W-2)
107.	141	Legette, Eva Mae	Mrs.	432 Windsor Street	City	(W-2)
108.	163	Harper, Rosebud H.	Mrs.	296 Broad Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(W-1)
109.	11897	Robinson, James	Mr.	178 Elwood Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	(W-2)
110.	17004	Gass, Catherine	Mrs.?		Orangeburg,S.C.	(S-1)
111.	17007	Fuller, Maxine	Miss?	398 Fair Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
112.	17009	Fuller, Annie Mae	Mrs.	398 Fair Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
113.	17011	Johnson, Catherine	Mrs.	Goff Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	
114.	171	Phelps, Vernell	Mrs.	Maxcy Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
115.	17016	Jones, Betty Jo	Mrs.	Whaley Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
116.	17019	Bowman, James E.	Mr.	Madison Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
117.	16066	Blanchard, Alice W.	Mrs.	P.O. Box 111	Orangeburg,S.C.	
118.	16068	Abraham, Clio	Mr.	Goff Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	
119.	16086	Ford, Gertrude	Mrs.	148 Treadwell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(W-3)
120.	3411	Frost, J. L.	Mr.		Orangeburg,S.C.	
121.	17001	Green, David	Mr.		Orangeburg,S.C.	(S-1)
122.	16098	Goodly, Brodus	Mr.		Orangeburg,S.C.	(S-1)
123.	17022	Magee, Rosa A.	Mrs.	Seaboard Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	
124.	17024	Sally, Millie A.	Miss	Seaboard Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	
125.	177	Johnson, James J.	Mr.	605 Amelia Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
126.	17035	Blasingame, James R.	Mr.	Lovell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
127.	181	Blasingame, Patricia	Mrs.	159 Lovell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
128.	17034	Martin, Beatrice	Miss	266 Treadwell Street	City	
129.	124	Nelson, Willie	Mr.	648 Goff Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S-1)
130.	16067	Spigner, Odell	Mr.	252 Wilkinson Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S-
131.	532	Cain, Herman	Mr.	St. Matthews Road	Orangeburg,S.C.	
132.	17015	Smiley, Zella M.	Mrs.	Russell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
133.	17017	Shuler, Gloria Jean	Miss	Russell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
134.	175	Dash, Viola	Mrs.	240 Calhoun Drive	Orangeburg,S.C.	
135.	146	Jennings, Annie		1120 4th Avenue Edisto Drive	Orangeburg,S.C.	

(cont'd)

No.	R.C.No.	Name	Address	
136.	147	James, Gary Mr.	240½ Sprinkle Avenue	Orangeburg, S.C.
137.	178	Holmes, Cora Lee Miss	Belleville Road	Orangeburg, S.C.
[illegible]	180	Wayman, Wade Jr. Mr.	902 College Avenue	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
139.	17026	Henderson, Clara Mrs.	Maxwell Place	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
140.	5	Harper, John Mr.	Edisto Drive	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-2)
141.	1396	Whitmore, Pearl Mrs.	Magnolia Avenue	Orangeburg, S.C.
142.	17030	Rickenbaker, Shirley M.	712 Goff Avenue	Orangeburg, S.C. (W-5)
143.	182	Simmons, Madelyn Mrs.	652-C Goff Avenue	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
144.	183	Owens, Beatrice Mrs.	Campus Drive	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
145.	127	Johnson, Earlene Mrs.	Rte.5, Box 396	(S-1) (City)
146.	136	McDonald, Dorothy Mrs.	Rte.5, Box 202	(S-1 City)
147.	16084	Tyler, Marjorie Mrs.	(Duplicate) Rte. 1	(S-1 City)
148.	166	Ellis, Charles W. Mr.	Rte.2, Box 288 Whittaker Parkway	
149.	17012	Henderson, Annette Miss	Rte. 2	Orangeburg, S.C.
150.	176	Sistrunk, Marilyn Miss	Rte.1, Box 51	Orangeburg, S.C.
151.	17014	Freeman, Inez Mrs.	Rte. 1	Orangeburg, S.C.
152.	17021	Mayers, Lester Mr.	Rte. 1	Orangeburg, S.C.
153.		Ellis, Lillie Bell Mrs.	Rte.2, Box 76	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
154.	179	Green, Walter, Jr. Mr.	Rte.5, Box 226	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
155.	6	Whestone, Evia Mrs.	Rte. 2	Orangeburg, S.C.
156.	17027	Shivers, Frances Mrs.	Rte. 5	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-1)
157.	17032	Argrow, Martha Helen Mrs.	Rte.3, Box 189	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-2)
158.	184	Butler, Evelyn Mrs.	Rte.3, Box 489	Orangeburg, S.C. (S-2)
159.	167	Bowman, Andrew Mr.		Pine Hill, S.C. (Orbg.)
160.	16064	Pough, Willie Mr.	Rte. 2	Pine Hill, S.C.
161.	17002	Coulter, Robert Mr.		Wolfton, S.C.

Oct 11-63

Orangeburg County S.C.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REGISTERED OCTOBER 7, 1963

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address		
1.	16023	Williams, Lottie Mae	Rte.1, Box 61-C		(Branch'v)
2.	16020	Williams, Willie J.	Rte.1, Box 61-C		(Branch'v)
3.	15969	West, Herreatta		Branchville, S.C.	
4.	47	Britt, Callie Mae		Branchville, S.C.	(5)
5.	15991	Buskey, L. Jessie		Branchville, S.C.	
6.	15988	Buskey, Isaac		Branchville, S.C.	
7.	15956	Carmichael, Idella	Rte.1, Box 177-A	Branchville, S.C.	
8.	15959	Mack, Mildred E.	P.O. Box 314	Bowman, S.C.	
9.	103	Matthews, Katherine A.	P.O. Box 51	Bowman, S.C.	(Bowman)
10.	40	Felder, Joseph	Rte.1, Box 230	Bowman, S.C.	
11.	41	Bookard, Mellie	Rte.1, Box 82	Bowman, S.C.	
12.	48	Bookard, Oscar	Rte.1, Box 82	Bowman, S.C.	
13.	15986	Litter, Lillian	Rte.1, Box 228	Bowman, S.C.	
14.	11881	Litter, Willie	Rte.1, Box 228	Bowman, S.C.	
15.	100	Matthews, Geralden H.	Rte.1	Bowman, S.C.	
16.	97	Capers, Willie	Rte.1	Bowman, S.C.	(Bowman)
17.	11888	Funches, Joe Neal	Rte.2, Box 59	Cameron, S.C.	
18.	16004	Funches, Queenie Bell	Rte.2, Box 59	Cameron, S.C.	
19.	44	Williams, Lula Bell		Cope, S.C.	
20.	11879	Williams, Leon	Rte.2, Box 143	Cope, S.C.	
21.	67	Dantzler, John R. Mrs.	Rte.1, Box 138	Cross, S.C.	
22.	84	Gadson, Elizabeth	Rte.1	Elloree, S.C.	
23.	15976	Courial, David R.	Box 192	Eutawville, S.C.	
24.	11880	Sinkler, David	P.O. Box 143	Eutawville, S.C.	
25.	15977	Javnes, Daisy	P.O. Box 494	Eutawville, S.C.?	
26.	63	Gibbs, Edgar Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.	
27.	66	Barnes, Lula	P.O. Box	Eutawville, S.C.	
28.	71	Wright, Queenie Mrs.	P.O. Box 113	Eutawville, S.C.	
29.	76	Wright, George A. Mrs.	P.O. Box 75	Eutawville, S.C.	
30.	11885	White, Ellott		Eutawville, S.C.	
31.	77	Nelson, Claisty Mae		Eutawville, S.C.	
32.	11887	Oliver, Dalxel Lee		Eutawville, S.C.	
33.	16010	Richburg, Rosa Lee		Eutawville, S.C.	
34.	16008	Davis, James Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.	
35.	81	Middleton, Richard, Jr.		Eutawville, S.C.	
36.	16014	Gibbs, Glennie M. Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.	
37.	83	Washington, Jessie		Eutawville, S.C.	
38.	1189	Taste, Chaless K.		Eutawville, S.C.	
39.	16016	Taste, Mary Mrs.		Eutawville, S.C.	
40.	96	Taiste, Almeta		Eutawville, S.C.	
41.	101	Cash, Jannie Lee		Eutawville, S.C.	(Eutaw'v)
42.	15967	High, Lawton, Jr.	Rte.1, Box 47-A	Eutawville, S.C.	
43.	42	High, Lawton, Sr.	Rte.1	Eutawville, S.C.	
44.	11884	Gadson, Empril	Rte.1	Eutawville, S.C.	
45.	59	Cash, Oscar	Rte.1, Box 90	Eutawville, S.C.	
46.	11883	Wright, Henry	Rte.1, Box 114	Eutawville, S.C.	
47.	11886	Govin, Julie	Rte.1, Box 138	Eutawville, S.C.	
48.	65	Felder, Julius, Jr. Mrs.	Rte.1, Box 30	Eutawville, S.C.	
49.	15993	Wright, Lula Mae	Rte.1, Box 114	Eutawville, S.C.	
50.	15998	Taste, Ernest	Rte.1, Box 138	Eutawville, S.C.	

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address		
51.	68	Ashby, Frank	Rte.1,Box 2	Eutawville,S.C.	
52.	15999	Davis, Hackles, Jr.	Rte.1,Box 133	Eutawville,S.C.	
53.	15996	Gethers, Eartha Lee	Rte.1,Box 121	Eutawville,S.C.	
54.	69	Dingle, James	Rte.1,Box 118	Eutawville,S.C.	
55.	15997	Davis, Carie	Rte.1,Box 135	Eutawville,S.C.	
56.	16002	Davis, May Bell	Rte.1,Box 133	Eutawville,S.C.	
57.	74	Davis, Ollie Mae	Rte.1,Box 135	Eutawville,S.C.	
58.	16006	Richburg, Juanita	Rte.1,Box 66-A	Eutawville,S.C.	
59.	75	Middleton, Evelyn	Rte.1,Box 171	Eutawville,S.C.	
60.	78	Nelson, Thomas J. Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 162	Eutawville,S.C.	
61.	80	High, Elizuh	Rte.1,Box 151	Eutawville,S.C.	
62.	99	Middleton, Carver L.	Rte.1	Eutawville,S.C.	
63.	104	Lee, Daisy Lee	Rte.1,Box 165	Eutawville,S.C.	(Eutaw'v)
64.	16033	Gailleaed, Georgia Mae	Rte.1,Box 101	Eutawville,S.C.	(Eutaw'v)
65.	101	Lee, Thomas H.	Rte.1,Box 155	Eutawville,S.C.	(Eutaw'v)
66.	15937	Gadson, Jessie Bell	Rte.1,Box 177	Eutawville,S.C.	
67.	10	Gadson, Dorothy Mae	Rte.1,Box 177	Eutawville,S.C.	
68.	15943	Wright, Emma	P.O. Box 651	Holly Hill,S.C.	
69.	15947	Washington, Jervey	General Delivery	Holly Hill,S.C.	
70.	20	Spears, Katie Mae	Box 381	Holly Hill,S.C.	
71.	19	Sweat, Ethel	P.O. Box 381	Holly Hill,S.C.	
72.	11882	Wright, Morris Rev.	Box 282	Holly Hill,S.C.	
73.	16022	Jones, Flora Lee		Holly Hill,S.C.	(Branch'v)
74.	98	Washington, Shirley S.		Holly Hill,S.C.	(Branch'v)
75.	15946	Washington, Carrie Ella	General Delivery	Holly Hill,S.C.	
76.	13	Washington, Robert	P.O. Box 614	Holly Hill,S.C.	
77.	14	Randolph, Thelma	Rte.2,Box 211	Holly Hill,S.C.	
78.	14031	Randolph, Mary	Rte.2,Box 279	Holly Hill,S.C.	
79.	17	Pelzer, Ineda	Rte.2,Box 124	Holly Hill,S.C.	
80.	11878	Bryant, Ed	Rte.2,Box 188	Holly Hill,S.C.	
81.	15957	Brown, Bertie S.	Rte.2,Box 302-A	Holly Hill,S.C.	
82.	15904	Bryant, Nora	Rte.2,Box 188	Holly Hill,S.C.	
83.	13292	White, Lutitiah	Rte.2,Box 236	Holly Hill,S.C.	
84.	16024	Washington, Robert	Rte. Box 245	Holly Hill,S.C.	
85.	15938	Clark, Burnice	Rte.2,Box 212	Holly Hill,S.C.	
86.	15939	Council, Addie	Rte.2,Box 208	Holly Hill,S.C.	
87.	15936	Thompson, Lottee	Rte.2,Box 217	Holly Hill,S.C.	
88.	11874	Young, Pauline	Rte.2,Box 236	Holly Hill,S.C.	
89.	15942	Capers, Willie Mae	Rte.2,Box 212	Holly Hill,S.C.	
90.	11	Williams,Victoria F. Mrs.	Rte.2,Box 223	Holly Hill,S.C.	
91.	11876	Capers, McKinley	Rte.1,Box 47	Holly Hill,S.C.	
92.	15949	Brown, Irene P.	Rte.4,Box 122-A	Jamison,S.C.	
93.	15971	Inabinette, Florence		Livingston,S.C.	
94.	15965	North, Ellean		Livingston,S.C.	
95.	16015	Brothers, Luella Mrs.		Neeses, S.C.	
96.	9485	Wright, Gladys E.W.(Duplicate)	RFD	Neeses, S.C.	(Norway)
97.	15962	Yon, Annie L.	Rte.2,Box 252	North, S.C.	
98.	15963	Davis, Virginia	Rte.2,Box 266	North, S.C.	
99.	15970	Jeffcoat, Mildred	Rte.1,Box 69	North, S.C.	(2)
100.	73	Grant, Willie	Rte.1,Box 158	Norway, S.C.	

(cont'd)

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address
101.		LeGree, Matilda A.	Rte.1,Box 148 Norway,S.C.
102.	15940	Oliver, Arther L.	523 Clark Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
103.	15	Hubbard, Helen	12 Mingo Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
104.	15948	Riley, Clara	442 Windsor Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
105.	21	Clark, Carl O.	524 Millwood Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
106.	24	Houser, Harold Loyd	State College Orangeburg,S.C.
107.	23	Perry, Rosa D.	State College Orangeburg,S.C.
108.	28	Keitt, Fannie Mae	165 Dickson Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
109.	15953	Keitt, Murdis	165 Dickson Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
110.	75	Goodwin, Rilla	166 Dickson Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
111.	36	Myers, Mary	163 Boulevard Orangeburg,S.C.
112.	33	Richie Dorothy G.	State College Orangeburg,S.C.
113.	35	Richie Joseph	State College Orangeburg,S.C.
114.	39	Heyward Albertha	State College Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
115.	43	Green, Mary Gass	517 Dunton Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
116.	46	Russell, Willie C.	523 Maple Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
117.	15974	Levingstone, Isaac	Orangeburg,S.C.
118.	45	Davis, Dorothy	136 Treadwell Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
119.	50	James, Thelma B.	Treadwell Street-Orangeburg,S.C.
120.	15972	Steward, Ellen E.	Whittaker 2nd (S1)
121.	15973	Lee, Elizabeth	Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
122.	49	Cobbs, Mary J.	242 Maxcy Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
123.	51	Brunson, Lula Mae	Goff Ave. Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
124.	54	Mayers, Dorothy Lee	Goff Ave. Orangeburg,S.C.(Sub 1)
125.	56	Singletary, Gwendolyn	Buckley Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
126.	53	Summers, Vance, Jr.	245 Dutton Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
127.	14095	Green, George R.	965 Oak Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
128.	15980	Thomas, Whitfield	Edisto Dr. Orangeburg,S.C.(S2)
129.	15981	Gooden, McAuther	166 Dickson Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
130.	55	Green, Ida M.	965 Oak Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
131.	15985	Phine, Matthews	1222 Lancester Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
132.	58	Guest, Frank	Goff Ave. Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
133.	15987	Jamison, Theadore	910 Oak Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
134.	60	Phine, Jannie O.	1222 Lancester Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
135.	15984	Bryant, Eula Mae	P.O.Box 282 Orangeburg,S.C.(HH1)
136.	57	James, Edwin L.	703 Goff Ave. Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
137.	15990	Whestone, Booker T.	1594 Washington Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
138.	15994	Jennings, Joseph	328 Tyler Road Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
139.	15995	Myers, William	P.O.Box 423 Orangeburg,S.C.(HH1)
140.	61	Godfrey, Jaunita F.	420 Ellis Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
141.	11961	Bowman,Estelle	285 Dutton Street-Orangeburg,S.C.(W3)
142.	16003	Bell, Mary N.	State College Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
143.	16000	Anderson, Dora H.	State College Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
144.	16001	Houser, Geraldine P.	State College Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
145.	16007	Hawkins, James	Claflin College Orangeburg,S.C.(W5)
146.	16005	Jameson, Elder L.	295 Cemetery Street Orangeburg,S.C.
147.	86	Pendarvis, Leory	New Brooklyn Orangeburg,S.C.(S1)
148.	90	Smith, Lucile	Plywood Street Orangeburg,S.C.

(cont'd)

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address		
149.	16017	Anderson, Thomasine	College Ave. Ext.	Orangeburg,S.C.	
150.	95	Summers, Aiken M.	Buckley Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
151.	16026	Koger, Betty Caldwell	425 Goff Ave.	Orangeburg,S.C.	
152.	88	Ayers, Carrie	265½ Sprinkle Ave.	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
153.	87	Jennings, Nettie L.	342 Liberty Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
154.	16018	Thompson Mary A.	(Duplicate)		
155.	16019	Smith, Levi	Plywood	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
156.	91	Glover, Thomas M.	49 Chestnut Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
157.	16025	Williams, Addie E.	60 S. Amelia Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
158.	102	Williams, Jimmie	60 S. Amelia Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
159.	16029	Bovean, Hayward E.	160 Lovell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(W5)
160.	106	Cummings, Margaret J.	228 Russell Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
161.	16030	Pendarvis, Silver Mae	Campus Drive	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
162.	16031	Gardner, Sarah	Mingo Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
163.	108	Washington, Carrie	444 Fair Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	(W3)
164.	3	Martin, Edward	S.C. State College	Orangeburg,S.C.	
165.	12	Manning, Herman C.	S.C. State College	Orangeburg,S.C.	
166.	15941	Walker, Clara	4 Mingo Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
167.	16	Young, Luella	Magnolia Street	Orangeburg,S.C.	
168.	15952	Snell, Corine	Campus Drive	Orangeburg,S.C.	
169.	9	Felder, Julie Bell	Rte. 1	Orangeburg,S.C.	
170.	15944	Williams, Willie Mae	Rte. 5,Box 630	Orangeburg,S.C.	
171.	18	Sumpter, Ester L.	Rte. 1,Box 941	Orangeburg,S.C.	
172.	15945	Thorne, Annie R. Williams	Rte. 5,Box 630	Orangeburg,S.C.	
173.	11873	Riggins, Cammie	Rte. 1,Box 125	Orangeburg,S.C.	
174.	15954	Brunson, Melvin Lee	Rte. 1,Box 439	Orangeburg,S.C.	
175.	15955	Baxter, Willie J.	Rte. 1,Box 429-A	Orangeburg,S.C.	
176.	27	Baxter, Sara J.	Rte. 1,Box 429-A	Orangeburg,S.C.	
177.	30	Zimmerman, Vernita	Rte. 3,Box 267	Orangeburg,S.C.	
178.	32	Nelson, Janie	Rte. 3,Box 263	Orangeburg,S.C.	
179.	11877	Haigler, Frances	Rte. 4,BOx 45	Orangeburg,S.C.	
180.	31	Zimmerman, Bertha	Rte. 3,Box 267	Orangeburg,S.C.	
181.	29	Felder, Oneatha Williams	Rte. 2,Box 22	Orangeburg,S.C.	
182.	34	Jennings, Hilda	Rte. 3,Box 123-4th Avenue	Orangeburg,S.C.	
183.	38	Jones, Pearl S.	Rte. 5,Box 367	Orangeburg,S.C.	
184.	15968	Wilson, Eleanor R.	Rte. 5,Box 275-A	Orangeburg,S.C.	(Sub-1)
185.	15975	Lee, Dewitt	Rte. 1,Box 576	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
186.	15978	Wright, Jessie Mae	Rte. 5,Box 522	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
187.	15979	Brown, Guessella	Rte. 5,Box 628	Orangeburg,S.C.	
188.	15982	Thompson, Jacob	Rte. 1 298-A		
189.	62	Haynes, Minnie	Rte. 5,Box 542	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
190.	15989	Brown, Hayes	Rte. 5,Box 628?	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
191.	82	Daniels, Rosa K.	Rte. 2	Orangeburg,S.C.	
192.	16013	Culler, Alma	Rte. 4,Box 236	Orangeburg,S.C.	
193.	85	Nicholes, George	Rte. 5	Orangeburg,S.C.	
194.	93	Nickoles, Plumlse	Rte. 1	Orangeburg,S.C.	
195.	92	Pimble, Josephine	Rte. 5,Box 251	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
196.	89	Ulmer, Albertha	Rte. 1,Box 5-W	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)
197.	16021	McKay, Blondell	Rte. 1,Box 486-B	Orangeburg,S.C.	(S1)

(cont'd)

No.	R.C. No.	Name	Address		
198.		Moss, Lenar			
199.	1	Daniels, McCoy	Rte.2,Box 238	Orangeburg,S.C.	
200.	5	Bramum, Rosella	Rte.1 147	Orangeburg,S.C.	
201.	11807	Jones, Willie	Rte.5,Box 445	Orangeburg,S.C.	
202.	15933	Whestone, Susie Mae	Rte.5,Box 395	Orangeburg,S.C.	
203.	15932	Kennerly, Anna Mae	Rte.5,Box 584	Orangeburg,S.C.	
204.	26	Robinson, Queen Ester	Rte.4	Orangeburg,S.C.	
205.	15961	Simpson, Lillie Mae	P.O.Box 35	Rowesville,S.C.	
206.	15966	Gordon, Dorothy Lee	P.O.Box 62	Rowesville,S.C.	
207.	16028	Rhodes, J. Georgianna	Rte.1,Box 126	Rowesville,S.C.	(Rowes'v)
208.	15983	Jamison, Jubee Mae	P.O.Box 23	Rowesville,S.C.	
209.	16009	Gadson, Inell V. Mrs.	Rte.1,Box 123	Santee,S.C.	
210.	16012	Goodwin, Janie Mae		Santee,S.C.	
211.	15958	Brantley, Ellouise	P.O.Box	Santee,S.C.	
212.	15960	Livingston, Emma Lou-	Rte.2,Box 56	Swansea,S.C.	
213.	11875	Williams, Lee Edward-	Rte.1,Box 18-A2	Vance,S.C.	
214.	16030	Jenkins, Mae I.	Rte.2,Box 217		(S1)
215.	105	James, Minnie Lee	Rte.2,Box 138		(S1)
216.	107	Johnson, Elease	Rte.1,Box 429-A		(S1)
217.	16032	Johnson, Alline	Rte.1,Box 429-A		(S1)
218.	79	Brown, Josephine	Rte.5,Box 366		
219.	16011	Davis, Lula Mae	Rte.4,Box 322		
220.	14858	Dash, Emma	Rte.1,Box 448		(Sub 1)

Sept 3-63

SURBURBAN # 1 Orangeburg S.C. Registered: September 3, 1963

1.	15561	Oliver, Janie S.	Rt. 5, Box 500 City
2.	15557	Oliver, Annie Ruth	Rt. 5, Box 550 City
3.	15566	Jennings, Ynether	328 Tyler Road City
4.	15563	Judson, Queenester	137 Dickson St. City
5.	15565	Dantzler, Janie	Mocrer St. City
6.	15560	Ildella, Frederick Susan	Rt. 5, Box 500 City
7.	15574	Simmons, Leola	308 Goff Ave. City
8.	15572	Robinson, Eartha Maria	Rt. 5, Box 598 City
9.	15569	Jenkins, Wilhelmia	Rt. 5, Box 585 City
10.	15577	Hanton, Delores C.	Rt. 2, Box 177 City
11.	15579	McKay, Rev. W. B.	486 B College Ave. City
12.	15582	Brunson, Sam	Rt. 5, Box 340 City
13.	15583	Bell, Ozie	121 Lloyd St., City
14.	15586	Elliot, Bettie	160 Lloyd St. City
15.	15588	Waymer, Richard F.	Belleville Road, City
16.	15585	Green, Ernestine	Whittaker Parks, City
17.	15589	Jarvis, Estelle S.	Rt. 4, Box 462, City
18.	15593	Wilson, Janie Mae	1551 Russell St., City
19.	15594	Fields, Alphonso	Coleman Ave., City
20.	15599	Glover, Emma	Rt. 5, Box 369, City
21.	155860	Jarvis, Donald D.	Rt. 1, Box 462, City
22.	15857	Dash, Celia	Rt. 1, Box 1582, City
23.	15862	Winningham, Marie	Mingo St., City
24.	15864	Hubbard, Susan A.	Magnolia Ave., City
25.	15863	Pugh, Alice	Rt. 2, Box 838, City
26.	7743	Benjamin, Mamie	Rt. 1, City
27.	15896	Jones, Ora Bell	Rt. 5, Box 311, City
28.	15924	Watson, Richard	1222 Lancaster, City
29.	15900	Payne, Mary Louise	Rt. 1, Box 670, City
30.	15878	Morgan, Vera	Goff Ave., City
31.	15880	Coblyn, Donnessa	State College
32.	15882	Jenkins, Mrs. Maget	Orangeburg
33.	11867	Gadson, Robert	Orangeburg
34.	15888	Robinson, A. Marelyn	Orangeburg
35.	15886	Jones, Julia	Orangeburg
36.	15885	Jackson, Deanna	1551 Russell, City
37.	15887	Jackson, A. W.	1551 Russell, City
38.	15890	Huggins, Wilber	Orangeburg
39.	15889	Wright, Virginia	Orangeburg
40.	15891	Middleton, Catherine	Orangeburg
41.	15894	Benjamin, John	Orangeburg
42.	15187	Jones, Sherard?	Rt. 2, Box 342, Orbg.
43.	15896	Jones, Clara Bell	Rt. 2, Box 342, Orbg.
44.	15867	Brown, Issac	Rt. 5, Box 297, Orbg.
45.	16044	Chavis, Estell	258½ Sprinkle St., Orbg.
46.	15895	Bonapart, Lucille	Rt. 3, Box 332, Orbg.
47.	15897	Green, Rachell	Rt. 5, Box 432, Orbg.
48.	15902	Gamble, Barbara	Goff Ave., City
49.	15905	Nicks, Harold	Box 260 Sprinkle Ave., City
50.	15907	Wright, Ethel	406 Jamison Ave., City
51.	15918	Franklin, Annie E.	Chestnut St., City
52.	15910	Jenkins, Alma	Miller St., City
53.	15906	Jenkins, Warren	Miller St., City
54.	15911	Bowman, Sarah	Rt. 2, Box 992, City
55.	15919	Fuller, Linwood	Rt. 5, Box 381, City

56.	15908	Funchess, Jeanette	214 Wilkinson Ave., City
57.	11872	Irick, Nathaniel	Goff Ave., City
58.	15909	Anderson, Melicent	State College
59.	15916	Stromen, Gladys	Rt. 1, Box 466 E.,City
60.	15914	Anderson, Leroy F.	State College
61.	15915	Thompson, Martha	Rt. 5, Box 544, City
62.	15912	Nesmith, Dorothy	Rt. 5, Box 553
63.	15913	Wright, Remal	Rt. 5, Box 544. City
64.	15922	Bovain, Mamie	707 Coleman, City
65.	15920	Summers, Julia L.	Rt. 2, Box 259, City
66.	15921	Summers, Lucile	Rt. 2, Box 259, City
67.	15927	Jenkins, Dorothy	Rt. 2, Box 172, City

NORTH I

1.	15562	Hydrick, William	2nd Ave., North
2.	15563	Wise, Ourmiller	Box 87, North
3.	4310	Floyd, Ethel	Box 131, North

EUTAWVILLE

1.	15889	Reed, Carrie	Rt. 1, Box 138, Eutawville
2.	15868	Gathers, Maggie	Rt. 1, Box 137, Eutawville
3.	15865	Broughton, Martha	Rt. 1, Box 138, Eutawville

LIMESTONE

1.	12817	Scott, James	Rt. 5, Box 75C, Limestone

NEESES

1.	15576	Johnson, Lucia Mae	Rt. 2, Box 118,	Neeses
2.	15573	Seabrooks, Bernice G.	Rt. 2, Box 77 A	"
3.	15580	Boatright, Annie Mae	Rt. 2, Box 16	"
4.	15578	Ishmal, Earl	Rt. 2,	"
5.	15575	Ishmal, Clippouriss	Rt. 2, Box 16,	"
6.	15876	Waymeyers, Annie	Rt. 2, Box 25	"
7.	15879	Pough, Cassie		Neeses
8.	7486	Pough, Ida Mae		Neeses

BOWMAN

1.	15600	Murray, Fritz	Rt. 2, Bowman

NORTH BRANCHVILLE

1.	15581	Owens, Gracie	Rt. 1, Box 173A Branchville

ROWESVILLE:

1.	15871	Jamison, Peter	Rowesville

HOLLY HILL

1.	15570	Mitchell, Irving	P. O. Box 601, Holly Hill

WARD # 2 Orangeburg S.C.

1.	15592	Frazier, Inez	235½ Sellers Ave., City
2.	15869	Lee, Catherine	251 Mingo St., City
3.	15874	Johnson, Ephraim	166 Windsor St., City
4.	15873	Shuler, Issac	476 Middleton, City
5.	11869	Pou, James	Edisto Drive, City
6.	15917	Jennings, Orie	Edisto Drive, City

WARD #3

1.	15571	Jamison, Mary Agnes	Rt. 4, Box 38, City
2.	15587	Johnson, Louise	Rt. 4, Box 14, City
3.	15590	Switzer, Rosa	Rt. 4, Box 14, City
4.	15598	Donnell, Ketts	266 Treadwell St., City
5.	15596	Gladys, L. Thomas	255 Treadwell St., City
6.	15861	Jamison, Joyce	910 Oak St., City
7.	11866	Zimmerman, Ros	Rt. 1, Box 30, City
8.	15872	Lewis, Sarah	910 Peasley St., City
9.	15875	Mack, James	862 Peasley St., City
10.	15877	Fuller, Joseph	395 Fair St., City
11.	15884	Funchess, Wilhemina	State College (Treadwell)
12.	15892	Arc, Jessie	City
13.	15893	King, Viola	302 Fair St., City
14.	13912	Jones, Geraldine	920 Oak St., City
15.	15903	Green, Ruth	862 Peasley St., City
16.	15926	Murray, Slyvia	259 Cemetery, City

WARD #5

1.	15584	Moores, Mary E.	1051 Dempsey St., City
2.	15591	Gulley, Clinton	510 Millwood, City
3.	15901	Townsend, Zack	534 Millwood, City
4.	15923	Lee, Francis M.	202 Maxey, City

August 8, 1962 Through September 3, 1963

Book I	South Branchville	Orangeburg	Branchville Township	
1. 16103	Leven, Vera	(?) Branchville		2/4/63
2. 16110	Owens, Elizabeth	Rte. 2, Box 249A	Branchville	3/4/63
3. 16106	Reeves, Elizabeth	Rte. 1, Box 189	Branchville	2/4/63
4. 16150	Williams, Lessie Mae	Rte. 2	Branchville	4/1/63
5. 16199	Wilks, Lizzie	Church	Branchville	5/8/63
6. 16200	Wesley, Francena	Church	Branchville	5/8/63

August 8, 1962 Through September 3, 1963

Book II	North Branchville	Orangeburg	Branchville Township	
1. 16152	Abraham, Theodore	Rte. 1, Box 60A	Branchville	4/1/63
2. 15851	Abraham, Willie Lee	Rte. 1, Box 60A	Branchville	8/5/63
3. 16197	Butler, Sadie	Rte. 1, Box 82A	Branchville	5/6/63
4. 15809	Bowman, Louise	Rte. 1, Box 73	Branchville	7/1/63
5. 15811	Bowman, Jessie	Rte. 1, Box 73	Branchville	7/1/63
6. 15847	Bruce, Rebecca	Hwy. 21	Branchville	8/5/63
7. 15852	Buskey, Victoria	Hwy. 21	Branchville	8/5/63
8. 15842	Goldsmith, Willie	Rte. 1, Box 45	Branchville	8/5/63
9. 15844	Goldsmith, Carrie Neal	Rte. 1, Box 45	Branchville	8/5/63
10. 15850	Johnson, Lottie L.	Orange Street	Branchville	8/6/63
11. 15818	Jackson, Joseph C.	304 Evans	Branchville	7/1/63
12. 16122	Murray, Harvey R.	209 Chas.	_____	3/4/63
13. 15839	Myers, Ellen	209 Chas.	_____	8/5/63
14. 15814	Parker, Luther	Rte. 1, Box 200C	Branchville	7/1/63
15. 16148	Summers, George Jr.	Rte. 1, Box 200	Branchville	5/1/63
16. 16147	Stokes, Allie Belle	Rte. 1, Box 179	Branchville	5/1/63

Office Copy	Bowman	Orangeburg County	Bowman Township	
1. 15439	Johnson, Pearline	P. O. Box	Bowman	8/6/62
2. 16193	Mack, Fred C. Jr.		Bowman	5/6/63
3. 15442	Williams, Maggie Lou	P. O.	Bowman	8/6/62

August 8, 1962 Through September 3, 1963

Book I	Cattle Creek	Orangeburg	Cow Castle Township

None

August 8, 1962 Through September 3, 1963

Book II	Cow Castle	Orangeburg	Cow Castle Township

None

Book II East Cow Castle

Orangeburg County (Cow Castle Township)

None

Book I Dry Swamp Orangeburg Edisto Township

1.	11819	Walker, Bennie J.	Cannon Bridge	Cordova	5/5/60
2.	13908	Walker, Ola	Cannon Bridge	Cordova	5/5/60

Book I Bethelehem Edisto Township Orangeburg

None

Book II Edisto

None

Book I North Elizabeth Township

1.	14991	Colter, Lillian	Rt. 1, North	10/1/62
2.	11711	Rivers, Banner	North	5/10/62

Book II North I Elizabeth Township

15172	Gavan, Catherine	P. O. B.	8/8/62

Book II Trinity Elizabeth Township

None

Book II North Elizabeth Township

15176	Hill, Bernice	Rt. 2, Box 36	8/8/62

Book II Woodford Elizabeth Township

None

Before nor after!!!

Book II Elloree Orangeburg Co. Elloree Township

1.	Godson, Joseph Lee	Santee	10/3/62
2.	Hillard, Maria	Rt. 1, Box 86	3/4/63
3.	Hillard Jessie T.	Santee	4/1/63
4.	Shuler, Mellie	Elloree	4/1/63
5.	Tilley, Henry Lee	Rt. 1, Box 10	4/1/63
6.	Tilley, Hazel Lee	Rt. 1, Box 10	4/1/63
7.	Walker, L. W.	Rt. 2, Box 206	10/2/62

Book I Eutawville Eutaw Township

1.	16186	Davis, Henry	Rt. 1, Box 117	5/6/63
2.	16192	Ellis, Sammie	Rt. 2,	5/6/63
3.	15800	Fuller, John, Jr.	Second Street	6/3/63
4.	16173	Gillens, Moses	Rt. 1	5/6/63

Book I (Cont'd) Eutawville Eutaw Township

5.	16178	Gillens, Eloise	Rt. 1	5/6/63
6.	16178	Glllens, Alberta	Rt. 1	5/6/63
7.	16180	Gadson, Joe	Rt. 1	5/6/63
8.	16098	Haskell, Eva	Rt. 1	5/6/63
9.	15913	Johnson, Louise	Rt. 1, Box 174	10/2/62
10.	15819	James, Edgar	Rt. 1, Box 47	7/1/63
11.	15824	James, Ethel Lee	Rt. 1, Box 47	7/1/63
12.	15798	Laval, Moses	Rt. 1, Box 143	6/3/63
13.	11863	Lee, Willie	Rt. 1. Box 140	6/3/63
14.	11864	Lee, James	Rt. 1, Box 140	5/6/63
15.	11865	Lee, Viola	Rt. 1, Box 140	6/3/63
16.	16190	Nelson, Harry	Rt. 1, Eutawville	5/6/63
17.	16169	Simmons, Julia	R.F.D.	5/6/63
18.	11861	Small, Solomon	Rt. 1	5/6/63
19.	16171	Taste, Lucille	Rt. 1	5/6/63
20.	16172	Taste, Bessie	Rt. 1	5/6/63

Book I Springfield #1 Goodland Township

1.	15169	Stroman, Lorenza	P. O. B.	8/8/62
2.	15171	Stroman, Elsie	P. O. B.	8/8/62
3.	15174	Stroman, Lena	P. O. B.	8/8/62

Book I Ward II Orangeburg County Goodkind Township

1.	Corbett, Vertell	Rt. 2, Springfield	10/6/62
2.	Robinson, Eva Mae	Rt. 1, Springfield	8/6/62

Book II Neeses Orangeburg Co. Hebron Township

None

Book II Holly Hill Ward I

1.	15848	Montgomery, Alice	Holly Hill	8/5/63
2.	15793	Smalls, Morris	Rt. 1, Box 114	6/3/63
3.	15796	Smalls, Daisy	Rt. 1, Box 114	6/3/63
4.	16159	Smalls, Prince M.	Rt. 1, Box 114	4/1/63

Ward II Orangeburg Co. Holly Hill Township

1.	Frost, Joe	4/1/63
2.	Frost, Louise	4/1/63
3.	Simmons, Dorothy	5/6/63

Book I Pine Hill Orangeburg Co. Liberty Township

1.	Calhoun, Birdsdean J.	Rt. 1, Box 50 Neeses	8/3/63
2.	McMichael, Hattie	Rt 3, Box 272	4/1/63
3.	Young, Estell	Rt. 2, Neeses	10/3/63

Book II Bolen Liberty Township

1. McFaddin, John W. Rt. 3, Orangeburg 10/3/62

Book I Limestone Limestone Township

None

Book II Livingston

None

Book I Bethel Orangeburg Middle Township

None

Book II Tillman Orangeburg Co. Middle Township

None

Book II Middlepen Orangeburg Co. Middle Township

none

Book II Rowesville New Hope Township

1. 15804 Felder, Rosa Lee 141 Main 6/3/63
2. 15808 Rhodes, Benjamin Rt. 1, Box 126 6/3/63
3. 14998 Seabrook, Beatrice Rowesville 10/1/62

Book II Jamison Orange Township

None

Book II East Orange Orangeburg Orange Township

None

Book I Suburban #1 Orange Township

1. 15202 Thomas, Charlene Mingo 9/4/62
2. 15281 Tilly , Nellie Rt. 1, Box 571 10/2/62
3. 16155 Thorpe, Vivian Meyers Rd. 4/1/63
4. 16154 Thorpe, C. B. Meyers Rd. 4/1/63
5. 15797 Thomas, Hattie Rt. 1, Box 579 6/3/63
6. 15819 Thomas, Loretta Mingo 7/1/63
7. 15528 Topley, Dianne 310 Loy 8/5/63
8. 15836 Thomas, Julious 412 Jamison 8/5/63
9. 15529 Thompson, Annie Rt. 1, Box 976 8/5/63
10. 15974 Whaley, Sadie Rt. 1, Riverside 10/3/62
11. 16079 Whitstone, Carrie Louise 353 Lloyd 10/6/62
12. 16111 Williams, Albert Rt. 5, Box 460A 3/4/63
13. 16163 Countstance 150 Quick 4/1/63
14. 15522 Whitstone, Loretta 1594 Washington 8/5/63
15. 15256 Simpson, Leo J. Rt. 1, Box 788, Orbg. 10/1/62
16. 15269 Smiley, Gertrude 660 Goff Avenue 10/1/62

17.	15287	Shuler, Tonzel E.	Rt. 2, Box 382	10/2/62
18.	15290	Shuler, Alice W.	Rt. 2, Box 382	10/2/62
19.	15655	Smalls, Willie	Sprinkle Avenue	10/2/62
20.	15782	Summers, Arthur	Rt. 1, Orbg.	10/6/62
21.	15923	Snell, Ulyses	Rt. 2, Box 23	10/6/62
22.	15926	Snell, Marie	Rt. 2, Box 23	10/6/62
23.	15991	Scoville, Jannie	Rt. 1, Box 402E	10/6/62
24.	16157	Shivers, Lela M.	Rt. 2, Box 80	4/1/63
25.	15794	Salley, Clifford J.	Rt. 2, Box 647	6/3/63
26.	15542	Shivers, Willie	Chestnut	8/5/63

Book II Surburban II Orangeburg Orangeburg Township

1.	15270	Austin, Mrs. Viola	Belleville Rd.	10/1/62
2.	15736	Adams, Lucy Alva	107 Dorchester Ave.	10/3/62
3.	16174	Ammonds, Lois A.	Whittaker	6/6/63
4.	16182	Alvares, Willie M.	Rt. 5	5/6/63
5.	15538	Aiken, Lorire	959 Mill St.	8/5/63
6.	15643	Collier, Leonard E.	State College	10/3/62
7.	15980	Connor, James M.	Rt. 2, Orangeburg	10/3/62
8.	16044	Chavis, Estelle	2682 Sprinkle	10/3/62
9.	16105	Cann, Catherine	New Brooklyn	2/4/63
10.	16130	Craft, Sadie	33 Meyers Rd.	3/4/63
11.	15810	Calhoun, Willie B.	Rt. 4, Box 93	6/3/63
12.	15551	Curry, Ella Mae	Morris St.	8/5/63
13.	15205	Daniels, Ernest J. Jr.	Boulevard	9/4/62
14.	?	Dash, David	Service	9/18/62
15.	15660	Dawkins, Alice Loretta	State College	10/3/63
16.	15983	Darby, Geneva	1620 Russell	10/3/62
17.	16009	Duncan, Charles R.	Palmetto Pwy.	/3/62
18.	16090	Dash, Rosa Lee	Rt. 5, Box 316	10/6/63
19.	15806	Dean, Geo. Robt.	597 Dunton	6/3/63
20.	15812	Davis, Glenwood	Route 4, Box 29	7/1/63
21.	15807	Evans, Margaret E.	393 Jamison	6/3/63
22.	14962	Grimes, Rebecca	Rt. 1, Box 467	8/13/62
23.	14987	Glover, Franklin	444 College Ave.	10/1/62
24.	15942	Gaffney, Walter Daniel	Rt. 1, Box 910	10/2/62
25.	15944	Gaffney, Geneva	Rt. 1, Box 910	10/2/62
26.	15990	Geiger, Otis	Rt. 1, Box 341	10/3/62
27.	16014	Glover, Thomas M.	49 Chestnut	10/3/62
28.	16100	Grimes, Joseph	Rt. 5, Box 561	1/7/63
29.	11860	Goodley, Nathan	Rt. 1, Box 685	3/4/63
30.	16133	Glover, Herman W. Jr.	Rt. 5, Box 577	4/1/63
31.	16156	Grant, Emma H.	1170 Whaley St.	4/1/63
32.	16176	Gordon, Mildred L.	Rt. 2	5/6/63
33.	15835	Glover, Thelma	Rt. 3, Box 244	8/5/63
34.	15520	Green, Wm. J.	Rt. 1, Box 634	8/5/63
35.	15642	Hanton, Mrs. Nina L.	Rt. 4	10/3/62
36.	15764	Haigler, Henry C.	Liberty Street	10/6/62
37.	15992	Henderson, George	Rt. 5	10/3/62
38.	16026	Haigler, Thomas E. Jr.	Rt. 1, Box 42	10/3/62
39.	16120	Haywood, Lawerence	Rt. 1, Box 416	3/4/63
40.	15791	Harrison, Ruth B.	Rt. 2, Box 173	6/3/63
41.	15526	Harris, Sarah Lee	Whittaker Heights	8/5/63
42.	15187	Jones, Sheppard	45 Chestnut	8/15/62
43.	15946	Jamison, Blumah	Rt. 1, Box 574	10/2/62
44.	15995	Jamison, Johnetta S.	Rt. 5	10/3/62
45.	16107	Jones, Samuel	Rt. 5, Box 435A	3/4/63

46.	16187	Jackson, Rosa Lee	Rt. 2	5/6/63
47.	15803	Jacobs, Joyce	1551 E. Russell	6/3/63
48.	16188	Keitt, Portia L.	Rt. 5	5/6/63
49.	16088	Louis, Virginia B.	Rt. 5, Box 561	10/6/62
50.	15828	Moultrie, Moses	160 Quick	7/1/63
51.	16071	McMorris, Agnes	808 Goff Avenue	10/6/62
52.	11858	Nichols, Allen, Jr.	Rt. 5	?
53.	15175	Pearson, Louise E.	Whittaker Heights	8/8/62
54.	15667	Pinson, Ernest C.	Walker Avenue	10/3/62
55.	15747	Page, J. M.	Rt. 1, Box 883	10/3/62
56.	15902	Pendarvis, Lila Mae	Rt. 1, Box 163	10/2/62
57.	16082	Pinckney, Elliott	Jamison Avenue	10/6/62
58.	16134	Pough, Altamese	Belleville Road	4/1/63
59.	15283	Robinson, Lottie	Rt. 1, Box 365	10/2/63
60.	15609	Ritter, John Henry	Rt. 2, Box 133	10/2/62
61.	15611	Ritter, Dorothy	Rt. 2, Box 133	10/2/62
62.	15760	Bryant, Rev. J.D.?	State College	10/6/62
63.	11855	Robinson, Willie	Rt. 2	12/3/62
64.	15513	Randolph, Herculese	Rt. 1, Box 738	8/5/63

Book II Surburban II — Zion Township

1.	Bellinger, Marie G.	1309 Edisto Dr.	4/1/63
2.	Irick, John A.	1306 Edisto Dr. Orbg.	10/1/62
3.	Lee, Willie J.	Edisto Drive	5/6/63
4.	Winningham, Margaret L.	1265 Edisto Drive.	10/3/63

Book II Surburban III — Orangeburg Co. Orange Township

1.	Haston, George Daniel	Rt. 4, Box 81	10/1/62

Ward I City

1.	16112	Dash, Clarence	164 Bell	3/4/63

Book I Ward II — Orangeburg City

1.	15714	Hood, Eartha Lee	549 Salley	10/3/63
2.	15968	Hud, Soloman	549 Salley	10/2/63
3.	15658	Ison, Odell	136 South Broughton St. ?	10/3/62
4.	16054	Ison, Jessie Mae	136 South Broughton St. ?	10/6/62
5.	15799	Jenkins, Earle	297 Fletcher	6/3/63
6.	15624	Phillips, Willie Mae	275 Fletcher	10/2/62
7.	15637	Parler, Margaret Ann	521 Riggs	10/3/62
8.	15639	Pendannis, Hollie	545 Hartzog	10/3/62
9.	15949	Phillips, Bessie	275 Fletcher	10/2/62
10.	16037	Phillips, Wilbert	275 Fletcher	10/3/62
11.	15606	Robinson, Joseph	Salley Street	10/2/62
12.	16151	Washington, Pauline	551 Maple	4/1/63

Book II Ward III City Orangeburg

1.	15698	Adams, Elaine A.	232 Treadwell	10/3/62
2.	16011	Burgess, John, Jr.	377 Treadwell	10/3/62
3.	16109	Bowman, Lillie	910 Peasley	3/5/63
4.	16166	Brunson, James	291 Dutton	4/1/63
5.	15820	Brooks, Helen M.	455 Blvd.	7/1/63
6.	15663	Colter, Rev. James	173 Boulevard	10/3/62
7.	16019	Curry, Willa	191 Boulevard	10/3/62
8.	15185	Dial, Rev. J. S.	175 Boulevard	8/15/62
9.	?	Felder, Roberta (?)	Allen ? Service Reg.	9/11/62
10.	16160	Inalimet, Idella	133 Treadwell	4/1/63
11.	16118	Jones, Alphonzo	507 Gibson	3/4/63
12.	16129	Jackson, Minnie	440 Scott	3/4/63
13.	16198	Johnson, Lessie F.	Amelia St.	[illegible]/63
14.	15802	Oliver, James Rena	844 Oak	6/3/63
15.	16140	Raysor, Edgar	342 Fair	4/1/63
16.	16179	Robinson, Eula Mae	857 Ellis	5/6/63
17.	16124	Salley, Dorothy Mae	236 Dutton	3/4/63
18.	15201	William, George Jr.	430 Treadwell	9/4/62
19.	15662	Wannamaker, Reba	368 Sunnyside	10/6/62
20.	16121	Williams, Jonnie	236 Dutton	3/4/63
21.	16189	Williams, Lillie Mae	378 Treadwell	5/6/63

Book I Ward IV City Orangeburg

None

Book II Ward V City Orangeburg

1.	16116	Askew, Adelaide	State College	3/4/63
2.	16117	Anderson, John	State College	3/4/63
3.		Anderson, Amelia	State College	1/1/63
4.	16028	Brunson, Alice		10/3/63
5.	15830	Bythewood, Emilee		8/5/63
6.	15813	Cain, Nora Louise	132 Dickson	7/1/63
7.	15517	Coblyn, Earl W.	State College	8/5/63
8.		Davis, Bobbie	Service	10/6/62
9.	15541	Daniel, Charlsie	State College	8/5/63
10.		Funchess, William	255 Mary St.	10/1/62
11.	15525	Graham, Vera	510 Millwood	8/5/63
12.	15527	Graham, Robert L.	510 Millwood	8/5/63
13.	16096	Hayne, Charles	176 Maxey	12/3/62
14.	16127	Hayne, Louise	176 Maxey	12/3/62
15.	16017	Hammond, Lewis	State College	10/3/62
16.	15519	Jamison, Catherine	245 Maxey	8/3/63
17.	15543	Leftt, Winifred	State College	8/5/63
18.	16115	Marquis, James	State College	3/4/63
19.	16113	Nowlin, William	State College	3/4/63
20.	15789	Pinckney, Henry Lee	State College	3/6/63
21.	15511	Perry, Nathan	159 Lovell	8/5/63
22.	15546	Pasley, Gertrude	State College	8/3/63
23.	16170	Richardson, Joyce L.	159 Lovell	4/1/63
24.	16114	Southhall, Geneva	State College	3/4/63
25.	15792	Smith, James Lee	State College	5/6/63
26.	15234	Troup, Cornelious, Jr.	214 Nix Hall State College	10/1/62
27.	16194	Turpin, John, Jr.	Claflin College	5/6/63

28.	16191	Young, Leone M.	Claflin College	5/6/63
29.	15681	Addison, Rubilee	744 Goff Ave.	10/3/62
30.	15683	Addison, Clarence	744 Goff Ave.	10/3/62
31.	16026	Anderson, Geo. A.	State College	10/3/62

Book I Providence — Orangeburg Co. — Providence Township

1.	Asburg, Cornelious	Rt. 1, Box 106 Santee	8/3/63
2.	Jefferson, Silas	Rt. 1 , Providence	5/6/63

Book I North Providence — Providence Township

None

Book I Sawerdale — Orangeburg — Rocky Grove Township

None

Book II Cope — Orangeburg — Union Township

1.	15232	Williams, Jessie Mae	Rt. 2, Cope	10/1/62
2.	11854	Williams, Leni	Rt. 2, Cope	10/1/62

Book II Vance — Vance Township

1.	11853	Davis, Chappell	Rt. 1, Box 114	10/2/62
2.	15948	Davis, Annie Tobin	Rt.	10/2/62

Book I Norway — Willow Township

1.	11851	Bell, Leo	Norway	9/3/62
2.	15780	Jones, Mary	Norway	10/6/62
3.	15816	Jenkins, Clarence	Route 1, Box 46	7/1/63
4.	15784	Mack, Miley	Norway	10/6/62
5.	16158	Scott, William	Norway	4/1/63

Book II Two-Mile Swamp — Orangeburg Co. — Willow Township

None

Book II Zion — Orangeburg Co — Zion Township

None

Orangeburg County

Organized February 21, 1963

North, S. C.

Mr. Elijah Inabinet, Chairman
Rte. 2 Box
North, South Carolina

Mrs. Sybil Jamison, Secretary
P. O. Box 52
North, South Carolina

Branchville, S.C.

Rev. E. L. Keitt, Chairman
Rte. 1, Box 181-A
Branchville, South Carolina

Mr. Nehemiah Jennings, Secretary
210 Evans Street
Branchville, South Carolina

Eutawville, S.C.

Mr. George Nelson
Rte. 1, Box 198
Eutawville, South Carolina

Mr. T. J. Nelson, Secretary
Rte. 1, Box 62
Eutawville, South Carolina

Elloree, S. C.

Mr. R. L. Williams, Chairman
Elloree, South Carolina

Springfield, S.C.

Mr. Willie James, Chairman
P. O. Box 172
Springfield, South Carolina

Mr. Cleo Thomas, Secretary
Rte. 1
Springfield, South Carolina

Ward 3 - Orangeburg, S.C.

Rev. Harold Roland, Chairman
225 Dutton Street, N.E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Mrs. H. R. Thompson, Secretary
Treadwell Street, N.E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

(cont'd)

Ward 2 - Orangeburg, S.C.

Mr. N. Antley, Chairman
598 Maple Street, S. W.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Mrs. A. Z. McPherson, Secretary
496 Middleton Street, S. E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Suburban #1 - Orangeburg
changed officers

Holly Hill organized also.

Key persons who have worked at times with the Voter Education Project.

1. Mr. E. H. Jones
Box 253
Bamberg, S. C.

2. Mr. L. C. Gay
2220 Allen Street
Barnwell, S. C.

3. Mr. & Mrs. George Hutto
P. O. Box 471
Barnwell, S. C.

4. Mr. Eddie Weathersbee
2110 Marlboro Avenue
Barnwell, S. C.

5. Mr. & Mrs. Clarence Jones
P. O. Box 121
Bowman, S. C.

6. Rev. R. C. Connor
Bowman, S. C.

7. Rev. S. J. Wright
R.F.D. 2, Box 97
Denmark, S. C.

8. Mrs. John Potts
Voorhees Jr. College
Denmark, S. C.

9. Mr. Thomas M. Anderson
Rte. 2, Box 342
Elloree, S. C.

10. Mr. R. L. Williams
Box 19
Elloree, S. C.

11. Mr. Richard Middleton
Rte. 1, Box 171
Eutawville, S. C.

12. Mr. T. J. Nelson
Rte. 1, Box 62
Eutawville, S. C.

13. Mr. Jacob Wright
P. O. Box 113
Eutawville, S. C.

14. Mr. Robert Shepman
General Delivery
Holly Hill, S. C.

15. Mr. W. R. Bunch
P. O. Box 293
Holly Hill, S. C.

16. Rev. C. C. Burgess
P. O. Box 443
Holly Hill, S. C.

17. Mr. Earl L. Ishmael
Rte. 2, Box 16
Neeses, S. C.

18. Mr. D. D. Charley
P. O. Box
North, S. C.

19. Mrs. Sybil Jamison
P. O. Box 52
North, S. C.

20. Mrs. Janie Williams
R.F.D. 3, Box 189
Orangeburg, S. C.

21. Mr. Thomas Moss
Rte. 1, Box 369
Orangeburg, S. C.

22. Mr. Wilmon Smiley
660 Goff Ave., N. E.
Orangeburg, S. C.

(cont'd)

23. Mr. Theodore Adams
R.F.D. Box
Orangeburg, S. C.

24. Mrs. C. E. Webber
State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

25. Mrs. B. R. Christian
State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

26. Mrs. L. Hurst
State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

27. Mrs. Thelma Mose
State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

28. Mr. Earl Middleton
Orangeburg, S. C.

29. Rev. W. N. Fridie
Orangeburg, S. C.

30. Rev. J. D. Dagh
Orangeburg, S. C.

31. Rev. H. O. Harvey
Orangeburg, S. C.

32. Mr. Frank Pimble
Rte. 5, Box 463
Orangeburg, S. C.

33. Mr. I. W. Stalling
P. O. Box 208
Orangeburg, S. C.

34. Mr. N. Antley
198 Glover St., S. W.
Orangeburg, S. C.

35. Mrs. Ann West
145 Glover St., S. W.
Orangeburg, S. C.

36. Mr. Willie Ellis
148 South St., S. E.
Orangeburg, S. C.

37. Mr. Jerome Jackson
545 Maple St., S. W.
Orangeburg, S. C.

38. Mr. Sears Corbett
Springfield, S. C.

39. Mr. Cleo Thomas
Rte. 1
Springfield, S. C.

40. Mr. Joseph Lewis
314 Mill Street
Williston, S. C.

41. Mr. Frank
R.F.D. 1, Box 78-A
Williston, S. C.

42. Rev. M. B. Bush
R.F.D. 2, Box 37
Williston, S. C.

ATTENDANCE LIST FOR MEETING IN COLUMBIA, S. C.
JANUARY 26, 1964

FIRST DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. Billie S. Fleming, Manning
2. Mrs. Sadie Mae White, Hilton Head
3. Mr. A. J. Brown, Frogmore
4. Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell, Seabrook
5. Mrs. Thomas C. Barnwell, Frogmore
6. Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell, Frogmore
7. Mr. Joseph Francis, Mt. Pleasant
8. Mrs. Ruby S. Francis, Mt. Pleasant
9. Mr. William J. Toomer, Charleston Hts.
10. Mrs. Jessie Mae Warren, Frogmore
11. Miss Earline Smalls, Frogmore
12. Mr. Sandy White, Hilton Head
13. Mr. Leroy E. Brown, Frogmore
14. Mr. Huston, Summerton
15. Mrs. Mazie Solomon, Summerton
16. Mrs. Sarah W. Ragin, Summerton
17. Mr. Thomas S. Jones, Summerton
18. Mr. Cleaver B. Johnson, Frogmore
19. Mr. Jackson Brown, Sr., Dale
20. Mr. Cornelieus Washington, Seabrook
21. Rev. Lewis Simmons, Summerville
22. Mr. Arthur Small, Frogmore,
23. Mrs. Josie Mae Jones, Ridgeland
24. Mr. Vanuel Mitchell, Ridgeland
25. Mr. J. Arthur Brown, Charleston
26. Mrs. Mary Lee Davis, Charleston Hgts
27. Mr. Esau Jenkins, Charleston
28. Rev. J. S. Junter, Summerton
29. Mr. Etting B. Smalls, Frogmore

2ND DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. Mr. I. S. Leevy, Columbia
2. Rev. F. G. C. Dubois, Columbia
3. Mr. Herbert U. Blakely,
4. Mr. Hope Williams, Fort Motte
5. Mr. Shie Adams, Columbia
6. Mr. Samuel Queen, Columbia
7. Rev. A. W. Holman, Aiken
8. Dr. H. E. Caldwell, Orangeburg
9. Mrs. Barbara Collins, Aiken
10. Mrs. Amiese R. Boyd, Monetta
11. Rev. Jack DeLaney Dash, Orangeburg
12. Mr. Clarence E. Jones, Bowman
13. Mr. Eugene Funchess, Cameron
14. Mr. Willie Dean Funchess, Cameron

2ND DISTRICT DELEGATES Cont'd.

15. Miss Georgia Ann Jones, Bowman
16. Rev. Louis Toney, Columbia
17. Mr. Robert Newton, Hopkins
18. Rev. E. W. Hagans, Columbia
19. Mr. Clarence Johnson, Sumter
20. Mrs. Gladys H. Walker, Batesburg
21. Mrs. Francis Williams, Batesburg

3RD DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. Mr. Stanley Gilchrist, Plum Branch
2. Mr. Jake Gilchrist, Plum Branch
3. Mrs. Dorothy Franklin, McCormick
4. Mr. Harvey L. Murry, McCormick
5. Mr. John E. Freeman, McCormick
6. Dr. H. E. Hill, Seneca — 882-8750 - Drug Store 882-2664 - Home
7. Mr. Eddie Moore, Walhalla
8. Mr. Grady R. Thompson, Seneca
9. Rev. S. L. McCain, North Augusta, S.C. — Rt. 7 Box 140 824-3631
10. Mr. James Rabb, Jenkinsville
11. Miss Mattie Rabb, Jenkinsville
12. Mrs. Essie Eichelberger, Newberry
13. Rev. S. L. Spencer, Newberry
14. Mr. Charlie S. Daniels, Saluda
15. Mrs. Genell E. Ruff, Newberry
16. Mr. John W. Reardon, Edgefield
17. Mr. John L. Daniel, Johnston
18. Mr. Oacy Reardon, Edgefield
19. Rev. A. K. Sapp, Newberry
20. Mr. Jethro R. McCain, Edgefield — 637-6869 ~~637-6869~~ 637-6573
21. Mr. James Jenkins, Edgefield

4TH DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. Mr. Thomas C. Brookins, Greenville
2. Miss Diane Blassingame, Greenville
3. Miss Classie Walker, Greenville
4. Mr. James Epps, Greenville
5. Rev. Alfonso Webster, Chesnee
6. Rev. A. C. Jones, Spartanburg
7. Rev. James D. thornton, Spartanburg
8. Mr. E. M. Bessilliu, Simpsonville
9. Mr. Harrison Reardon, Greenville
10. Mr. Johnny Floyd, Greenville
11. Mr. J. E. Williams, Spartanburg

FIFTH DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. Mr. Walter E. Edmunds, Ridgeway
2. Mrs. Carrie Henderson, Ridgeway
3. Mrs. Mary E. Martin, Winnsboro
4. Mr. Roosevelt Rutherford, Cassatt
5. Mr. Aileen A. Edmunds, Ridgeway
6. Rev. J. S. Gadsden, Camden
7. Rev. George W. Wilson, Camden
8. Mr. F. B. Drakeford, Cassatt
9. Mr. D. S. Linex, Cassatt
10. Mr. R. H. Haile Jr., Camden

6TH DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. Mr. J. O. Smith, Florence
2. Dr. R. N. Beck, Florence
3. Mr. Napoleon Rogers, Hartsville
4. Mrs. Fannie S. Rodgers, Hartsville
5. Mrs. Bessie Peterson, Hartsville
6. Mr. R. B. Peterson, Hartsville

CENTENNIAL VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE MEETING

JANUARY 26, 1964 - 3:00 P. M.

A G E N D A

DR. CHARLES H. THOMAS, CHAIRMAN

1. INVOCATION

2. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

3. PANEL: PARTICIPATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

   COPE

   N A A C P

   C O R E

   S C L C

   SUMMARY - Mr. Randolph Blackwell, Field Director, Southwide Voter Education Project

4. PROGRESS REPORTS

   a. FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

   b. SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

   c. SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

5. GREETINGS FROM AUTHORIZED OBSERVERS

   DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

   REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

6. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT MEETINGS

   a. ORGANIZING DISTRICTS NOT NOW ORGANIZED

7. RE-ASSEMBLE

   a. EMPHASIZING PRECINCT MEETINGS ATTENDANCE

   b. ANNOUNCEMENTS

   c. ADJOURNMENT

The Schedule of Meetings for the above named Districts to finalize organization is as follows:

3rd District: February 9, Masonic Hall in Saluda at 3 P. M.

4th District: January 31, Office of N.C. Nutual Ins. Co. at 8 P. M. in Spartanburg.

5th District: February 17, St. Paul's Baptist Church in Winnsboro at 7:30 P. M.

Hereto, attached is a list of registered delegates who attended the January 26 Meeting.

Civically yours,

I. DeQuincey Newman

I. DeQuincey Newman,
Field Secretary

IDN:an
CC: Dr. Charles H. Thomas
Dr. R. N. Beck
Miss Ethel Payne

Fleming

February 4, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Wiley A. Branton

FROM: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: FIELD TRIP TO SOUTH CAROLINA JANUARY 21-26, 1964

I have today, Tuesday, January 21, spent 3½ hours conferencing with Dr. Charles H. Thomas and Mr. James McPherson in the city of Orangeburg, South Carolina. Dr. Thomas is chairman of the Centennial Voter Registration Committee for the state of South Carolina.

This organization, when it was first conceived, was to have been a statewide voter registration association. It was planned at the time of organization that the CVRC would have subdivisions organized along the congressional district lines.

Mr. I. S. Leevy of Columbia, South Carolina, was chosen in the initial meeting to be chairman of the Second Congressional District. Early in the year of 1963, the CVRC, after several visits made by the Field Director of the Voter Education Project of Atlanta, decided to concentrate its activities, partly at the encouragement of the Voter Education Project, in the Second Congressional District. So it is that the CVRC came to be more a Second Congressional District organization rather than a statewide project.

The CVRC organization, proceding under the name of the Second Congressional District organization, so far as the Voter Education Project is concerned, is organized around two offices. One in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and one in Columbia, South Carolina.

The Columbia office is responsible for registration in Aiken, Calhoun, Lexington, and Richland counties. The field work for these four counties is conducted by Mr. Jessie Walker, under the general supervision of Mr. I. S. Leevy. The Orangeburg office is responsible for registration activity in Orangeburg, Bamberg, and Barnwell counties. This activity, field-wise, is under the direction of Mr. James McPherson, under the general supervision of Dr. Charles H. Thomas. Progress reports in the Voter Education Project office in Atlanta will reveal that the Orangeburg office is by far the most effective of the two offices in the Second Congressional District project.

The field trip that is the subject of this report, was occasioned by the desire to accomplish four things:

1. We wanted to check on the progress being made by the Second Congressional District organization under the now existing Voter Education Project grant.

2. We wanted to collect such information as would be necessary to make a determination as to what grants should be made in the future.

3. We hopedto make such investigation as will enable the Voter Education Project to determine whether or not it would want to participate in the sponsorship of a statewide voter registration program now being proposed by several South Carolina leaders.

4. To collect such information as would be of value to the Voter Education Project from a research standpoint.

I had a long conversation with Dr. Thomas relative to the work of the Second Congressional District in which Dr. Thomas very readily conceded that Second Congressional District is far from being a complete and effective organization. We noted in this regard that there are several counties where there does not appear to be any kind of registration activity worth considering. Dr. Thomas explained the lack of organization by indicating that the Second Congressional District leaders had received numerous promises from individuals in the non-active counties, but that most of these promises had not been fulfilled.

I took this occasion to remind Dr. Thomas of something I had suggested several months ago relative to the distinction between the leading citizens and leaders, suggesting that I thought perhaps he was still contactin g leading citizens rather than leaders in the community. I suggested, in this regard, that if he looked for the little, insignificant non-pretentious person in the community, quite likely he would find that person is carrying on some kind of activity. This conclusion was supported by the experiences that we had in the First Congressional District of South Carolina. As best as I am able to determine, Dr. Thomas did not react to this line of discussion one way or the other. However, this line of discussion did serve to move us into a consideration of the proposed statewide organization in which Dr. Thomas will undoubtedly be one of the principal figures along with Mr. I. DeQuincy Newman, Field Secretary for the NAACP, Rev. Matthew McCollum, and Mr. I. S. Leevy.

I suggested to Dr. Thomas, relative to the statewide organization, that it might just be that at this stage in the political development of South Carolina, there are not enough dedicated persons to project a program on a statewide basis, and that it might be more

desirable to think in terms of rigid congressional district and county organizations, rather than the statewide organization. In making this suggestion, I had hoped to alert Mr. Thomas to the possibility that the Voter Education Project would not be interested in financing a statewide program.

After my conference with Dr. Thomas, I held an extended conference with Mr. James McPherson, the Field Director for the Orangeburg office of the Second Congressional District organization. I listened at great length to Mr. McPherson's discussion of the difficulties he was encountering in finding persons that would assume responsibility in Bamberg and Barnwell counties. It is interesting that throughout this entire discussion, Mr. McPherson continually used the expression, "Finding a person that has the courage to do the job." In this expression, there is the suggestion of some kind of intimidation not yet fully defined.

Mr. McPherson is a gentleman in his late 70's, a retired postmaster of some 45 years service. It would be fair, I think, to say that Mr. McPherson is effective in what he is doing. A good way to measure the effectiveness of Mr. McPherson is to consider the fact that for the year August 9, 1962 through September 1, 1963, only 232 people were registered in the county of Orangeburg. Now, this figure should be compared with the four-month period September 3, 1963 through January 1, 1964, during which time 625 persons were registered. This comparison reflects almost three times the accomplishment under the leadership of Mr. McPherson.

I inquired of Mr. McPherson what plans he had for the Orangeburg office for the year 1964. In this regard, he replied that he is still making trips leading to Bamberg and Barnwell counties, and that there are some hopeful signs now showing up in Bamberg county. It is his intention, he indicated, to continue registration programs as well as organizational activity down to the precinct level.

For research reasons, I asked Mr. McPherson what was the source of his personal motivation in voter registration. This is a question I think we should raise more often as we near the end of this project. Mr. McPherson gave the answer that might reasonably have been anticipated. Going off into an explanation of the importance of voter registration and political participation to the success of the Negro people in the acquisition of their rights, I stopped him somewhere in the middle of this discourse and pointed out to him that almost everybody was engaged in trying to do something about it, and that there must be something more personal than general importance and significance of voter registration. Then it was that Mr. McPherson got around to explaining his own personal motivation.

He indicated that he felt that he had many reasons to have confidence in the future of the Negro people. He said that through the years,

people had gone out of their way to befriend him during a period of illness and several other instances that he cited, suggesting that this kind of befriending came as a result of a kind of leadership that he had tried to supply through the years. And then he went on to say that he felt that he wanted to have a personal investment in this historical period. An investment that went unrewarded. He wanted to give of himself. I was particularly pleased to have Mr. McPherson say to me that he rather suspected there were numerous people around the South that would like to make personal investments in this struggle, and that the biggest problem was the business of finding them. The conference with Mr. McPherson was rewarding in several ways.

As we approach the end of the Voter Education Project, I suspect that one of the questions that we are going to have to deal with is the distinction between the first voter education project started under the general leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the second one under the leadership of the Second Congressional District organization. It is noted at this point that the first project was a total failure, and the second one is reasonably successful. As I talked with Mr. McPherson, I got the feeling that I had obtained a new understanding as to why the first project failed.

It will be recalled that Mr. Reginald Robinson, who was directing SNCC's project, lost confidence in it and the capacity to work with established leadership in Orangeburg county because of the refusal of the leadership to make available certain existing records to him. From this point, the relationship between Mr. Robinson and the leadership of the community degenerated down to nothing. Almost by coincident, I discovered that Mr. McPherson, the man that held the records from Robinson, appears to be a stickler for record-keeping. A kind of personality thing. As he took me through his files, he was meticulously placing everything back in the place where he moved it from. When he finished, he said to me, "I keep these files under lock and key because if I say anything to anybody about this program, I want to be able to back it up in black and white. If any question is raised about numbers registered, or money spent, I want to have the record clear." Looking back over our first project with this experience in mind, I think it is entirely possible that Mr. Robinson might have interpreted this attitude as being devious on the part of the established leadership, rather than just a personality trait.

Mr. McPherson and Dr. Thomas are strongly committed to the idea that the demonstrations of the summer, that are still in progress on a limited basis, contributed meanfully to the success of their registration program.

On Wednesday, January 22, 1964, I conferenced with Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman and Mr. I. S. Leevy, both of the city of ~~Charleston.~~ Columbia.

Mr. Leevy is the director of the office of the Second Congressional District Voter Registration Committee at Columbia. This was my fourth time to have the opportunity of talking with him. It must be remembered that Mr. Leevy requires that one be prepared to sit and have him review the history of South Carolina for the past eighty years, most of which centers around his business successes and his efforts over the years to establish a two-party system. Mr. Leevy is known throughout the state of South Carolina and a sizable portion of the southern region as a long and distinguished member of the Republican party. To have Mr. Leevy go through these historical experiences is always time consuming and a burden on his leadership ability, and yet he always manages to include something that is quite interesting. In this connection, it was interesting having him relate to me his experience in addressing the South Carolina legislature in joint session some twenty years ago. These historical gems, I often feel, could be used as sources of motivation if they were delivered to the right kinds of audiences.

My main purpose for visiting with Mr. Leevy on this occasion was to inquire into the degree of success that he was having in the counties that are served by the Columbia office of the Second Congressional District. Mr. Leevy, being blind, was unable to supply me with accurate records of the success of his office, but was able to talk in general terms about various aspects of the program that could be regarded as successful.

In this connection, he pointed out that the four counties covered by the Second Congressional District office at Columbia are now presently organized. County chairmen have been chosen and in some instances, precinct organizations have been established. An examination of the VEP files will indicate something of the success of the registration work done thus far.

Mr. Leevy said to me that he had found it necessary to change his field representative. This job was formerly under the general supervision of Rev. Heagens. Mr. Leevy explained that he found it necessary to acquire the services of Rev. Jessie Walker of the Benedict College faculty.

When talking about problems, Mr. Leevy suggested that he was having some considerable difficulty finding men that were willing to work and not pad their travel expense accounts. It appears that some serious problems now exist between Mr. Leevy and Dr. Thomas at Orangeburg, South Carolina, resolving principally around Dr. Thomas' refusal to honor the expense accounts as they are reported to him by Mr. Leevy. Both gentlemen have spoken to me freely about the problem and each of

them see it from an entirely different point of view. Dr. Thomas feels that the expenses are excessive; Mr. Leevy feels that they are realistic.

Mr. Leevy said to me that Dr. Thomas implied that he had attempted to cheat or obtain fund that he was not justifiably entitled to. Mr. Leevy said that he responded to Dr. Thomas' suggestion by saying to him that the last two men that had accused him of being dishonest had not come out too lightly. In one instance, he had given a gentleman the content of his pistol, and the other, he had sued and recovered $2,000. It was pleasing to have Mr. Leevy say that this program is much too important for this kind of child play, and that he had made a trip to Columbia since the dispute and had a very cordial conference with Dr. Thomas.

Mr. Leevy and I agreed that it is important to systematically organize every precinct in the state. Efforts are being made to obtain from the Secretary of State, precinct maps for each of the counties in the state. It appears that these maps do not exist for more than 50% of the counties. I am informed that due to a general laxness in voter registration offices across the state, registrars proceed to place people in precincts without the map to refer to, and that in many instances, husband and wife are registered in different precincts.

I examined while in the Columbia office, copies of letters that had been sent out to people across the Second Congressional District inviting them to the Columbia meeting. I am given to believe that a sizable number of people will be present for this statewide meeting planned for Sunday, January 26.

Conferences have been arranged for me to meet with Mrs. Simpkins, Mrs. Stillman, and Mr. Solomon, of the state teachers association. These conferences are to be held between now and Sunday with the hope of soliciting their support for the statewide meeting.

Mr. Leevy and I discussed in great detail the difficulties of placing too much emphasis on top leadership and too little emphasis on grass-root contacts. We likewise agreed that efforts in the future must be placed on grass-root participation. At present, we are thinking in terms of establishing some kind of machinery for enlisting 1,704 precinct workers which would give us one precinct worker for every precinct in the state. I am using Larry Goodwyn's 12,000 block worker record as a source of inspiration in selling the idea of 1,700 precinct workers. Of course, this does not mean that we must actually have 1,700 block workers, for the reason that there are some precincts where there are no Negroes. It would thus appear that with some cooperation between the five major civil rights agencies, the 1,700 can be realized in a few days.

In my conference with Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, who is the Field Secretary for the South Carolina Conference of NAACP Branches, I had hoped to have the opportunity of discussing some general registration in detail. However, I discovered during the conference that very little had been done in the way of planning for the proposed statewide meeting that was to be held on Sunday, January 26. So it was then that instead of talking about registration theory, we went into a very deliberate effort to plan this meeting. For some very good reason, I am sure, Rev. Newman had not planned any organized programs for the meeting, despite the fact that he had assumed considerable responsibility for this meeting.

I hesitate at this point to say that Rev. Newman is not a good organizer, and yet it did disturb me somewhat to have him say that he had just thought that we would allow the meeting to unfold. I think perhaps I would not have had as much reservation about the idea of allowing the meeting to unfold had it not been for the fact that I saw one of Rev. Newman's meetings unfold. (The NAACP/state convention for 1963). A description of that convention is contained in a prior field report. The meeting was set as shown on the attached agenda.

When the program had been worked out, Rev. Newman and I continued our discussion in a general fashion, with Rev. Newman doing most of the talking. Rev. Newman was particularly interested in having me understand that he did not see much in Mr. Leevy's organizational ability. As a matter of fact, he said that the Second Congressional District was handicapped by Mr. Leevy's participation rather than aided by it. He further suggested that work in Columbia would never succeed as long as Mr. Leevy occupied a leadership role. A matter to be investigated further, is the suggestion of Rev. Newman's that Mr. Leevy seized the leadership of the Second Congressional District organization from Rev. R. S. Crumlin after he had been duly elected.

I feel that the conferences with Mr. Leevy and Rev. Newman were beneficial both in terms of smoothing out some of the difficulties in the operations, and also, in terms of supplying me with some understanding of several ticklish problems.

The rest of the day was spent in contacting people by telephone and arranging for conferences that will be held on Thursday and Friday. I was in contact with a student at Benedict College by the name of John Gaines. It is hoped that at some future time, it will be possible to assemble the student council presidents of the six colleges in the Second Congressional District, with a view to bringing greater student participation in voter registration activity.

A conference has also been arranged by phone with the director of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company for this region, along with the head of the state teachers association. The outcome of these con-

ferences will be reported in other portions of this field report.

Wednesday evening, January 22, at 8:30 p. m., I held a conference with Mr. Ben Mack, state supervisor of the SCLC citizenship school program in the state of South Carolina. The primary purpose for this particular conference was to urge upon Mr. Mack the importance of putting some special effort into making certain that the people that have worked with him in the citizenship program would attend the Columbia Centennial Committee voter registration meeting Sunday, January 26.

I learned from Mr. Mack that he had not received an invitation from Rev. Newman to this meeting. I took it upon myself to extend this invitation and to urge him to come prepared to explain the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's citizenship program and the extent of same. Mr. Mack explained to me that because of a prior commitment, he would not be able to attend this meeting, but that he would certainly see to it that some person from the SCLC was there prepared to represent the Conference.

I took this opportunity to inquire of Mr. Mack what his opinions were relative to the problems that Mr. Leevy seems to encounter in working with other individuals in the Second Congressional District organization relative to voter registration. Mr. Mack's opinions might be summarized by saying that he holds the idea that one of the main reasons why Mr. Leevy is not as effective as he might possibly be is because he tends to involve individuals in his registration program because of their personal relationship with him, rather than because of the ability and willingness of individuals to participate in the program. To quote Mr. Mack, "Some people get the pay and recognition while others do the work," and that "The persons doing the work are now finding it convenient to not participate."

Mr. Mack pointed specifically to the former field representative for Mr. Leevy, a Rev. E. W. Hagans. Mack said that Rev. Hagans was quite a competent and a person willing to do the job, but that Mr. Leevy has consistently refused to compensate Rev. Hagans with the funds that had been made available to the program by the VEP.

I was very pleased that we had gotten into this particular question because I recognized at the outset that Mr. Leevy was being accused of something that was not entirely valid. Rather than Mr. Leevy refusing to pay Rev. Hagans for the services that he was rendering to the program it appears that Dr. Thomas at Columbia has repeatedly refused to honor the vouchers that have been received from Mr. Leevy's office. It appears on the surface that Dr. Thomas is largely influenced by Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, who is the Field Secretary for the NAACP, and that he has not moved with any haste to honor the expenses of persons who have not stood in great favor with Rev. Newman.

Of course, it is easy to understand that Rev. Newman would not hold Rev. Hagans in great favor because he has, through the years, been associated with SCLC. These kind of conflicts lead to an explanation of the ineffectiveness of various programs, and yet they do not appear on the surface at the outset of such an investigation.

Mr. Mack informed me that he had just come from the closing of one of the citizenship classes, and that there had been an audience of some 100 individuals to attend the close of the Ridgeway, South Carolina, class.

I went with Mr. Mack to the airport to pick up Mrs. Dorothy Cotton of the SCLC staff at 11 p. m. Wednesday evening. Mrs. Cotton was coming into Columbia to attend on Thursday a citizenship class closing that was to take place ~~that~~ Thursday evening in the Winnsboro community.

After we picked Mrs. Cotten up, the three of us talked generally about voter registration in the state of South Carolina, covering such subjects as precinct maps and materials for the citizenship school that might more closely tie the citizenship training program to voter registration. The thing that consumed most of the conversation was the idea that a major contribution could be made to registration and citizenship by trying to point up those aspects of Negro history, so far as South Carolina is concerned, that would afford the students in the public schools cause for pride and confidence.

Mrs. Cotton and I agreed that we would assume as a personal project, the responsibility for writing a history of the Negro's participation in South Carolina during the Reconstruction period. We felt that it is very necessary to undo many of the false impressions of this period. This history, of course, would be written for persons of sixth grade level and less, and would perhaps be printed in pamphlet fashion. It is our desire and intent to have this pamphlet prepared by the middle of the month of February.

We also talked in general terms about the need for and the absence of precinct maps as a basic tool in voter registration.

The hour of 12:30 a. m. having arrived, we retired for the evening.

Thursday morning, January 23, 7:30 a. m., Rev. Higgins came by my room on his way to work, and we held a brief conference about the work that he has been doing in the Fifth Congressional District of South Carolina.

I had suggested to Rev. Higgins during the COPE conference in Atlanta the week before, that since he did not seem to be able to work effec-

tively with Rev. Newman, he might consider the possibility of trying to draw all of those persons in the Fifth Congressional District of South Carolina together into a congressional district organization.

In line with this suggestion, Rev. Higgins reported that he had visited several of the counties in the Fifth Congressional District, and that he had succeeded in ascertaining the names of the individuals that are engaged in voter registration activity.

I asked Rev. Higgins if he had given up on the possibility of working in the Second Congressional District. This had been implied by Mr. Mack. He said he did not feel that he could continue to work with the Second Congressional District because the program, particularly the travel, was proving expensive to him, and that there is no indication that there was going to be any reimbursement for the expenses that he was encountering. Rev. Higgins seemed to have felt that Mr. Leevy had, to some extent, participated in withholding funds from him, but he also admitted that he knew, of his own knowledge, that Mr. Leevy had paid to him $117 during the course of the period before the VEP grant came through, and that he had also spent substantial sums of money for envelopes and postage to get the Centennial Registration Committee organized in the first instance.

I agreed to meet Rev. Higgins in Great Falls for a meeting Thursday evening for a meetingof three county leaders in the Fifth Congressional District. This ended my conference with Rev. Higgins.

Thursday, January 23 at 11 a. m., I met in Sumter, S. C., with Mr. Frank Robinson and Mr. Edward Brown, field representatives for CORE. The purpose of this meeting was to re-emphasize to these two gentlemen the desirability of making certain that persons from the Sixth Congressional District of South Carolina would attend the meeting in Columbia the following Sunday.

I had also hoped to use this meeting to obtain from these gentlemen a more recent list of interested persons in the Fifth Congressional District. Mr. Robinson explained to me that he had just taken out of the mail a letter indicating the place and date for the Columbia meeting, and that he had delayed his contacting individuals in the Fifth Congressional District until this letter with the details had been received.

We checked together hurriedly the principal communities in the Sixth and Fifth Congressional District, and tried to determine what persons ought to be contacted and invited to the Columbia meeting.'

As we ran over the various communities, I was particularly impressed

by the fact that Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brown seemed to over emphasize the difficulty of getting individuals from various communities. The more these two individuals talked, the more impressed I was of the fact that they, to a great extent, deal in the negative side of voter registration rather than in the positive side. I cannot help but wonder whether their effectiveness is not substantially hampered by their attitude. I am satisfied with the sincerity and devotion that Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brown bring to the program, and yet it does become a bit disgusting at times to have them always emphasize what can't be done.

The two gentlemen agreed, however, that they would start immediately to run through the various communities of the Sixth Congressional District and spread the word of the Columbia meeting. I was able to obtain from them names of some individuals that they had worked with in the Fifth Congressional District. It was explained to them that I intended to contact these individuals personally, and invite them to the Columbia meeting as a way of strengthening any request they or Rev. Hagans might have made in that particular area.

While talking with these individuals, I outlined on a map the tour in the Fifth Congressional District that I intended to cover. The cities to be covered were: Camden, Winnsboro, Chester, Rock Hill, and Gaffney.

Thereafter, I visited each one of these communities and explained the nature of the Columbia meeting and extended invitations to individuals to attend. The names of the persons attending are shown on an attachment to this report. The essence of what was said to the individuals visited was very much the same, and will not be included at this point.

One interesting thing about this particular tour across the Fifth Congressional District is the visit made into the city of Ridgeway. Ridgeway was not one of the communities that we had planned to visit as outlined in Sumter. However, on the highway from Camden into Waynesboro, we noticed markers indicating Ridgeway and remembered that we had received correspondence from an individual in Ridgeway. I decided to take the detouring highway into Ridgeway and see if I might talk with Rev. Sapp, the individual in question. An examination of the correspondence received from Rev. Sapp will reveal that there existed in his mind some confusion relative to his connection with VEP.

In a letter received during the month of January, Rev. Sapp had indicated that a promise had been made to him to take care of his travel, and that several letters had been addressed to us with no response, and no compensation. I was successful in explaining to Rev. Sapp that what he had interpreted as a promise from VEP was in fact a promise from a representative of SCLC, and that VEP would certainly

like to have him continue his voter registration activity, and that at some future time, it might be possible for us to enter into some kind of agreement. Rev. Sapp accepted this explanation. I invited him to attend the Columbia meeting, and he promised that he would be present.

Saturday, January 25 at 1 p. m., I held a conference with John Gaines, a student at Benedict College. Mr. Gaines' name had been supplied to me by Frank Robinson of CORE.

It had been suggested that Gaines had expressed some interest in voter registration, and that he would quite likely have a number of contacts along with the ability to organize these contacts into a real student movement.

By way of background, Gaines has for two years been active in sit-in demonstrations across the state of South Carolina, and is perhaps best known as the leader of the group that went to jail in Rock Hill, South Carolina.

As I talked with Gaines on Saturday afternoon, he explained that he had come to the conclusion that the thing most important in the civil rights struggle is voter registration, and that he had made some effort to get some students at Benedict College together to talk about this. He indicated that when this effort was made before, the meeting had not been successful because of some mix-up on the time.

I listened with great interest to Gaines' explanation of what he thought the whole civil rights struggle was all about, as well as his explanation as to his own personal motivation in this regard. I have concluded as a result of this conference, that Gaines is a very sound student and that he can make a major contribution to voter registration activities. We talked late into the evening about the voter registration program, and I was convinced that Gaines understood the importance of this program to the total history of the Negro people in South Carolina.

At 6 o'clock in the evening, Gaines and I went to visit Dr. Jackson of the Benedict College faculty. I had been given to understand that Dr. Jackson, some three or four years ago, had obtained a special grant from one of the leading foundations to do a voter registration survey, and that this study had been completed and was in his possession, and would possibly be of some help to voter registration workers if it could be had. We were unable to contact Dr. Jackson on Saturday evening. Gaines will continue efforts to meet with Dr. Jackson and possibly obtain the study for their use.

I extended an invitation to Gaines to come to the meeting at Allen University the following day.

Sunday, January 26 came as any other Sunday to me except for the overhanging anticipation of what would be the result of the efforts made during the proceeding week to put together this statewide voter registration meeting.

I was out of bed by 8 o'clock. 9 o'clock, I went to the airport to pick up Mrs. Dorothy Cotton. Her flight out of Virginia had been delayed and did not arrive until about 10:30. I took Mrs. Cotton to her motel where we talked briefly about the role that she was to play in the afternoon meeting.

At 12 o'clock, I received a call from Rev. Newman requesting a conference with me and Dr. Thomas at 1:30. At 1:30, the three of us met at Faith Hall to review the program. We agreed that we had done all that we felt could or needed to be done to make for a successful meeting, and that from there on in, we might just wait to see how the program "unfolded."

One problem did remain to be resolved. That was the question of whether or not in this meeting we should undertake to elect statewide officers, or whether or not we should proceed with the statewide officers that had been elected the year before. The problem grows out of the fact that the people that were about to assemble had not participated in the election of the statewide officers, and yet, it was our general feeling that we did not want to place emphasis on some statewide administrative super-structure, and that what we really wanted to do was play down statewide officers. For that reason, we thought it might be more desirable to proceed with the existing statewide leadership until the various congressional or district organizations had taken form and strength. We decided in this regard that if the question of statewide officers was not raised, we would proceed as if there was general agreement, anticipating that the congressional district meetings would be of sufficient interest as to not raise the question of statewide leadership.

The meeting got underway at 3 o'clock sharp. The attendance at the time of the opening was far in excess of what we had anticipated. The room that we had decided upon was much too small for the number of persons that had received news of the meeting and had come of their own initiative. Everybody that had any part in putting together this meeting was greatly encouraged by the attendance. I think I detected in the attitude of most of the people present that this was a meeting of real significance. Every participant in the program seemed to have been involved in the business of doing the very best that they could, that part of the program that had been assigned to them.

After the preliminaries of the meeting were over, statements were heard from Mr. Arthur Brown of the NAACP, Mr. Frank Robinson of CORE,

Mrs. Dorothy Cotton of SCLC, and a summary by RTB of VEP. In each of these statements, there were general expressions of what each of the organizations had to offer, and what the organizations had been doing over the previous year. Each organization, in very clear and frank terms, told what they felt they had done. It was a kind of bragging about their programs and for me, the first demonstration of wholesome rapport between the organizations.

In summarizing the remarks of the three preceding speakers, it was my pleasure to call attention to the fact that 1) we had an audience overflowing, and 2) that all three of the organizations were present and presenting their programs without any conflict. I based most of my summary remarks on the fact that statewide meetings of this sort rarely register people, and that the major task remains still before us. That task being the business of organizing county, precinct, and block organizations.

Reports were heard from the three best organized congressional districts in the state of South Carolina - the First, the Second, and the Sixth Congressional Districts. It was reported that in Georgetown county, there is reason to believe that there are more Negroes registered than white.

After the reports, greetings were to have been had from the national committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. The Republican National Committee did not have a representative. Mrs. Ethel Paynes represented the National Democratic party, and gave most of her emphasis to the report of the committee on voter registration that was established by President Kennedy.

The remaining part of the meeting was given to strengthening the congressional distric organizations in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Congressional Districts, as well as strengthening the precinct organizations in the First, Second, and Sixth Congressional Districts. Announcements were made that had to do with the importance of attending precinct meetings and the poll tax amendment.

The meeting was adjourned by the Rev. Mr. Sapp. There was a lot of lingering after the meeting had adjourned, and a lot of individual and personal comparing of notes and programs. These observations we use as evidence of the fact that persons attending the meeting had gotten something out of the meeting and were prepared to have put some additional time into it. Those of us that had participated in putting the meeting together were thoroughly satisfied with the results as we talked, some four or five of us, in the Town Tourist Motel dining room after the meeting was over.

South Carolina is now the best organized state in the eleven, excepting possibly Texas.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WBr

February 7, 1964

ADDENDUM TO REPORT ON FIELD TRIP TO SOUTH CAROLINA JAN. 21-26, 1964

Friday, January 24 at 8 a. m., I took Mrs. Dorothy Cotton to the Columbia airport to make a trip into Virginia. While en route to the airport, Mrs. Cotton reported to me that at the meeting the previous evening in Winnsboro, some thirteen persons had been graduated and that an audience of about 125 had braved an extremely rainy night to observe the program. We both were particularly pleased with the turnout because, of course, Winnsboro is a rural community.

After seeing Mrs. Cotton on her plane, I got some breakfast and then started on my tour of the remaining communities to be contacted in the Fifth Congressional District which were Lancaster and Chesterfield. I returned to Columbia about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and held a conference with Rev. Jesse Walker, the new field representative for Mr. I. S. Leevy.

In a conference with Rev. Jesse Walker, I asked him what he felt was necessary in order to put on a massive registration drive in the city of Columbia, South Carolina. Rev. Walker responded to this question by indicating that he was not certain that a massive registration drive could be conducted in Columbia at this time because of the fact that there are so many different factions in the community. He proceeded to spell out these various factions for me which sounded very much like the kind of description that had been given me of the internal problems of Columbus, Georgia. He named some four or five factions.

One faction he called the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company faction led by Mr. Higgins and his friends. Another faction he called the NAACP faction led by Dr. I. DeQuincey Newman. The third faction was referred to as the Community Civics group faction - one of the oldest factions in the community, presently led by Mrs. Simpkins. A fourth faction he referred to as the Mungin faction, led by Rev. Mungin. This faction has, in recent months, done some work in public accommodations and sit-ins. And then, of course, there was the faction which I supposed he is associated. Rev. Walker to me that he had found this factionalism such a burden to effective community activity, that he had elected in recent weeks to ignore all the factions and seek to work primarily with students. Being a member of the faculties of Benedict and Allen Universities, he feels that he can sustain his work through their help. I asked him in this connection what he felt would be necessary in order to put on a massive registration drive using students, and Rev. Walker said that he did not feel that compensation for block work or canvassing would be necessary, but that he

had often wished he had some funds that he could use for the buying of refreshments at the end of a work day, as well as founds that he could spend on transportation to the registration polls. Rev. Walker also indicated that it was his opinion that students could really be motivated to work if specific jobs were given to them, rather than asking them to come out and canvass and do registration work in general. He requested specifically that the VEP or the Second Congressional District organization supply him with badges, buttons, pins, or something of the sort that the students might wear as a source of identification. A badge that might say, "I Have Registered," or "I Am An Official Voter Registration Worker." I suggested to him in this regard that most of the civil rights organizations had prepared buttons of this nature. I promised Rev. Walker that I would put some effort into obtaining some of these button for him.

From this point, I began to move the conversation around to Rev. Walker's performance as field representative for Mr. Leevy , and asked him to explain to me the extent of the organizational work that he had been able to accomplish. Rev. Walker said that of the four counties, he had been successful in organizing the Richland, Lexington, and Aiken counties, and that these counties are now working at the precinct level. The only county not organized is the Calhoun county. Rev. Walker suggested that it is extremely difficult to find persons in Calhoun that are willing to assume responsibility as leaders of the program. He suggested that Calhoun county is one of those counties in which the white community is sure to commit at least one serious atrocity a year so as to keep Negroes "in their place". We know of other areas in the country where this kind of thing is done. I was impressed that Rev. Walker recognized the effect this kind of thing can have on a community.

At 4:30, Rev. Walker and I went to the office of the Secretary of State to try to get some precinct maps.

RTB

RTB:js

The Citizens Committee

of

WILSON AND WILSON COUNTY

sponsors

VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

FEBRUARY 3-14, 1964

ALL PERSONS 21 YEARS OLD AND OLDER ARE URGED TO BECOME FIRST CLASS CITIZENS BY REGISTERING TO VOTE.

A Voteless People is a Hopeless People
Register Now!

Get your information from

CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

569 East Nash Street

Wilson, North Carolina Phone 243-5854

WB

February 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

RE: FIELD TRIP TO WILSON, NORTH CAROLINA

Today, February 13, I visited with Rev. Watkins and Dr. Butterfield in the city of Wilson, North Carolina, to talk about the Wilson project. There was one basic problem which compelled our immediate attention.

The facts of the problem are that VEP made a tentative grant of $1500 to the Citizens Committee of Wilson and Wilson County for a two-week voter registration drive, and that the first week of the drive yeilded less than 200 persons registered. As I talked with the two persons named above, I became aware of the fact that they knew they were not living up to expectations. The project seems to have gotten out of hand because the people of Wilson that are directing the project over-estimated what canvassers could do to enlist new voters without considering community preparation.

The project directors hired 20 canvassers at the rate of $1 per hour for an 8 hour day. It was expected that with such a force in the field, it would be possible to register about 2,000 citizens. This expectation was based on the number of homes that could be visited in a given hour. As viewed, this was not an unreasonable expectation. However, the expectation did not take into account anything other than the number of homes that could be visited. The pecularities of the Wilson community were not considered at all. But what is equally important is the fact that these pecularities have not as yet been identified. One thing that is now clear is the fact that the people of the Wilson community will not move as individuals. We are in agreement that it was a mistake not to have tried to move sizable numbers at about the same time through mass meetings or club action. This, of course, means planning in such a way as to excite the entire community about the matter of voter registration at or about the same time.

As I examined the financial records of the project, it appeared that the project had spent $834.38. The project had received $500 from VEP, $50 from NAACP, $50 from the Citizens Committee, $25 from a local garden club, $10 from the Masonic Lodge. The total amount of money received was $645. Of the $834.38 spent, $78.80 was used to pay for the list of registered voters and about $100 was spent on secretarial services. These expenditures can probably be considered as expenses of a lasting value, and should be subtracted from the total before VEP arrives at an average cost for each new voter.

RTB Field Trip

I suggested to the project leaders that they should suspend their operations until the project is reorganized, excepting, of course, such expenses as will be necessary to keep the office open and operating.

As we observed the project and talked with some of the hired workers, we question in our minds whether the persons working were, in fact, putting in an 8 hour day as they were hired. There did not appear to be any method of checkin on this fact. This, I think, is an interesting research data.

The drive, as it is presently operating, is considered successful in this community as is indicated by the amount of concern it is causing downtown. A county Board of Registrars is quoted in the local paper as having said, "This surge in registration has never occurred since I have been here." The attached news article taken from one of the local dailies will reflect this fact.

There are a number of shortcomings in the present operation - the most serious of which seems to be the absence of real community involvement. I made a promise to the leadershp to come back to Wilson February 20, at which time I will try to tie up some of the loose ends of the drive and possibly get some better results. It is expected that we will have at our disposal the remaining $500 of the $1500 when the project is better organized.

One of the things we will concentrate on will be the recruiting of an army of volunteers to undergird the 20 hired workers. Within the group of hired workers, there are several that hold the office of ward leader in the Democratic party, and yet, as I talked with one of them, it was obvious that they did not fully understand the responsibility or power of a ward leader. We shall talk about this to some extent when we meet on the 20th.

In working with the people of Wilson, I felt free with my suggestions and criticisms, and think they were taken in very good spirit. I have every reasons to believe that this group has applied their very best judgment to the situation and that they have worked hard at getting the job done.

I asked Rev. Watkins what help the group was getting from the outside, and was surprised when I was told that the group was not being aided by any group from the outside, and that he had not seen any expression of interest in Wilson by any of the national civil rights organizations in the past 13 years. Rev. Watkins said that he had been president of the local NAACP branch for 7 years, and that none of the leaders of the organizations had expressed any interest in registration in Wilson County. He said that occasionally, Mr. McClean, the field secretary for the NAACP had passed through Wilson on his way to other communities in eastern North Carolina. These statements take on real significance

when we realize that there are only 3 cities of any size in the whole of eastern North Carolina. I am hoping that the problem in Wilson, North Carolina, is just a matter of organizing the community for effective results. All other matters seem to be in their favor.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachment: News article

WB

February 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO GADSDEN AND BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

December 18, 1963, I visited Gadsden, Alabama, to talk with Mr. Q. D. Adams about the projects commissioned by VEP for work in that city. Mr. Adams had been on our list for consideration since early summer. I had talked with him first in Birmingham at a meeting of the Alabama Coordinating Council for Voter Registration in the spring and twice on subsequent trips to Gadsden.

VEP delayed making a grant for a project in Gadsden because of the street demonstrations that had so completely involved the attention of the community leadership during the summer.

As I talked with Mr. Adams, it developed early in the conversation that the check that had been posted to his group had not been received and for that reason they had found it necessary to cut back on the operation of the program.

Records in the office of the project reflected the fact that registration had been going on for the past four months. The organization of the drive, so far as I could determine, did not justify the existence of the project office or the secretary. I suggested this to Mr. Adams and tried to indicate some of the ways that the office and the secretary could be used effectively. These suggestions seemed to have been well received. I called the VEP office about the check but was not able to work the problem out because Mrs. Levine was not in.

On December 19, I visited Birmingham, Alabama, to check on the Jefferson County projects. There I talked with Mrs. Davis Nelson, Mrs. Bernice Johnson, and Attorney Orzell Billingsley.

Mrs. Nelson showed me a report that was being typed for the VEP office that supplied most of the progress data and for that reason, we did not dwell on these matters. I was, however, very interested in Mrs. Nelson's attitude about the other group in the city working in registration. During the course of the conversation, several things became apparent. In the first place, Mrs. Nelson did not think that the youth office was producing the kind of results that would justify its continuance under the leadership of Mr. Croshen. Mrs. Nelson stated that Croshen was using the office for personal prestige and he was not infact working hard at getting people on the books. She said that Croshen had misrepresented

RTB Field Trips

himself when he had claimed that he was one of the student demonstration leaders. She also expressed the idea that some problems were soon to develop unless better cooperation was developed between her group and the Miles College students who are publicly claiming credit for all registration work, thereby causing doubt on the basis of their existence.

Mrs. Johnson expressed concern about Mr. Croshen and suggested that she felt that his leadership should be changed or the office closed. I think I encouraged her in this attitude with the suggestion that a careful study of this aspect of the project be made and reported to Atlanta. This she said she would do.

When I talked with Mr. Billingsley, I inquired of him as to why there had developed such a favorable attitude in the office of the registrar. Mr. Billingsley told me confidentially that he had been told confidentially that in Birmingham, the official attitude was to get rid of George Wallace and his kind, and that they were prepared to use the Negro vote to accomplish this task. Their attitude is that the Wallace kind of leadership is costing the state economically, Billingsley said.

I made an effort to visit with the Miles College Student Citizenship Project. This group is carrying on registration under a direct grant from the Field Foundation. I was unable to talk with the group because their office was closed.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

February 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Today, February 14, I talked with Douglas Harris and John Lane, two of the fellows that are working with Reginald Robinson of SNCC in the Raleigh project. Mr. Robinson was out of town. I was not able to find out the nature of the business that took him away from the project that he is directing. I was able to learn from the two men with whom I did speak that the progress of the project is improving.

Although the exact number of persons registered is yet undetermined, I was told that they are sure of 627 having been registered through the project. These are individuals that registered through their office. It was stated by one of the individuals that the actual count is closer to 800 than 627 because they have reason to know that some 200 persons were registered in the Mobile program, but that an exact count was not kept because of the fact that most of the registered went directly to the office of the registrar and did not come through their office as the others did. I was told that there is good reason to expect that the results will pick up in the coming days for three basic reasons:

1) The new registrars have been sworn in and have had time to get adjusted to their work.

2) The number of volunteers are beginning to increase. (At the present time, there are about 30 volunteers, 8 to 10 of which show up for work each day).

3) The weather is beginning to improve.

I inquired into the amount of adult cooperation. It seems that the SNCC workers are getting as much cooperation as can be expected. The ministers are on a committee doing house-to-house canvassing. Rev. Ward, the director for the NAACP statewide drive is putting the minister's march together. The SNCC people expressed the view that Rev. Ward is willing to work, but does not possess any great organizing talent. I was pleased to find that the SNCC and NAACP personnel were working affectively together. I made an effort to see Rev. Ward, but found that he was out of town.

RTB Field Trips

I asked if there was a separate COPE drive and was told that there is not. It was said that if COPE is reporting registration results, it is reporting the results that SNCC is chalking up. Earl Davis has spent 4 days in Raleigh since Christmas, and about the same period of time before the holidays.

The SNCC people said that they did not have any knowledge of COPE putting any money in the city. However, COPE literature was very much in evidence. This was the only literature that I saw in quantity except the hand bills that the group had prepared.

I felt compelled to relate some short-comings in what I thought the group was doing. In the first place, I did not see enough planning to satisfy me that the group was doing all that it could to to involve the community in what it was trying to do. It also seemed to me that with Negro registrars, the number of people registered did not justify the period of time that the project has been in operation.

It appeared to me that it was a mistake to try to take the registrar house-to-house. I suggested that they might try locating the registrar in one central place and moving the people to the registrar. I got the feeling that this suggestion was accepted.

While I was in the office, Mr. Sanson, vice-president of the bank came in to pick up a precinct map which suggest that he was working with the group. I expect to visit the project again next week.

I expect that the project will be all right, and yet it is a long way from sophisticated, political organization that I would like to see and feel that North Carolina is ready for.

Attached hereto are copies of the official forms that are used in registering. These forms can be shown to citizens as canvassing is being done.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js
Attachments: Registration forms

SO YOU'VE TRIED EVERYTHING,

BUT, HAVE YOU TRIED REGISTRATION?

HAVE YOU TRIED REGISTRATION

SURE you have problems in your community about

STREETS (not paved, got holes)

STREET LIGHTS (not enough)

SCHOOLS (educations thatdon't get our kids better jobs)

BUT have you tried to get lights, streets, schools, etc. changed

by getting registered to vote?

REGISTER NOW!!!

Join with the rest of Raleigh in the REGISTRATION CRUSADE

(we will register you on your block beginning)
Monday, Feb. 3, 1964 from 6:30 'til 9:30

REGISTER TODAY FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

OPERATION REGISTRATION
325 E. Cabarrus St.
832 2342

INFORMATION ABOUT VOTING REQUIREMENTS

1. You must be a citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization.
2. You must be 21 years of age by the date of the general election.
3. You must be a resident of the state ONE YEAR and of the precinct for 30 days prior to the election.
4. You must be of sound mind and able to read and write in the English language any section of the Constitution.
5. You must be legally registered.
6. Once registered, you need not register again before each election, so long as you vote fairly regularly.
7. You must be reinstated after a felony conviction.

You may register at the Wake County Board of Elections in the county court house weekdays between the hours of 8:30 A.M. and 5:30 P.M. all during the year: at the home of the registrar of your precinct by appointment: and at your precinct polling place several Saturdays prior to some elections.

DATE _____

Canvasser _____

Address _____

Street Canvassed _____

NAME	ADDRESS	REG.	NOT REG	NOT HOME

WAKE COUNTY CONSOLIDATED REGISTRATION

CAPITAL PRINTING CO., RALEIGH, N. C.

MCM F71777-62

AFFILIATION	TOWNSHIP	PRECINCT	REGISTRAR — DO NOT WRITE ABOVE — FOR BOARD ONLY

VOTING RECORD: (INSTRUCTIONS: AS ELECTOR VOTES, RECORD FACT OF VOTING WITH LETTER "X" IN THE PROPER SPACE BELOW)

YEAR	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
PRIMARY ELECTION																											
GENERAL ELECTION																											
CITY PRIMARY																											
CITY ELECTION																											
OTHER ELECTION																											

REGISTRATION DECLARATION MADE UNDER OATH BY ELECTOR

MR. MRS. MISS LAST NAME (PRINT)	CHRISTIAN NAME (PRINT)	MIDDLE NAME OR INITIAL (PRINT)	AFFILIATION

RESIDENCE STREET OR ROAD (PRINT)	POST OFFICE ADDRESS AND ZONE (PRINT)	CHALLENGED	AGE	COLOR	SEX MALE OR FEMALE

NATIVITY — PLACE OF BIRTH	DATE OF APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION			MISC.
	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	

I HAVE TAKEN THE REGISTRATION OATH AND LIKEWISE SWEAR THAT THE FOREGOING INFORMATION IS TRUE

	OATH ADMINISTERED BY:
SIGNATURE OF ELECTOR	SIGNATURE OF REGISTRAR

ADDRESS CHANGES						PARTY AFFILIATION CHANGES		
TOWNSHIP	PRECINCT	ADDRESS	POST OFFICE	DATE	ENTERED BY	AFFILIATION	DATE	ENTERED BY

REMARKS

AFFILIATION	TOWNSHIP	PRECINCT	REGISTRAR—*Do not write above—For Board only*

LAST NAME Mr. Mrs Miss	CHRISTIAN NAME	MIDDLE NAME OR INITIAL

RESIDENCE STREET OR ROAD	POST OFFICE ADDRESS & ZONE	AGE	COLOR	SEX

PLACE OF BIRTH	DATE OF APPLICATION OF TRANSFER		
	MONTH	DAY	YEAR

I hereby certify that I have removed my residence from ..... Street, Town of ....., Precinct No. ....., ... Township, County of Wake, North Carolina, to the above address. I have this day applied for registration before the undersigned registrar of this Precinct where I now reside, and I hereby authorize the Board of Elections to cancel and void my registration in the former Precinct, and make proper entry of transfer to and registration in the proper Precinct of my present residence. I have sworn to the foregoing and have again taken the registration oath.

	OATH ADMINISTERED BY
SIGNATURE OF ELECTOR	REGISTRAR—BOARD MEMBER

WAKE COUNTY REGISTRATION TRANSFER CERTIFICATE

A VOTELESS PEOPLE IS A POWERLESS PEOPLE

Do You Want:

1. Improved housing
2. Better schools for your children
3. Better jobs and pay
4. Better streets: paved, more street lights and sidewalks?

Then Register To Vote:

1. If you are a citizen of the United States.
2. If you are 21 years of age, or will be 21 by November, 1964.
3. If you have lived in North Carolina for at least one year and in your precinct for 30 days.
4. If you are able to read and write.

Then You Can Register To Vote.

Come or call Operation Registration for information or help in getting registered.

325 East Cabarrus St.

Raleigh, North Carolina

832-2342

WB

February 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO BEAUFORT AND CHARLESTON, S. C.
(Emancipation Proclamation Celebration)

January 1, I visited Beaufort, South Carolina, to participate in their Emancipation Proclamation Celebration as the principal speaker. The program was preceeded by a street parade from the city to Beaufort's St. Helena Island. There were about 70 decorated cars in the procession. It was estimated that this was the greatest celebration that had been held in quite some time. A copy of the program and an outline of my remarks is here attached. The "we are here in spite of" emphasis in the speech was an effort to take advantage of a traditional newsday approach set in motion by the Baptist church many years ago. The general reception was good.

I drove back to the city and Charleston, South Carolina. That very next day, I discussed with Mrs. Bernice Robinson, field director of the First Congressional District, regarding the importance of organizing at the precinct levels.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachments:
RTB speech
Program

RTB Field Trips

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION CELEBRATION

Beaufort, South Carolina

January 1, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen, Charles Washington is an old friend of mine. I have known him for many years. Wash, I remember from around Howard University as a cool, deliberate scholar of the law. He, unlike many of our colleagues, elected at the end of his studies, to come back to this southland of ours to serve you. He could have found success in any one of the fifty states.

I want to ask you to take care of him, have faith in him. He has a wife and some children out there somewhere. Take care of them, too. A man like Charles E. Washington - so warm, so kind, so moral, and so very able, would be hard to find anywhere.

I want you to know I sincerely appreciate you inviting me here to participate in your program. You do me great honor. Great things are being done, important changes are being effected in this area, perhaps even greater than you realize. I enjoy being identified with what you are doing.

As I stand here, having heard your fine music, and now looking over the handsome audience, my first reaction is to say, "Well, we are here. We are here after more than 225 years of slavery and 100 years of legalized freedom." Ladies and gentlemen, the Negro people have a proud tradition. Theirs is an enviable record, and one of which they have no reason to be ashamed. Though far from their ancestral home, and always the victims of shameless hyprocrisy and revolt-

ing barbarity, we are here and we are stronger than we have ever been in all this long course of history. James Weldon Johnson said it, "We have come..." Langston Hughes said it this way , "Life for me ain't been no crystal stairs..."

Ladies and gentlemen, we are here in spite of the fact that we have been worked without wages, our flesh lashed, our limbs loaded with iron chains. We have been hounded and hunted by dogs; we have been sold at auctions, our families set asunder, our flesh burned, and in many cases, starved in obedience and submission - but we are here. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, poets, authors, editors, We are building homes, constructing bridges, tilling the soil, searching the outer space, moving, thinking, planning, and confessing, and worshipping the Christian God.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are here this afternoon.

Now, this is an Emancipation Proclamation celebration. It is proper that we should be so assembled on this day. When Mr. Lincoln signed this great document, he set in motion many forces that took their embodiment in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, when the Congress wrote: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and the state wherein they reside; no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor denied the equal protection of the law." This amendment and the Proclamation, therefore, legimized for those who needed it, that which had already been made legal by the laws of nature and by God

Almighty.

Now, I have not come to Beaufort this afternoon to proclaim the freedom of the Negro people. I have come to say that the Negro people are not now, and never have been free. The Proclamation and the amendment left the Negro landless, without the right to free movement, and without the right to vote. It is true that these documents freed Negroes from the individual masters - but it left them slaves of society. These documents did not deprive the slave master of the power of life and death in the courts and in the streets. This power of life and death is the heart and soul of the master/slave relationship. Even the few allies that the Negro people have been able to pick up have in many instances been too ready and willing to point out the advantages of going slow. I tell you, after more than 300 years of going slow, anyone that suggests such a thing sounds to me just as rediculous as a man trying to justify telling a mother who sees her baby dying not to cry, or a man who sees his house on fire to sound the alarm mildly. I shall not labor this point further. You know the evidence as well as I do. We must not dwell too long on the past. We must think of today and plan for tomorrow.

This is a time when Negro people must be as wise as owls, as cunning as snakes, and as kind as doves. I know that this is a big order.

There is lost ground that must be regained; there is much planning ahead yet to be done.

Just one example: Less than 100 years ago, many Negro men sat

among the lawmakers of South Carolina. A great service was rendered the state at that time. They set up the first real system of public schools, established decent criminal law, provided for the protection of farmer's rights and protected them against unreasonable taxation. Now, I know the history books don't say this. But we didn't write those books. You must remember that if monkeys wrote history books, they would no doubt say that people swing from trees.

We must return to those days - days when men were elected because of what they stood for, rather than because of the color of their skin. We must regain this lost ground and plan for the future.

America now stands at an historic crossroad. Down one road lies hope, and down the other, disaster. If she does not choose the right road, there may not be a second chance. The time is at hand, today, now, at this very moment, for white Americans to understand that all the hopes that it has for a decent, peaceful, fruitful life for themselves and their children is dependent upon the freedom of all Americans.

The time is now for America to understand that we have in public office the Thurmonds, the Eastlands, the Talmadges, the Russells, the Ervins, the Barnetts, and the Wallaces because we allow them to be there.

The time is now for the federal government to understand that we, the Negro people, know that there is much that it can do that it has not done to bring about a decent life for Negroes in the southland.

The time is now for white America to understand that the Negro wants only what the downtrodden have always wanted, and what a majority of Americans want today - a decent place in which to live, an income sufficient to feed and clothe his family, access to an education for his children, freedom from calculated insults, and a realistic hope for a better world.

This is the American dream.

Lyndon Johnson said in his first presidential speech, "I can not bear this burden alone." Well, I say the Negro people cannot, either. It has been the Negro people ~~that~~ who have raised their voices in every decade of our history in the defense of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Can America fail to understand what the front pages of the newspapers have been saying this entire year?

Can Americans fail to understand that the Negro has demonstrated, faced police dogs, tear gas, shotguns, vermin-infested jails, and even death because they have seen no other way to call this society's attention to that which it must do - if it is to endure.

This is what the struggle is all about. We cannot dodge the issue.

Those who profess to favor freedom and yet oppose agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

And now, I must say to my friends of the Penn Community Center, you have made a tremendous contribution to this community. You have, in the span of time that you have labored here, ~~exed~~ earned immortality, and yet, this day demands of you a new orientation. It would appear that the time is at hand for you to consider adding to your work a program that will point the way for the white community. The questions must now be raised:

How many whites in Birmingham have protested the bombing of Negro property?

How many whites have protested the use of cattle prods, pistol butts, and visious dogs?

How many whites have protested the broken heads, broken bodies, and the broken lives incurred by Negroes in their quest for that fundamental of American citizenship - the freedom to vote?

These are crimes of but a few people. The mass of the white South has not yet spoken - and yet must help them learn to speak.

As Negro people, we must stand ready to unite with men of good will everywhere. Unity must be the watchword.

We must fight for unity of ideas, unity of sentiment, unity of institution, unity in which there is no North, no South, no East, no West, no black, no white - but solidarity of the nation.

The iron gate of our prison stands half open. One gallant united thrust can open it onto a land the like of which has never before existed. One gallant united thrust can open the gate to that land that we think of when we sing: My country tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee

I sing. Land where my fathers died----------

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

EMANCIPATION DAY PROGRAM

JANUARY 1, 1964 ST. HELENA HIGH SCHOOL

MISTRESS OF CEREMONY ..... Miss Jessie M. Green

MUSIC ..... Band

NEGRO NATIONAL HYMN ..... Audiance

SCRIPTURE ..... Edward B. Alston

PRAYER ..... Rev. C. Miller, Pastor,
Grace A.M.E. Church

WELCOME .....Mr. A. J. Brown
Advisor, Frogmore Branch NAACP

FREEDOM SONG ..... "GREAT DAY"

PROCLAMATION ..... Mrs. F. M. Mitchell, Sec.
First Congressional District

FREEDOM SONG ..... "SHALL NOT BE MOVED"

ST. HELENA HYMN ..... Audiance

PRESENTATION OF QUEENS ..... Mr. Roland Gardner

MUSIC ..... Band

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER ..... Attorney Charles Washington

SPEAKER ..... Mr. R. T. Blackwell
Director, Voter Education - South Carolina

RESPONSE TO SPEAKER ..... Mr. James Richardson
President, Beaufort County Voters League

MUSIC ..... Band

OFFERING

ANNOUNCEMENTS

We express sincere appreciation to the bands that participated: North District, Varnville, Robert Smalls and St. Helena.

BENEDICTION

WB

February 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

December 10, 1963, I arrived in Chattanooga, Tennessee, to review with the leadership there the NAACP voter registration project which began October, 1963. I went to the office of the project (601 East Main Street) and talked there with two ladies about the overall project. I was shown card files that they were keeping of individuals that call in indicating their willingness to go and register. I was also shown samples of literature being distributed, as well as advertisements being carried on radio and in the newspapers. I was able to determine that 2,694 people had been registered between October 28 and December 10.

I went from the office of the project to the office of Attorney William T. Underwood, the project director. I arrived in his office about 3:30 p. m., and left with him shortly thereafter to visit the two special registration stations that had been established in the Negro community for the enlisting of new voters. Both of the stations were quite active.

One of the stations was in the hands of a group that I was told has, for a number of years, worked as employees of various politicians. The other station, located in the Bethlehem Community Center, was the principal station and was in the hands of the NAACP people. I watched the operation from 4:30 to 8:30. There were several impressive things about what was going on. Among them:

1) Three registrars were kept busy for the entire period.

2) There was much that suggested the committee had planned carefully for the drive. Contact had been established with the unregistered. Two buses were busy picking up the unregistered.

3) It was most interesting to note that about half of the people registered walked to the registration station in spite of the fact that it rained the entire afternoon.

I went with Mr. Underwood to visit the non-NAACP registration stations. There was some feeling that the group in charge would not be as friendly as would be desired. However, we found the group quite free and open in their discussion. All of our questions were answered freely.

RTB Field Trip

I had the feeling that this attitude on the part of the persons operating this registration was due primarily to the way that Mr. Underwood approached them. I had noted earlier in the day that many of the people working with Mr. Underwood had been extremely critical of this group, knowing that this group was operating the registration drive principally because they had been hired by politicians downtown. This did not seem to be a matter of great concern to Mr. Underwood.

As I observed and listened to the conversation between Mr. Underwood and the ladies operating the registration stations, I had the feeling that real cooperation could be worked out between the two groups. The lady in charge of the station promised Mr.Underwood that she would make available figures indicating how many people she was successful in registering through her particular station.

After the registration books were closed, (about 8:30 p. m.) Mr. Underwood invited Fr.Hunter, Mr. C. B. Henderson, and myself to his office for a general discussion of voter registration. This afforded me an opportunity to raise several questions which I felt would be of value research-wise. I asked the group, among other things, what they said to citizens in an effort to motivate them to participate in the registration process. Fr. Hunter, responding to this question, said that he made it a point to talk with people about citizenship responsibility and first class citizenship, and good citizenship, and this kind of thing. I raised with him the question whether or not this wasn't middle class language, and didn't have any real significance to people who were concerned with the problems of making a living. Fr. Hunter indicated that the words "first class citizenship" had been used so much that they had come to mean, without explanation, the right to a decent living and a right to a good job; the right to equal employment, the right to equal education, and the like. "While I don't talk about these things specifically, these are the kind of things engendered in the minds of the people when I talk with them," he said. Mr. Henderson insisted that he made a point to talk about what could be expected as a result of participating in the election process. "I work at getting down to the meat-and-bread issues of life, rather than crouchin g the message in generalities such as first class citizenship."

Mr. Underwood offered the suggestion that he had found it effective to talk about special problems and special hard-core situations such as Jackson, Mississippi, Greenwood, and Birmingham. Being an attorney he said that quite often he pointed to a different kind of treatment in the courts and in city hall that could be expected.

I asked the group what problems they found in operating a registration drive. The answer to this question came in the form of a kind of leadership analysis. The language used was "old line" leadership and "new line" leadership.

Mr. C. B. Henderson, in responding to the question, suggested that he thought perhaps he was a part of the "old line" leadership. Mainly because when they say "old line" and "new line" they are generally talking about persons that have been in the community more than 15 years, and the "new line", of course, for those who have been in less than 15 years. Mr. Henderson also said that while he was a part of the "old line" leadership, in terms of years, he was certainly not "old line" in his attitude about Negro problems. He said that the "old line" leadership tended to measure Negro progress in the community in terms of what would have been possible 15 or 20 years ago, whereas the "new line" leadership tends to measure Negro progress in terms of what the Constitution and the laws of the United States hold. Mr. Henderson used as an illustration of this analysis the attitude taken by Mr. Mapp, president of the NAACP during the summer demonstrations in the city of Chattanooga. He suggested that Mr. Mapp had opposed these demonstrations and had in so doing, done the NAACP a great disservice.

He also suggested that there is a great tendency on the part of the "old line" leadership to not want to share the leadership with the young fellows in the community. Even though in most instances, the younger fellows are more able leaders than the "old line" leadership consists of. It was Mr.Henderson's feeling that the "old line" leadership would not at any time in the future, willingly share leadership in the community, but that this did not necessarily need to be a serious point for the reason that the "new line" leadership had gained the respect of the masses of people in the community as a result of the leadership it afforded during the summer. Mr. Underwood, in response to this same question, suggested that the main problem encountered in conducting the registration drive grew out of the fact that the NAACP representative, Mr. Patton, had not approached the setting up of a drive with the right attitude. Underwood said that Mr. Patton came in dictating what he would not tolerate and what he insisted upon having if the drive was to be conducted. I was told that Patton stated who could participate in the drive, and who could not participate. This attitude of Patton's had engendered considerable resentment on the part of local people.

I think I gained from what Mr.Underwood had to say, a feeling of great disgust with the handling of the funds for the operation of the drive. Mr.Underwood indicated several instances in which he felt that the drive could have been more effective had the funds available for the operation of the drive could have been more effective had the funds

available for the operation of the drive been made available to the directors of the drive in advance. He said that Mr. Patton had refused to release any money for the conduct of the drive in advance, and that he had also refused to state how much money was available for use in the drive. Underwood said he found himself unable to move with the freedom that he felt would be necessary in order to make the drive effective, suggesting that he was not willing to go out and contact for various services - printing, transportation, and the like, unless he knew very definitely that these expenses were going to be taken care of. I got the feeling that the three gentlemen would much prefer that in the future the drive be conducted directly through the local branch of the NAACP, or some other local organization and not be burdened with the national office or the regional director.

I also asked the three gentlemen what was the attitude of the personnel in the registrar's office. There seemed to have been general agreement that the persons on the Board of Elections might be considered cooperative. They seemed to have felt that cooperation was a recognition on their part of the fact that the Negro vote was rapidly becoming a matter worthy of consideration in the community. They did not feel that the Board's attitude reflected any general willingness on its part to cooperate, but rather a response to the possible influence that the Negro vote had gained in the county courthouse.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

February 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

On December 12, I visited Asheville, North Carolina, and talked with Mr. John Daily, an attorney there of some considerable number of years, and also a leader of the NAACP.

Mr. Daily's name had been supplied to me by Mr. Tinsley Spraggins. In supplying this name, Mr. Spraggins suggested that Mr. Daily had expressed to him some real interest in a registration drive in Asheville.

After I had introduced myself, Mr. Daily, with enthusiasm, expressed the desire and the need for a registration drive in Asheville, I asked him in response to this, what organizations might properly be contacted to carry on such a drive. He indicated in this connection that there is in the city of Asheville an NAACP chapter as well as a local citizen's association. Mr. Daily said that the NAACP branch had approximately 150 members, but rarely did more than 10 or 15 attend a meeting. He was quick to point out, however, that the entire membership generally supported whatever was decided by the small meetings. Mr. Daily also indicated that there was a good relationship existing between the NAACP and the citizenship association, and that he believed that good cooperation could be had from the citizens if a drive was commissioned by the VEP for this area. Mr. Daily did not, however, believe the membership of either organization would likely do house-to-house canvassing or the block work necessary to carry on the drive, but that possibly they could hire persons to do it, and if not, students could be invited into the community.

We talked in general about the various kinds of student groups that had been effective in voter registration. The Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the American Friends Association, and several others were mentioned. Mr. Daily expressed the willingness to have either one of these groups come in and assured me that the community would cooperate with the students should they decide to do work in Asheville. I indicated to Mr. Daily that the VEP always hopes and looks for some local persons to assume the role of general supervisor of the project, and asked in this connection if there was a person or group in the community that he thought might be willing to assume this responsibility. In this connection, Mr. Daily indicated that Mr. Ragland, a jeweler in the community, had

RTB Field Trips

been very effective in working with youth groups in the past, and that he might be willing to assume such a responsibility. However, he did indicate that Mr. Ragland had given very considerable of his time and effort to community projects at the expense of his business, and that he thought this might serve as a barrier to securing the services of Mr. Ragland.

I asked Mr. Daily if he would survey the community and see if he could find a person that would be interested in working in the program. I also asked him to give us a description of the community so that we could better determine whether or not Asheville was the kind of community that VEP would want to commission a drive. Outlining this report for him, I suggested that we would be interested in knowing the number of Negro citizens in the community, the number of white citizens in the community, the number of Negroes registered, the number of whites registered. I suggested that we would also want to know something of the history of registration and political activity over the past three years; something of the various organizations thatmight be expected to cooperate in such a drive. Mr. Daily indicated that he would prepare this report and get it in the mail to us sometime during the month of January.

I did not make an effort to talk with Mr. Ragland or the other individuals that had been suggested during the course of the conversation for the reason that it had begun to snow, and it was late in the evening and I thought perhaps I should leave for Atlanta rather than run the risk of being snowbound in Asheville.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

February 27, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO WILSON, NORTH CAROLINA

February 19, 20, and 21 were spent in the city of Wilson, North Carolina. This was the second visit in two weeks. The sign of relief that I indulged in upon my return to Atlanta was intended to express the idea that the ill-fated Wilson project is now looking up. The number of persons registered is now in excess of 550 as is reflected by the attached news article. The success of the previous week came largely as a result of a change in attitude rather than new procedures and organization established.

I spent the time of this trip working with the leaders of the group organizing for permanent operations. Among the things accomplished were:

1) All registered Negro citizens were entered on index cards.

2) These cards were classified by precincts, streets, and house numbers on streets.

3) Leaders were chosen for the precincts.

4) Precinct leaders were engaged in a discussion of the importance of following through with the selecting of street and block leaders.

In the early hours of my working with this group, I believe I sensed a feeling of indifference to what I was doing, but after the list was broken down and the group could see the value, I got the feeling that they were really with the program.

We were able to look at the cards and determine the streets that had very few registered. Plus the card served well to suggest who on each street should be contacted to act as street and block leader.

The group decided that it would not spend any more of the VEP grant until they had had another meeting to try to enlist the army of street and block workers.

Another meeting of the group was scheduled for Friday, February 28.

RTB Field Trips

On Saturday, I talked with Dr. Butterfield and Rev. Watkins about the fact that Rev. Watkins will be leaving the city of Wilson in a few days. The question, of course, was who would take the directorship of the project. They agreed that they would take this up at the next meeting, and assured me that a capable person would be secured for the job.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachment:
News article

Negro Registration Drive Falls Short Of Goal; Effort Extended

A campaign to double the number of registered Negro voters in Wilson County "has not come up to expectations" and will be extended one or two weeks.

Rev. T. A. Watkins, president of the Wilson Citizens Committee which is sponsoring the drive, said today the campaign will be continued, "although we're going to slow down some."

The drive, during which officials hoped Negro registration would be doubled to some 5,000 registered Negro voters, actually was scheduled to end yesterday.

However, during the first two weeks of the drive, 505 Negroes registered, about 2,000 less than the committee's goal.

The drive started with a $1,500 grant from the Voter Education Program in Atlanta, "and we have not used all of our funds yet," Rev. Mr. Watkins said.

The Board of Elections, to accommodate the sudden deluge in registrations since the "Little Federal" plan was killed at the polls on January 14, has accepted registrations during lunch time and late in the afternoon.

"We can not do this any long[illegible]," Robert Griffin, chairman of the board, said. "We'[illegible] to have to observe office [illegible]

The Board of Elections is open five days a week, from 9-12 in the morning and from 1-5 in the afternoons. It is closed on Saturday and Sunday.

The only time the board is required to remain open later than its normal hours is the date that the books are closed for a pending election, which will be May 8 for the May Democratic primaries. Then it is required to accept registrations as late as 12 midnight.

Yesterday was the busiest day the Board of Elections has had since the "Little Federal" plan election, with a total of 83 persons registering. Of these, 78 were Negroes and five were whites.

Yesterday's total was not a single-day record, however. On several occasions on the last day the books were open before an election, there have been more than 100 persons to register.

Of the 505 Negroes who have registered since January 14, 290 registered this week. There have been 32 other registrations this week.

A breakdown of registrations for this past week is as follows: Monday—64 Negroes and five whites; Tuesday—38 Negroes and four whites; Wednesday, 42 Negroes and six whites; Thursday—68 Negroes and 12 whites; Friday—78 Negroes and five whites.

WB

February 27, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO FORT VALLEY, GEORGIA

On February 11, I visited Fort Valley, Georgia, and talked with Mr. T. A. Appling about the NAACP middle-county voter registration drive that he is coordinating. The drive is being conducted in the counties of Peach, Houston, Taylor, Crawford, and Macon.

Mr. Appling indicated that he was doing the best that he could, but that he was having difficulty finding individuals that could carry on effectively in each of the counties without supervision. Mr. Appling has given most of his time to Peach county - mainly in the city of Fort Valley.

In that county, it is estimated there are 5,000 whites and 1100 Negroes registered. In the city, the estimate is 2,700 whites and 666 Negroes.

The registration results seems to be moving along well. 220 persons had been registered on the preceeding Saturday, and 200 on the Monday preceeding my visit. It seemed to me that the motivation for the drive is founded in the fact that the sheriff killed a Negro man in jail very recently, and also the fact that Dr. Banks of the Fort Valley College staff has offered himself as a candidate for the city Aldermatic Board. The project is receiving very good cooperation from the students and community groups.

The books, I was told, will be closed February 26 for the city election that will be held March 11.

At the time of this visit, there did not appear to be any problems with the registration procedure.

Mr. Appling had strong objections to the way that the funds for the drive were being made available to them. It was contended that when the money is only let after the expenditures, there is a limit to what they can do. Illustrations were offered such as not having money to hire cars when needed, or to buy refreshments for students at the end of a canvassing period.

RTB
Field Director

RTB:js

RTB Field Mgr.

FOR A BETTER HOME TOWN
VOTE FOR AND ELECT

W. S. M. BANKS

ALDERMAN

CITY OF FORT VALLEY

SUBJECT TO THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF
THE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

YOUR VOTE AND SUPPORT WILL BE APPRECIATED

WB

February 27, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO TEXAS

January 7, I left Atlanta en route for Texas for a three-day visit of that area. The first stop was to be Houston.

I did not arrive in Houston until January 8 at 11:30 a. m. Weather conditions had made it necessary for the non-stop flight to Houston to stop at New Orleans, Louisiana. All flights out of New Orleans were cancelled until the next day.

This unexpected delay forced me to miss a mass meeting in Houston where I was to have been the principal speaker the evening before.

When I arrived in Houston, I was met at the airport by Mr. Keith Beecher, who drove me immediately to the hotel and from there to the office of Mrs. R. D. Randolph where I addressed a meeting of the Houston Wednesday Club. I think the name of the club and the very fact that this was a mid-week mid-day meeting suggest something of the nature of the group. (A summary of my remarks is attached to this report.)

After the meeting, I was introduced to several prominent citizens, the Dean of the Texas Southern Law School, and an assistant to the mayor. I was told that there were at least seven of Texas' millionaires in the group who contribute liberally to the group program.

Mrs. Randolph expressed some interest in my remarks about the need for concentrated effort to enlist more whites in the liberal group. We made an appointment to talk further about this the next day.

I spent the remaining part of the evening with Dr. Atkinson of the Texas Southern University, the predominantly Negro institution. Before coming to TSU, Dr. Atkinson was head of the Department of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin, Texas. We talked as we walked through the TSU Anthropology department. The tour of this department and the conversation were both extremely valuable experiences from the social research standpoint. Dr. Atkinson talked about the cultural barriers to mass involvement in political activity,

RTB Field Trips

particularly since 1930 from an anthropological standpoint. The theory set forth and the empirical evidence offered, I think, could be of some value to the final drafter of the VEP "Magnum Opus."

The next day, January 9, I met with Mrs. Randolph and a group of persons that work closely with her. We talked two hours about some of the implications of the recent trends in the civil rights movement. Especially those that go beyond the matter of public accommodations. We were in agreement that one of the things most lacking in the present civil rights movement is some concentrated effort to find avenues of communication between the low income white and Negro communities.

Mrs. Randolph shared with the group her successful experiences in bringing about this kind of thing. We agreed that part of the success that reactioner southern legislators have in getting elected is due to the fact that the poor white community is not voting. This is a point that V. O. Key also set forth in his book, "Southern Politics."

On the evening of January 8, I flew up to Austin and was met by Larry Goodwyn. We talked about six hours about the Coalition, the theory undergirding it, and the various stages in its development. In some cases, we were trying to access what had happened and in some cases, we were trying to speculate for the future. One of the problems that we considered was the problem of making the shift from the mass meeting stage to the serious organizational stage. The principal problem involved in this shift centered around the fact that the second stage, the organizational stage, would require different personnel. It seems almost without exception, that individuals that are good platform people are not the best organizers. This is true not only in voter registration, but in almost every kind of organization.

For the Coalition, this, of course, meant that many individuals that had been in the forefront of the Coalition in the early days when the team approach was widely used, would have to take a back seat to some other people in the second stage. Some feelings would, of course, be injured, and the objective had to be to reduce these injuries as much as possible. The best case in point was Mrs. Erma Leroy. A lady of great statue with Labor. We did a lot of theory building and finally decided that unless Mr. Durham thought it unwise, the money that Mrs. Leroy anticipated getting would be spent on some five or six individuals that were thought to have organizational skill; among them, the Rev. Thomas*, with whom we have corresponded from time to time.

A phone call was made to the office of Mr. Durham. Due to Mr. Durham's illness, Larry talked with Mr. Cunningham, who took the matter

*Rev. A. D. Thomas

up with Mr. Durham, and later indicated that Mr. Durham was in agreement with the idea of spending the moneh on the four or five organizers.

I later talked with Mr. Booker T. Bonner, Mr. Arthur DeWitty, and Miss Lenor Rolla in an effort to determine if there is any validity to the rumor about the possibility of the Negro leadership withdrawing from the Coalition. I was satisfied at the end of these conversations that the rumor was unfounded. (A separate memo will be prepared later that will shed light on this kind of thinking.)

In Austin, I also talked with Ray Evens of AFL-CIO about the Coalition, the Civil Rights movement, and recent events in national politics. During the course of this visit, I had an opportunity to view movies that COPE had prepared on the Coalition, and also borrowed a copy for showing in Atlanta. The movie had some basic shortcomings:

1. It tried to tell too much.
2. It was oriented to Labor to such an extent that it subtracted from its use with allied groups.
3. The role of Negro people was played down to the extent that it placed the idea of "Coalition" in question.

These points were noted. Evens said that a new film was being prepared and that it will remedy these shortcomings.

I reviewed with Larry his plans for the crash registration program. The part to be played by students, Lenor Rolla, and Peter Brandon down in El Paso. Most of what was said is included in Larry's outline to us.

I returned to Atlanta Saturday, January 11, 1964.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachment:
Wednesday Club remarks
1/7/64-Houston, Texas

January 15, 1964

OUTLINE OF WEDNESDAY CLUB REMARKS-HOUSTON, TEXAS, JANUARY 7, 1964

I am happy to be back in Texas. I was out here for the formation of the Coalition some few months ago. I said then that it was the greatest single political development taking place in the nation - and it still is. There is nothing to compare with it going on anywhere.

What you are doing is old enough in our history to allow you to have confidence in it, and yet young enough for you to find excitement and enthusiasm in it. This is true, regardless to what history will say about the outcome of your most recent poll tax election. Some will say you lost that election, but now, did you really?

Your efforts are in line with the finest tradition in all our history. I get a chance to talk with a lot of people across the South. I have spoken often of this great Texas experiment. People are greatly impressed and encouraged with your efforts. They see in what you are doing where they hope to be a few years from now. You are setting forth the example, and because you have done that so very well, you are in fact victors.

You are likewise victors in that you were able to force people to discuss the right to vote without artificial limitations. And then you are certainly victors in that you forced some public officials to take positions on this vital question that you know they would rather have not done so. But I feel that I must say that you are winning here in Texas and in the nation.

The precious right to vote is legitimate by every democratic tradition and by God Almighty. It is now being sought by people in this land as it has never been before, and it well be had. This is what your newspapers are saying when they report that Negro people are in the streets demonstrating. We have demonstrated because we have found no better way of making America realize that which it must do.

I have said that we will have this right. Many things point this up:

1. Mississippi Freedom Vote.
2. Alabama (Selma) Freedom Day.
3. Hamer trial.
4. White committees.

Texas must point the way - you must do this because you have had the experience.

Unity must be the guide word.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

WB

February 27, 1964

#B3

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO AMERICUS, GEORGIA (KOINONIA FARM)

On February 10, I went to Americus, Georgia, (Koinonia Farm), to participate in a workshop that was being coordinated by Mr. Conrad Brown of Highlander Center, and Mr. Vincent Harding of the Mennonite Society.

The intent of the workshop was to bring together the rural ministers of south Georgia to discuss their responsibility and role in the present civil rights struggle.

I was invited to talk about the history of the Negro people and the history of protest. It was expected that in doing this, I would illustrate from Negro folklore, point up the progression and continuity of protest, using mainly the spirituals and work songs. I think perhaps I was invited because of something I wrote several years ago. Such a discussion would, as requested, try to place the present emphasis on political participation in its proper prospective.

In essence, the presentation consisted of dividing the history of the Negro people since 1860 into five periods and then describing each period.

A sizable portion of the time was given to the period 1920-1940 in which we talk about the philosophies of Washington, Dubois, Garvey, and Miller. We played recordings and reacted to questions and remarks from the floor.

I got the feeling when it was all over (some 2½ hours), that many of the ministers had come to realize that they were prepared to do work in voter registration.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

RTB Field Trips

#BB WB

March 30, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO ALBANY, GEORGIA

On March 17, I visited Albany, Georgia, and visited with Mr. Willie Bolden, Mr. Slater King, and Rev. Wells, to examine the VEP sponsored drive that had been conducted from December 15 to March 15.

It was explained that the VEP grant was made available November 25, but the office did not open until December 26. Through the office and work of the Albany Crusade for Voters, twenty-five (25) Negro citizens were registered in December, eighty-five (85) in January, one-hundred eighty (180) in February, and eighty (80) in March.

Without reviewing the history of Albany, it will be recognized that the successes of these three months was quite different from the kind of success known to this area.

Two factors account, in the main, for the results of recent months. They are: The way the drive was conducted, and a change in the attitude of the city and county officials.

Looking first at the way the drive was conducted, we arrived at the conclusion that the leadership of the Crusade made it clear to the city officials and the Negro community, in as sober and temperate a fashion as possible, that it intended to conduct a registration drive.

The drive moved from the assumption of the right to vote belongs to every citizen, and that every citizen should and would want to do whatever he could to promote its success. It is significant that the drive was not crouched in threats, subterfuge, or fear of any kind. This assumption makes this drive unique and very important because almost without exception, threats, subterfuge, or fear have played a part in the planning of drives.

In conducting the drive, the Albany Crusade made use of every possible approach that it could conceive and afford. Radio and newspaper advertising, along with bumper stickers were widely used; individuals were used to carry signs on the street that urged citizens to regis-

ter; ministers preached sermons about registering.

The highlight of the drive period occurred January 11, 1964. The main event of the day was a registration parade that covered some twenty blocks and was observed by about 7,000 people. The participants in the parade were: Seventeen (17) business cars, twelve (12) cars from fraternities and sororities, one (1) float (Crusade of Voters), two (2) high school bands, and forty-five (45) walking sign carriers.

All signs in the parade urged registration and only registration. An invitation was extended to every segment of the community, including some non-Negro interests.

The parade cost about $200, and was paid for by the business community. The parade was followed on the same day by a mass meeting which concluded a registration "queen" drive and a speech by the Rev. James Bevel. The day was concluded with a barbeque. The barbeque provided some healthy socializing which focused on registration.

When asked what was the community's reaction to the parade, I was told that to the best of the leadership's knowledge, only one person did not think favorably of the parade. Dr. E. D. Hamilton, a friend of the Crusade, felt that it was taking voting out of the serious vein. Dr. Hamilton later came to admit that the parade had been effective. Teachers were very surprised and pleased to learn that permission had been given for the use of the public school bands. The community in general feels that the idea ought to be repeated at least once each year.

It appears that this open and frontal attack on the problem of low voting seems to have affected some favorable changes in official attitudes. Instead of resisting the efforts of the Crusade to register Negro citizens, the mayor gave his permission for the use of downtown public parks. The police department willingly accepted the request of the Crusade group to string registration signs across the street, one of which was quite visable from the heart of town; arrests of registration sign carriers were discontinued; the registrar discontinued his technical requirements in the area of identifications. The problem of time for registration was worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned. The board did not reinstate registration on Saturday, but did give Thursday from 5 to 7 p. m. to make up for the lost time.

The change in the attitude of officials, and the way the drive was conducted has caused a new awakening in the community. The teachers have found their place in it. They do much of the surveying through

their students. The much-critized ministers are preaching sermons on the subject of voting. SCLC-trained teachers are conducting classes (one of which I visited.)

The end of VEP sponsorship came quite untimely. The fruit of the ferment can just now be realized. Much of the advertisement is just now beginning to pay off. The organization of the community is just getting started. Six area chairmen have been chosen, but organization has not begun below this level. I encouraged the group to continue its organization and to pay its office rent on March 25 so as to keep things going.

Albany will most certainly be one of the communities that we will want to give deliberate research attention. The changes in approach and the changes in official attitudes are interesting and instructive. Here it appears is an example of a breakthrough in a hard-core area.

I therefore recommend:

1. That VEP make Albany the subject of specific research, not only in rejected participation, but political attitudes as well.

2. That the Crusade purchase a list of all Negro voters.

3. That the Albany Crusade be encouraged to undertake serious organization of the community.

4. That registration activity be stepped up.

5. That in order to accomplish this work, VEP make an immediate grant of $2,400 to be used for now until August 31, 1964.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Leave: 701 - 2:30 Monday
Return: 2244 - Midnight Tuesday.

M E M O R A N D U M April 4, 1964

TO: John Due
FROM: Wiley A. Branton

I want you to go to Jacksonville, Florida on Monday, April 6, and spend Monday and Tuesday in Jacksonville making a study of voter registration in Jacksonville. The books have now closed by I want you to make an objective study of the following problems:

1. What organizations have been active in voter registration in Jacksonville during the past five years? Get the names and addresses of the leaders.

2. What organizations have been active in voter registration during the past 90 days?

3. VEP made a grant to NAACP to conduct a program in Jacksonville and reports indicate that this was a successful drive. RTB made a field trip and his preliminary report shows that the successful effort in Jacksonville was due largely to a separate program operated by Phi Beta Sigma fraternity. Please check on the extent of both drives and their respective involvement in the community and try to determine the role played by each group.

See if you can determine the need for additional registration programs when the books reopen and since your report may influence the agency to which any future grant might be made it is important that you be objective and that you talk to as many people from different organizations as possible.

You should make inquiry as to the names of people who have been active in voter registration and politics and seek them out, but without limiting you as to the people you should see I think you should, by all means, see the following people:

1) Dr. - Edward Waters College

2) Emmanuel Eaves 353-2727
~~Emmanuel~~ " EL-46368
Emmanuel Eaves - P.O. 44494

3) Rutledge Pearson, President of Florida State Conference, NAACP.

4) Frank Hampton, President, Consumers League < GULF SERVICE STATION EL 5 8349 765-2707

5) Mrs. Queen Williams, Director of local NAACP program.

6) Mr. Ernest Lent, Director, Council on Human Relations
129 E. Forsyth St.
Jacksonville

You should check with RTB for additional names and check with BW to see if there is any specific information which she may want you to get.

<u>SPECIAL NOTE</u>: You are not to tell anyone that you are checking up to see who did the work in Jacksonville or that you are trying to determine what agency should get a grant in the future and your explanation should simply be that you are working for the Voter Education Project and that you are making a study of registration problems in the Jacksonville community. YOu should, however, inquire specifically as to the effectiveness of particular individuals and organizations in past registration programs. You should check with local NAACP people to see if you can determine the exact manner in which their program was set up and who came in from the national office, how the director was selected, what budget they had.

You should ask NAACP people to offer any criticism which they might have as to the way in which their own program was conducted but you should not, in any way, offer any criticism of anything that any person or agency has done.

If you feel that you need to stay over until Wednesday then ~~XXX~~ this will be all right, but you should check with the VEP office so that we will know how to get in touch with you.

7) Genevive Hughes PO 8 3061

S O C I A L A C T I O N C O M M I T T E E

Nu Beta Sigma Chapter

Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.
2313 Myrtle Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Busy Bee Saving Club
c/o Mrs. Gussie Jackson
307 Elm St.
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

As a phase of our Social Action program for the year 1964, the Nu Beta Sigma and the Gamma Pi Chapters of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc. have selected to work on Voters Registration in Duval County.

In selecting this project we have set up the following policies:

1. Our activities and our goals in this project shall be strictly non-political and non-partisan. We shall stay clear of all political issues and alignment.

2. Our main objective shall be to increase the number of Negro registered voters in Duval County.

3. We shall solicit the cooperation of every available individual, agency, organization and group to accomplish the objective.

We are all interested in our community and together we can work to improve our lot. Your suggestion and your aid will assure us success in this Drive.

Please sign the enclosed card and return it to us. With best wishes for a successful Drive, I am

Sincerely,

J. Irving E. Scott

J. Irving E. Scott, President
Nu Beta Sigma Chapter
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.

Asst - Director

JIES:vcg

Encl.

Jacksonville, Florida

Gentlemen:

We are interested in the Voters Registration DRIVE. The following person has been selected as our representative:

Name _____

Address _____ Phone _____

_____

Name of Organization

FILE JACKSONVILLE

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Director
Voters Registration Drive
2313 Myrtle Ave.
Jacksonville, Florida

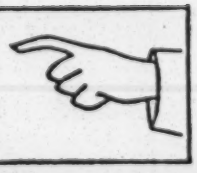
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.
2313 Myrtle Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

JACKSONVILLE
JAN 22
5 30PM
1964
FLA.

Busy Bee Saving Club
c/o Mrs. Gussie Jackson
307 Elm St.
Jacksonville, Florida

Reason for Non-Delivery

RETURN TO WRITER



JACKSONVILLE
JAN 23
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WB

April 7, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO FORT VALLEY, GEORGIA

On March 17, I visited Fort Valley, Georgia, to examine again the drive being conducted under the auspices of the NAACP. I was pleased with what I found. It was said that this was the best registration drive that the county has experienced.

This time, I spent my time with Dr. Stallworth, Dr. Banks, Mr. Acker, and two other persons. I did not meet with Mr. Appleton, the director of the drive on this trip. It was felt by some that the registration successes have been exaggerated a bit. There were no accurate records. Some of the men expressed the view that a better director could have been chosen, and yet none of them were prepared to set out any specific criticisms.

Dr. Stallworth offered the following statistics:

County Potential

White - 3,600 Negro - 4,500

Number Registered in the County

White - 2,300 Negro - 1,360

Number Registered in the City

White - 1,700 Negro - 990

The following criticisms of the drive were offered:

1. Limited money - only $155.

2. No certainty as to how much money could be spent.

3. Miss Hayes, field worker for NAACP, had been publicly critical of all other groups doing registration work.

I asked Dr. Stallworth if they had plans for continuing the drive after the election that was to be held the next day. He expressed the opinion that the work would be continued. He said, "I don't

know if we will ask NAACP again." I encouraged him to consider the fact that the present structure was NAACP, and that he might want to try to work out whatever problems that exist, rather than trying to start from the ground floor.

I talked with the group about the upcoming city election in which Dr. Banks was a candidate. I asked him how many votes had been polled by candidates during the last city election. It was answered that the lowest person elected received 696 and the highest got 809.

I asked if a list of all the registered voters (Negro) had been obtained. The answer was no. This, of course, meant that there was no card file, and very little organization in the way of systemized "Getting-Out-The-Vote."

I felt compelled to say to the group that they had a less than 50-50 chance of electing Dr. Banks with the present organization. I suggested that a card file and "Get-Out-The-Vote" personnel with specified assignments were absolutely necessary to political victory.

It was suggested that the chances of victory could be increased to 90-10 if they would sit some people down to even at that late hour, and develop the card file, make "Get-Out-The-Vote" assignments, and appoint some poll workers.

(A report made to VEP reflects that an effort was made to follow all of the suggestions except the one on poll-watchers.)

Dr. Banks lost a seat by fifteen (15) votes.

RTB

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

April 7, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: FIELD TRIP TO WILLIAMSTON, NORTH CAROLINA

On March 27, 1964, I visited Williamston, North Carolina, and talked with Mr. Golden Frinks about his plans for registration in eastern North Carolina.

On the evening of my arrival, Mr. Frinks was quite busy with demonstrations. Some forty (40) individuals were down from the East, mostly Amherst College divinity students.

In the midst of planning to house the arrivals, and keep a record of those that had been jailed, and those that would likely be jailed, I was able to get Mr. Frinks out for an hour of conversation.

Mr. Frinks pointed out that his hope included work in eleven eastern North Carolina counties. The counties in question are Northampton, Gates, Hertford, Bertie, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Washington, Terrell, Beaufort, Chowan, and Martin. It was explained by Mr. Frinks that there is some kind of registration activity going on in every county. In the counties of Chowan and Martin, canvassers have contacted more than 400 individuals each.

I was very favorably impressed with what appeared to be Mr. Frinks' skill in handling a situation with a lot of unrelated problems. It seemed that everybody was relying on him and that they had great respect for his decisions. Mr. Frinks was not able to spell out any well-organized program. I am not even sure that all of these areas are organized. The very best that he was able to do was name a few individuals.

I asked Mr. Frinks in what way he felt that VEP could be of help to him in getting the registration work that he hoped to do done. He indicated that the people that he is working with are among the poorest in the state and that he would be able to make good use of any money that is made available to him - giving token contributions to the people that canvass. He also suggested that he needs money for transportation and secretarial help.

The counties, excepting Edgecombe, that Mr. Frinks has expressed an interest, are counties that are not being seriously considered by any other group, not even the NAACP statewide program. All of them fall within what is known as North Carolina's "Black Belt." Seven of the counties have at least 50% Negro population.

Mr. Frinks promised that he would place before VEP a plan and a budget. If this plan and budget is realistic when received, I favor favorable action regarding same.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB

April 7, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA (HALIFAX AND WARRENTON COUNTIES)

It is reasonable to expect that visitations to and examinations of communities as an agent of VEP would be as objective and as impartial as possible; and yet, my heart goes out for the people of Warrenton and Halifax counties. In both communities, I found serious and able leadership trying to carry out the high purpose of democracy in the face of unbelievable odds and police brutality.

In Halifax, I was told that a curfew required that Negro people be off the street by 9 p. m. The marks of intimidation were as visable as the street signs. I was introduced to a boy that two police had held under high pressure fire hoses until blood burst from his forehead and the area around his eyes, during the course of public accommodations demonstrations this past summer. This was not an isolated case of inhumanity, and yet, I feel that registration successes can be realized.

A separate report on each area follows.

****

Give reports

HALIFAX COUNTY

Halifax County is a community located in Eastern North Carolina. It has a total pupulation of 58,000 citizens, 32,000 of which are Negroes. Some 14,000 white citizens are registered, and 1,600 Negroes. Racial prejudice and discrimination against Negro people is rampart, and poverty, so far as the total community is concerned, is an established fact. The community is largely agricultural, and is high on the state's priority list for "War on Poverty" consideration.

The Halifax Movement, which is headquartered in the Cofield Funeral Home, in the city of Enfield, North Carolina, has as its chairman, Mrs. A. C. Cofield. There are community organizations all over the county. In the Roanoke Rapids area, Mr. Garland Brown is the chairman of District 1, assisted by Mr. Johnnie Garner and Mr. Jasper Wilkins. Mr. A. C. Cofield is chairman of District 2, and is assisted by Mrs. Walter Neveille and Mrs. Pattie Taylor of Weldon and Mr. Salte Jenkins; Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Smith of Scotland Neck are chairmen of District 3 and are active in Palmyra. They are assisted by Mr. William Taylor of Connaconara, Mr. Fred Harrell of Roseneath, and Mrs. Blanch Brooks of Hobgood. Mrs. Arlene Gee of Enfield is chairman of District 4 and is assisted by Mr. Tyler Vaughn of Enfield. Mr. Billie Simmons and Mr. and Mrs. James Johnson of Faucetts, the Rev. E. M. Webster in Glenview and Hollister, Mrs. J. D. Johnson and Mrs. D. A. Manly of Littleton.

In Enfield, I talked with Mr. Reed Johnson, Mrs. Lillie Smith, and Mr. A. C. Cofield. It was a pleasure to find that they were moving along in the organized fashion that they are. The leadership in this community gave me every reason to believe that every serious effort possible will be made to get the job done. Local candidates will be offered as one way of stimulating interest.

I am satisfied that the group has some real understanding of what they want to do, and that they are not likely to come up with any imprudent actions. (Note the Table of Events attached.)

I talked with the group about the NAACP concern in the area, and was told that they had tried, over a long span of time, to get help from NAACP,but had not been successful, and that they had felt compelled to ask NAACP to stay out because they were sure that NAACP intended to stand between them and any help that they might be able to get from other sources. The group did accept a check for $50 and $3 worth of stamps from NAACP.

In response to your memo about how to avoid SCEF involvement, I can state that it is a fact that John Salter is in and out of the community from time to time. It is also true that Miss Ella Baker is well acquainted with the people of the community in that this is her native community. (She learned somehow that I had been in, and called to ask how the community was doing - she told me that that was the community she grew up in.)

Mr. Salter, I understand, was very helpful to Mr. Moses Riddick of Suffolk, who is very respected by the people of Enfield. This makes the SCEF problem difficult. However, I think we can take great comfort in the fact that the Enfield leadership is very strong and capable.

The attached budget is one that was submitted by the Halifax Movement to the state NAACP at the request of Mr. John Edwards. No action was taken on the budget.

Attachments

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WARRENTON COUNTY

On March 26, I visited Warrenton, North Carolina, and talked with Atty. Theaoseas Clayton, and his wife about registration work in the community.

Mrs. Clayton has communicated with VEP several times before and is well known to us. All of the things that she has said in her various communications were confirmed by this visit.

Mrs. Clayton has, for some time, been a very loyal NAACP worker. I was interested in her appraisal of the NAACP statewide program. Mrs. Clayton said to me that there was not much to be expected of the program. Her remarks question the seriousness of the state president of branches. Mr. Clayton was even more critical.

Much of the attitude seemed to stem from a feeling of lack of concern of the state officers in the past. I am sure that Mrs. Clayton wanted VEP to bypass the NAACP program and deal with her local community, and yet, she did not say this. She did ask if it could not be done. Here is a real case of the Association risking the loss of a person that can be of real help. Both of the Claytons hold the view that if assistance does not come direct, they will not get it.

It was my pleasing experience to go with Mr. Clayton to one of several house meetings that she is conducting. The instruction in registration procedure was very well done. I know that people were benefitted by this. The work there is of a nature that I feel that we will surely want to be identified with.

I recommend that we make a grant to this area as soon as possible.

R. T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

The following is the basic structure of program activity for the Halifax County voter registration campaign through the primary election of May 30, 1964. A separate program will be worked out for summer voter activity -- and another program for fall voter activity.

The program that herewith follows is merely the basic structure. Many other affairs, which aren't listed, will be conducted on a day-to-day basis as time allows.

This official, basic program structure is for the use of the District Chairmen, their various Precinct Chairmen -- and, of course, the County Chairman and the staff members and key volunteer workers. The official program listing is not intended for general distribution.

** ** **

Monday, March 23: District 4 mass meeting - Enfield (Note: The District Chairman in the district involved will select the location of the mass meeting, and the time it will be held, and will attend to its advertising.)

Tuesday, March 24: District 1 mass meeting -- Roanoke Rapids
Wednesday, March 25: District 2 mass meeting - Weldon
Thursday, March 26: District 3 mass meeting - Scotland Neck
Monday, March 30: voter class in Precinct 4 of Roanoke Rapids (Dist. 1) (Note: Each precinct chairman will select the location of the voter registration class, and the time, and will attend to its advertising.)
Tuesday, March 31: voter class in Weldon (Dist. 2)
Wednesday, April 1: County mass meeting - Weldon (Note: The County Chairman and the District Chairman involved will select the location of the mass meeting, and the time it will be held, and will attend to its advertising.)
Thursday, April 2: voter class in Scotland Neck (Dist. 3)
Friday, April 3: voter class in Enfield (Dist. 4)
Sunday, April 5: District 3 mass meeting in Scotland Neck
Monday, April 6: voter class in Precinct 5, Roanoke Rapids (Dist. 1)
Tuesday, April 7: voter class in Halifax (Dist. 2)
Wednesday, April 8: voter class in Conoconnara (Dist. 3)
Thursday, April 9: voter class in Fawcetts (Dist. 4)
Friday, April 10: voter classes in precincts 4-5, Roanoke Rapids (Dist.1)
Sunday, April 12: Dist 1 mass meeting in Roanoke Rapids
Monday, April 13: Voter class in Weldon (Dist. 2)
Tuesday, April 14: voter class in Palmyra (Dist. 3)
Wednesday, April 15: voter class in Hollister (Dist. 4)
Thursday, April 16: voter class in Halifax (Dist. 2)
Friday, April 17: voter class in Roseneath (Dist. 3)
Sunday, April 19: Dist. 4 mass meeting in Enfield
Monday, April 20: voter class in Glenview (Dist. 4)
Tuesday, April 21: voter class in Weldon (Dist. 2)
Wednesday, April 22: voter class in Hobgood (Dist. 3)
Thursday, April 23: voter class in Butterwood (Dist. 4)
Friday, April 24: voter class in Enfield (Dist. 4)
Sunday, April 26: Dist. 2 Mass Meeting in Weldon
Monday, April 27: voter class in Scotland Neck (Dist. 3)
Tuesday, April 28: voter class in Littleton (Dist. 4)
Wednesday, April 29: voter class in Halifax (Dist. 2)
Thursday, April 30: voter class in Enfield (Dist. 4)
Friday, May 1: Leadership Meeting - Enfield (all county leaders)
Saturday, May 2: FIRST DAY OF REGISTRATION
Sunday, May 3: County Mass Meeting in Weldon
Monday, May 4: Dist. 4 Leadership Meeting in Enfield
Tuesday, May 5: Dist. 1 Leadership Meeting in Roanoke Rapids
Wednesday, May 6: District 2 Leadership Meeting in Weldon
Thursday, May 7: District 3 Leadership Meeting in Scotland Neck
Friday, May 8: Leadership Meeting in Enfield (all county leaders)
Saturday, May 9: SECOND SATURDAY OF REGISTRATION
Sunday, May 10: County Mass Meeting in Scotland Neck

Monday, May 11: Dist. 4 leadership meeting in Enfield
Tuesday, May 12: Dist. 1 leadership meeting in Roanoke Rapids
Wednesday, May 13: Dist. 2 leadership meeting in Weldon
Thursday, May 14: Dist. 3 leadership meeting in Scotland Neck
Friday, May 15: Leadership Meeting in Enfield (all county leaders)
Saturday, May 16: THIRD ~~N~~ SATURDAY OF REGISTRATION
Sunday, May 17: County Mass Meeting in Roanoke Rapids

Monday, May 18: District 1 classes for registered voters (District Chairman and his Precinct Chairmen will set these up and advertise them)
Tuesday, May 19: District 2 classes for registered voters
Wednesday, May 20: District 3 classes for registered voters
Thursday, May 21: District 4 classes for registered voters
Friday, May 22: Leadership Meeting in Enfield (all county leaders)
Saturday, May 23: "CHALLENGE DAY" AT THE POLLS
Sunday, May 24: County Mass Meeting in Enfield
Monday, May 25: classes for registered voters Dist. 1
Tuesday, May 26: Dist. 2 classes for registered voters
Wednesday, May 27: Dist. 3 classes for registered voters
Thursday, May 28: Dist. 4 classes for registered voters
Friday, May 29: Leadership Meeting in Enfield (all county leaders)
Saturday, May 30: VOTING DAY - PRIMARY ELECTION
Sunday, May 31: County Mass Meeting in Weldon

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Additional Notes:

1. Whenever possible, District Chairmen will meet -- as has been the practice -- in Enfield each Wednesday morning. The County Leadership meetings, which begin on May 1, will include all county leaders -- as well as the Dist. Chairmen.

2. The registration books are open each week -- from May 2nd to May 23 -- for prospective voter registrants -- if they can find the registrar at home or in his place of business and if he feels disposed to register. Our heavist registration will be on the three Saturdays (May 2, 9, and 16) and strategy will be worked out for the weekdays.

3. Mass "Freedom Marches" to the polls to register will be worked out for the registration ~~xx~~ Saturdays in various areas throughout the County.

4. Many publications are currently being prepared and, to cite a few examples, there will be: (1) written instructions on how to register and vote -- for mass distribution; 'canvass sheets' for each family -- one of which will be kept by the District Chairman and one of which will be kept for the Precinct Chairman ~~xxxxx~~ in whose precinct the family lives; a list of registrars and their addresses for the whole County area -- for mass distribution. There will be many other publications.

5. Economic boycotts will be instituted in several areas within the next few weeks -- designed to open up segregated facilities and to improve hiring and promotion practices.

6. Books, food and clothing -- when available -- will be given to each Dist. Chairman He will dispense them out in his area.

~~7.~~

7. Staff Members and volunteer workers will be available for all District Chairmen and Precinct Chairmen who need them. (Staff people and volunteer workers will be conducting the classes but will be available and 'on call' whenever needed at all times of day and night.

8. Every effort must be made by everyone to involve as many youth and adults in the Halifax voter project. We are going to need all of the workers that we can get.

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

HALIFAX COUNTY

TWENTY PRECINCTS DIVIDED INTO FOUR DISTRICTS

COUNTY CHAIRMAN

Mr. A. C. Cofield

LIAISON MAN

DISTRICT # 1	DISTRICT # 2	DISTRICT # 3	DISTRICT # 4
Chairman: Mr. Garland Brown	Chairman: Mr. A. C. Cofield P.O. Box 72, Weldon, N. C.	Chairman: Mr. & Mrs. C. J. Smith P. O. Box 68, Scotland Neck, N. C.	Chairman: Mrs. Arlene Gee ~~Rt. 3-A45, Enfield, N. C.~~
Roanoke Rapids			
#1	Weldon: Mrs. Walter Neville	S. Neck Mr. C. J.Smith	Enfield ~~Mrs. Arlene Gee~~ Mr. Tylex Vaughn
#2	Halifax Mr. Salte Jenkins	Connaconara Mr. William Taylor	Faucetts Mr. Billie Simmons Mr. & Mrs. James Johnson
#3		Palmyra Mr. C. J. Smith	Hollister Rev. E. M. Wester Rt. 2 Box 168B, Enfield
#4 Mr. Johnnie Garner		Roseneath Mr. Fred Harrell	Glenview Rev. E. M. Wester
#5 Mr. Jasper Wilkins Littleton Rd.		Hobgood Mrs. Blanch Brooks	Butterwood Mrs. J. D.Johnson Star Rt, Box 44, Littleton
#6			Littleton Mr. & Mrs. Johnson Mr. D. A. Manly, Box 326 Littleton, N. C.
#7			

ADVERTISING MAN

NEWSPAPERS: HERALD, COMMONWEALTH, NEWS, PROGRESS

TV COVERAGE: CHANNELS 5, 7, 9, 11

RADIO: ROANOKE RAPIDS, ROCKY MOUNT, TARBORO, SCOTLAND NECK.

Mr. Vernon Lyles
Hoeline, NC

II. Budget

A. CRASH PROGRAM #1 (March 7 to May 30):

1.	Leaflets, including sample ballots	$350.00
2.	Office Supplies, including mimeo paper etc.	50.00
3.	Postage	350.00
4.	Secretary	250.00
5.	Telephone Calls	300.00
6.	Transportation (chiefly gasoline)	700.00
7.	Miscellaneous	100.00
		$2,100.00

B. INTERIM PERIOD (June 1 to September 1):

1.	Leaflets	$250.00
2.	Office Supplies	50.00
3.	Postage	175.00
4.	Telephone Calls	200.00
5.	Transportation	400.00
6.	Miscellaneous	75.00
		$1,150.00

C. CRASH PROGRAM #2 (September 1 to November 5):

1.	Leaflets	$300.00
2.	Office Supplies	50.00
3.	Postage	350.00
4.	Secretary	300.00
5.	Telephone	300.00
6.	Transportation	600.00
7.	Miscellaneous	100.00
		$1,800.00

Notes:

a. We are attempting to secure three (3) trained, full time voter organizational field workers -- particularly during the two crash programs and, hopefully, for the whole campaign. Their room and board costs would be minimal: approx. $10.00 per week for each worker. When they arrive, or when we know their definite time of arrival, we shall submit a separate budget-requisition for the workers.

b. Office space throughout the county available at no cost.

c. We need a mimeograph machine -- at least on a long-term loan basis.

(Mrs.) Lillie Cousins Smith ------ A. Reed Johnson

CANVASS QUESTION SHEET: Each family is to be listed on both Section #1 and Section #2

Section #1 (give to District Chairman)

Family Name: _____ Members over 21: 1. _____

Mailing Address _____ 2. _____

Telephone: _____ 3. _____

Registered? Yes___ No____ Will Register? _____ 4. _____

Need a Ride? _____ 5. _____

Employer _____ Registration District _____

What Church Does Family Belong To? _____

What Church Does Family Live Nearest To? _____

Other Information _____

_____

Registration-Voter Worker _____ Worker's Address: _____

Section #2 (give to Precinct Chairman)

Family Name: _____ Members over 21: 1. _____

Mailing Address _____ 2. _____

Telephone: _____ 3. _____

Registered? Yes___ No____ Will Register? _____ 4. _____

Need a Ride? _____ 5. _____

Employer _____ Registration Distict _____

What Church Does Family Belong To? _____

What Church Does Family Live Nearest To? _____

Other Information _____

_____

Registration-Voter Worker _____ Worker's Address _____

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTER WORKER: Give Section 1 of this sheet to District Chairman and Section 2 to the Precinct Chairman -- in whose area the family resides. Or, give the sheet to the Precinct Chairman and he will give Section 1 to the District Chairman. ALSO: Tell the family about the voter meetings being held in their area.

ONE MAN ---------- ONE VOTE

WBB
BWN
JD

May 11, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to South Carolina May 4, 5, and 6 to: North Augusta, Orangeburg, Manning, Sumter, Florence, Camden, Columbia, and Saluda

Any time spent in the state of South Carolina is time well spent in view of the real possibility of increasing the voting strength of the Negro people. This statement is especially true now that there are voter registration organizations in each of the six congressional districts of the state.

The field trip that is the subject of this report was occasioned by the need to work out some problems that seemed to be developing between the Fifth Congressional District leadership and the representative of CORE.

The first stop was made in North Augusta where I talked with the Rev. S. L. McCain. Rev. McCain lives out in the rural district, and it was no simple matter to find him. Almost from the beginning of our conference, I was impressed with the Rev. McCain's sincere dedication to the task of voter registration. He is a man of limited formal training, and yet I feel certain of his ability to get the job done. He indicated that the Third Congressional group had succeeded in involving only four counties (Edgefield, McCormick, Saluda, and Newberry), but that they had obtained the services of a field man, and that he was engaged in the business of drawing in the other counties.

Rev. McCain indicated that the group had held three meetings since the meeting in Columbia, and that registration work is underway in each county. It was especially important to receive the report that registration work was proceeding in McCormick, an area that has generally been held to be impossible.

Rev. McCain persuaded me to go over to Saluda and talk with Mr. Charles Daniels, the field man, whom I had met at the SCLC conference about two or three weeks before.

In Orangeburg, I talked with Rev. I. D. Newman and Dr. Charles Thomas. The three of us talked about the Second Congressional District and agreed that the work was proceeding at a favorable pace as reflected by the reports received. We spent some time talking about the entire

state effort. I was pleased to hear Rev. Newman say that the organization that now existed in the state is much superior to anything that has ever existed before in the state to his knowledge. Rev. Newman at the time was comparing the South Carolina Voter Education Project with the now-defunct Progressive Democratic Association, and the Palmetto Voters League. As the conversation unfolded, it was agreed this was now the time to hold a statewide meeting. Such a meeting had been proposed before, but had been discouraged for the lack of statewide organization. The feeling was that such a meeting should and could now be held. It was decided that the meeting should be held on May 30, 1964, in the city of Columbia; that Rev. Newman would obtain the largest church auditorium in that city; that RTB would obtain the services of WB as the principal speaker for the evening public meeting.

It was the thinking that an early evening session should be devoted to problems of running for public office at which all of the men that offered themselves for office in 1964 would sit and discuss their mistakes and what they had learned. It was also felt that the various precincts, county, and district leaders should get together and talk about the problems of voter registration in general.

It was agreed that this should be done up in the very best order, as a way of serving notice on all public office aspirants that there is a Negro vote worthy of consideration.

All of these plans were understood to be tentative. It was felt that they could only be worked out when the six district chairmen met together. Such a meeting was planned for May 9, 1964, at Faith Hall, Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina. I agreed to take the message to the other district leaders.

May 11, 1964

In Sumpter, I visited with Mr. Ed Brown and Mr. Frank Robinson. In this regard, we were interested in checking to see how these men viewed their relationship with the Fifth Congressional District leaders in light of the fact that Mr. Haile had indicated some displeasure with these individuals as district coordinators.

Mr. Robinson was, as usual, emphasing what people will not do rather than what they will do. Robinson contended that Mr. Haile is a "Johnny Come Lately" to voter registration, seeking only an increase in his personal status and influence. He suggested that Mr.Haile is a very thin-skinned person who wants you to pay him a lot of personal attention.

Robinson said that he felt that successful work might have to be accomplished by by-passing the local leadership. It was interesting to note that he (Robinson) did not have an organized plan of by-pass.

I continue to be impressed with the fact that Brown and Robinson always seem to dwell on the negatives rather than the positive aspect of everything. At one time it may have been effective motivation to paint the ugliest possible picture; however, I am not sure about this technique for the present.

Robinson and I went from Sumpter to Florence to attend the Sixth Congressional District meeting.

****

In Florence, I had intended to visit with Dr. Beck, but was pleased to find when I got to Florence that Dr. Beck was surrounded by representatives of nine counties, and that a very lively meeting was in progress. There were about 75 persons in attendance, when it was expected that there would be only 20 to 25.

The meeting had been called for the express purpose of re-organizing the district. Mr. Esau Jenkins had been invited to help with the orgainzation. Mr. Jenkins made the formal presentation, relating the work of the First Congressional District, what had been accomplished, techniques used, and their relationship with VEP.

Frank Robinson was presented, and he made a statement about the work that he had been doing, and hoped to be doing in the district. I was called from the floor to make a statement; the essences of which are contained in the attached news clipping.

The organization stage of the meeting went over smoothly. There was an air of enthusiasm that hung over the meeting from start to finish.

****

From Florence, I went to Camden and met with Mr. Haile, chairman of the Fifth Congressional District. This visit gave me an opportunity to appraise the Robinson-Haile problem from Mr. Haile's point of view.

Mr. Haile indicated that he did not want VEP to feel that he was saying that they did not want towork with Robinson. He said that he was questioning the paying of these men a salary to do work in the Fifth when they appeared to know so little about what they were doing. Mr. Haile appears to be a very successful funeral director, and is much more articulate than Robinson, I feel these facts influenced his attitude toward Robinson to some degree.

Mr. Haile said that the last time that these men came to call on him, he told them that they were needed in other counties of the district rather than in Camden or his county. I agreed with him in this regard.

It appears that the problem that we are having in this regard is the same as it has always been; no plan of=operation in Robinson's possession. Mr. Haile did not fail to point this out.

****

From Camden, I went to Saluda, and met with Mr. Charles Daniel, the man that had been chosen to do the field work for the Third District.

Mr. Daniel is a barber and seems to have quite a bit of time at his disposal for this work. When I arrived at Mr. Daniel's home, I was told that he was at the courthouse helping some people get registered. This confirmed for me some of the very favorable comments that had been made to me by Rev. Newman and McCain about Mr. Daniel's devotion to the job.

Mr. Daniel reviewed his work since he had been put on the job by the Third Congressional District. His first assignment was to visit the three northern counties so as to involve them in the district organization. This he had just completed and had received favorable replies from each. I was pleased that he had been in contact with the individual that our prior visit in these counties had shown to be the individuals engaged in voter registration.

In each of the districts, I was informed that a district meeting was scheduled for either the coming Friday or Sunday except, of course, the Sixth Congressional District where one had just been held.

As I talked with the six leaders, I told them of the Columbia meeting planned for May 9, and they all agreed to be present.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB/js

Negroes Open Campaign Here To Register, Educate Voters

Florence Morn. News
5-6-64

The Sixth Congressional District Voter Education Project was launched Tuesday night in Florence at the Mt. Zion AME Church, and the new organization will receive $6,000 from the Southern Regional Council over a three-month kickoff period.

The purppose of this movement, according to field director R. T. Blackwell, is "to coordinate the voter registration drive in all nine counties of the district."

"However," he said, "our end purpose is to bring the community to the point of voting for improved housing, employment and health benefits for all citizens."

Also represented at the meeting were the Congress of Racial Equality by Frank Robinson, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference by Essau Jenkins, a number of local NAACP officials and Dr. R. L. Beck, president of the Voter Association of Florence.

"If we believe in democracy," Blackwell said, "the day is far past when the presence of Negro people ought to reflect in employment and public office. We must begin to vote for men on specific issues.

"The specific issues we face today," Blackwell went on, "are meat, bread and shoes for our children, houses for our family, jobs with some amount of dignity, and these are the issues which should affect all people in South Carolina."

The Tuesday meeting was coodinated with those in other S. C. districts and was the fourth of a series over the last two months.

Plans of the fledgling organization also include for each county in the district, political education and a literacy program where needed.

Newly elected officers were Dr. Beck, director and treasurer, and Robinson, district chairman.

County chairmen are Jonas Deas, Florence; Dr. P. C. Kelly, Horry; F. E. Cain, Marlboro; Alex Alford, Georgetown; Henry Issac, Lee; S. T. Graham, Darlington; Rev. J. W. Robinson, Dillon; James A Hodges, Marion and Rev. S. A. Gadsden, Williamsburg.

WB —
BWC
JDC

May 20, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton
From: Randolph T. Blackwell
Re: South Carolina Leadership Meeting

May 9, 1964, I met with the six congressional district leaders of the state of South Carolina. This was a special meeting called for the purpose of planning a statewide political meeting. It was felt by the group that the time was right for them to do something to call attention to the fact that the Negro vote in the state was a factor to be considered, and that if something was not done by the group, some nondescript group would certainly do something, and possibly make statements that would not be to the best interest of the Negro people.

The group decided that a mass rally should be held on the evening of May 30, and that two sessions should also be held in the early afternoon. One of the afternoon sessions would be attended by Negro candidates and office holders, so as to compare experiences and discuss problems. It was to be hoped that out of such a meeting, a formal branch of the South Carolina Voter Education Project could be put together. This group would serve as a kind of ongoing tutorial body for future candidates.

It was also felt that all of the county and congressional district leaders need to get together and address themselves to the question of, "What after the Southern Regional Council's VEP goes out of existence?" This question and other matters were to be the chief concerns in the afternoon session.

The group decided that a real effort should be made to swell the group in attendance from communities other than the city of Columbia, where the meeting is to be held. The group set a budget of $500 for the meeting, with the hope that VEP would contribute something to this cost.

As I looked at the group, I felt that I could see some of just about everything that VEP has encountered. Effective and ineffective leadership, devoted impersonal leadership, and some personal interest leadership, fear, ignorance, etc.

It now appears that the South Carolina Voter Education Project will be the best thing that will be left when our operation no longer exists. It should therefore be made the subject of serious research scrutiny.

Randolph T. Blackwell

Field Trip Reports
RTB

RTB:js

WB
BW
JP

May 20, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton
From: Randolph T. Blackwell
Re: Conference-Workshop Sponsored by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations

On April 29, I attended a conference-workshop sponsored by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The objective of the conference was to bring together rural churchmen so as to discuss some current problems and to supply them with some needed information.

The meeting was attended by about 100 persons, mostly ministers. I was impressed by the general interest in the program that prevailed. There were many opportunities for individuals to have walked off and yet they all stayed through the long and tiring day.

I am slowly coming to the conclusion that one of the things that the action group is not doing is developing programs that rural people can confidently play a part in. This experience in Arkansas did much to strengthen this attitude.

I made one formal presentation, and talked informally with four or five small groups. We shared experiences that had to do with how to motivate people. I stressed the importance of relating voter registration to issues that concern the people. It was interesting to watch these ministers discover in conversation, the unsoundness of their conclusion that, "the people aren't interested in anything." Indirectly and without ever saying so, I argued that they, as ministers, stood to benefit materially from "community improvement-uplift programs." [redacted]

I would describe the persons that made up this group as being the infant stage of social engineering, but who hold forth much promise if worked with.

Ozell Sutton and Nat Griswold impressed me as being in possession of the know-how for getting a great job done. Their open-mindedness, along with their frankness and excellent personal relations are things that are rarely seen in a team of this sort.

Field Trip Reports
RTB

On April 20, the council staff and I talked in detail about the future of voter registration in Arkansas. There were many factors that we had to speculate about (free registration and the constitutional amendment). It was jointly decided that the entire matter could possibly wait until Griswold and Sutton came to Atlanta in late June.

A copy of the program for the conference is attached.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachment

CONFERENCE-WORKSHOP

Arkansas Churchmen
April 28-29, 1964
Philander Smith College

Theme: "Church and Community Leadership for the Sixties"

Sponsors: Philander Smith College, Shorter College, Arkansas Baptist College, The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Cooperating Churchmen: Bishop John D. Bright, AME Church; Bishop B. Julian Smith, CME Church; Dr. F. T. Guy, President of Arkansas Baptist Convention, Consolidated

Program Schedule

Tuesday, April 28

1:00 - 3:00 p.m.	Registration and room assignment at Student Union
3:00 - 5:00 p.m.	First session: Purview of Problem Areas 1. Presentation - Mr. Ozell Sutton 2. Roundtable discussion
6:00 p.m.	Dinner in cafeteria of Philander Smith
7:30 p.m.	Public meeting "Leadership for the Sixties - Our Responsibility" - Dr. Thomas H. Henderson

Wednesday, April 29

9:00 - 9:45 a.m.	"Freedom and the Ballot" 1. Presentation - Mr. Randolph Blackwell 2. Questions and answers
9:45 - 10:15 a.m.	Coffee break
10:15 - 11:00 a.m.	"Equal Job Opportunities" 1. Presentation - Mr. Percy Williams 2. Questions and answers
11:00 - 11:45 a.m.	"Leadership Initiative, Prerequisite for Progress" 1. Presentation - Mr. Ozell Sutton 2. Questions and answers
1:00 p.m.	Luncheon (Details to be planned)
2:30 - 5:00 p.m.	Workshops - All participants will be included in three working groups. Each group will tackle successively for forty-five minutes the three areas: voter registration, job opportunities, leadership in the community. Rotating consultants: Voter Registration - Mr. Randolph Blackwell Job Opportunities - Mr. Percy Williams Leadership - Mr. Ozell Sutton

(more next page)

Program Schedule continued

6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:30 p.m.	Public meeting 1. Summation of conference 2. Discussion of findings
9:00 p.m.	Adjournment

Identification of Leaders

Mr. Percy Williams - Special Assistant to the Executive Vice President of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Randolph Blackwell - Field Director, Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Ozell Sutton - Associate Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Planning Committee

Mr. Oley Griffin - Registrar, Shorter College

Mr. Crawford Mimms - Dean, Philander Smith College

Rev. Odell Jones - Dean of Religion, Arkansas Baptist College

Rev. William Johnson - Pastor, Miles Chapel CME Church, representing Bishop Julian Smith

Mr. Ozell Sutton - Associate Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Rev. Nat Griswold - Executive Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations

~~Chuck 25.00~~

~~Bernet 25.00~~

~~Bell 10.00~~

~~Rhonda 40.00~~

~~[illegible] 100.00~~

~~Rosemarie Fete 200.00~~

~~[illegible] 25.00~~

25.00
125
2200
6

796967
426655
823,622

WB
BW
JPC

May 20, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton
From: Randolph T. Blackwell
Re: ASCARV Meeting in Birmingham, Alabama

April 26, I went to Birmingham, Alabama, to speak for the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting. As usual, I am compelled to say that this group surpasses all others so far as loyalty and support for the leadership is concerned. There was good representation from all of the counties, and yet, these semi-annual meetings continue to come off with little or no discussion as to what political power can really mean, or how to interpret same to others. My impression, taken from things said, was that Mr. Patton does not look with favor upon Negroes running for public office. Theoretical discussions of, "Register for what?" seems not to command the attention of Mr. Patton (the leader).

There was report after report from different communities about what is being done registration-wise. It was like a good Baptist testimonial service, and was enjoyed by all.

I gave the principal speech for the meeting, and addressed myself to the general subject, "Things That We In Voter Registration Are Not Doing Enough Of."

In the afternoon session, a group of high school essay contest winners read papers. These essayists expressed more political awareness than was to have been expected.

Plans were made for a crash registration campaign this summer.

Attached is a copy of the program and samples of the literature that was distributed.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

Attachments

Field Trip reports
RTB

AGENDA

ALABAMA STATE COORDINATING ASSOCIATION
FOR REGISTRATION AND VOTING
ANNUAL MEETING
SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1964
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

9:00 A.M. REGISTRATION

9:30 A.M. CALL TO ORDER

DEVOTION

OPENING REMARKS

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

ECHOES FROM SPECIAL AREAS

SPECIAL REPORTS:

(a) MR. W. C. PATTON

(b) MR. C. W. LEE

(c) DR. C. G. GOMILLION

KEY NOTE ADDRESS: MR. R. T. BLACKWELL, FIELD DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

WORKSHOP

PART I

SPECIAL LEGISLATION PENDING IN CONGRESS
(a) THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL
(b) LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN

REASSEMBLE

PART II

ORGANIZING FOR A SUCCESSFUL CRASH REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

PART III

ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE GET OUT THE VOTE CAMPAIGN

THE YOUTH SPEAKS (ESSAY CONTEST WINNERS)

ORGANIZING A SUCCESSFUL REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

By: W. C. Patton

In my years of experience in organizational work, I have observed one or two persons deciding that they are going to project some type of campaign which ends up with them making a few public announcements, putting out some placards and a few handbills. This, they call a campaign.

Take it from one who has had the experience, a successful campaign requires a lot of planning, a lot of work and the involvement of a lot of people.

I have always tried to stress the fact that a lot of people, plus a lot of hard work, plus some money equal success. Too much emphasis cannot be placed on a lot of people and hard work.

No one or two persons can operate a successful campaign and likewise, success does not come by wishful thinking. It requires a lot of work that has been well planned.

A successful campaign must be well organized and should have available, all the necessary tools, such as the people, material, money and facilities, but without proper organization and coordination, it means nothing.

A well organized campaign consists of:

1. An intelligent dynamic chairman and several co-chairmen. The chairman and co-chairmen should be persons who have influence, leadership ability, some followers, time and should be dedicated.

2. Other officers such as campaign director, secretary, assistant secretary and treasurer, along with a few other dedicated persons should serve as the steering committee. Never discriminate against ladies. They have proven to be most beneficial.

3. Much of the work can be divided among committees such

as car pool, publicity, recruiting, telephone, speakers bureau, finance and such other committees as may be needed from time to time.

Many of the committees will find it profitable to use retired people, shut-ins, invalids, housewives, young people as well as the white collar worker and the factory workers.

(a) The car pool is designed to carry people to be registered or to the polls, as the case may be.

(b) The publicity committee puts up the advertisements and sees that everybody knows a campaign is in progress.

(c) The recruiting committee assists in finding new workers.

(d) The telephone committee should be a very large committee with members located in the various sections of the city and county.

It is their responsibility by telephone, to inform the people of the campaign and what is expected of them. Also to inform them of the time and place of registration, the availability of a car pool and such other information as you may desire for them to have.

(e) The speakers bureau is a speech making group. They should appear in churches, before clubs, sororities and other public or private meetings when possible.

(f) The finance committee is the fund raising group. Therefore, it helps to get your most influential people on this committee.

4. Perhaps the most important people of all are the block canvassers. They are the ones who must get through to the people on the grass root level.

Each block should have a canvasser, for they are the ones who must persuade the unregistered to register.

5. The city, town, and county should be divided into sections with one or more leaders responsible for their section. The block captains should make progress reports weekly to the leaders of their sections and the leaders in turn make weekly progress reports to the campaign director.

6. Special emphasis should be placed on the director. Not very much can be expected or will be done without a campaign director. This person may be a paid or volunteer worker, but it must be someone whose time is his own and who will devote plenty of time daily to the running of the campaign.

We also like to use housewives who are unemployed.

The person who serves as director should be one who is competent, intelligent, likable with executive ability. This person should also be one who can corral workers and have the ear and respect of the community.

7. The campaign should start with a "bang" and end with a "bang". It should not run longer than seven weeks and should not be permitted to drag out. It should be well advertised.

8. Weekly pep rallies should be held with the workers. Serve light refreshments if possible. Door or attendance prizes may be given. These prizes and refreshments may be solicited from the merchants and businessmen of the community.

9. Fund raising -- Funds are vital parts of a campaign which should be raised before the campaign begins, if possible.

Avoid, as far as possible, calling on your block workers to help raise or give funds for the campaign. Call on a lot of other people who will not work, to make contributions.

Call on the churches, lodges, clubs, fraternities, sororities, labor unions, business firms and the "big shots" to make donations.

The finance committee can sponsor teas and other fund raising projects.

10. Special attention should be given by the director and campaign chairmen to the weak spots in the campaign. The trouble may be with a section of the blockworkers, the transportation committee, the telephone committee or some other place. That is why it is so important to have good active persons as chairmen of committees and other key spots.

11. Citizenship Sunday and Twilight Marches, similar to the Mother's March in other campaigns, are very important.

On Citizenship Sunday, every minister should be preaching and talking about the importance of the ballot. A three minute speaker should be sent to each church to talk about the project during the morning worship.

12. Don't let inactivity on the part of the ministers, teachers or others discourage you. You must realize to begin with, that it is always a miracle when you get a large number of persons from ministerial ranks, the teaching profession and other similar groups to help.

13. Clinics -- There are a lot of people who want to become qualified voters but are a bit shy of the application and other tests required in some states. To help these people, clinics should be conducted in the various sections and communities to teach the people that which they do not know about registration.

    Competent instructors should be assigned. The clinics should be held at least once per week and should not last longer than one and a half hours.

    They may be held in churches, lodge halls, homes, etc.

14. At the close of the campaign, a Recognition Program should be held for the workers. Merit certificates should be presented and light refreshments served. A lively pep and appreciation talk should be given.

15. The youth -- The youth can also participate. They may be used as three minute speakers, canvassers, and on various committees.

16. Finally, there is no substitute for hard work, organizing, planning and executing your plans.

    Follow the old saying - "Plan your work, then work your plans". "Success will not come by wishful thinking".

    People plus plans, plus hard work and some finance will yield success.

Senator (Name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Your active support of the Civil Rights Bill in its present form now before the Senate for action is certainly encouraging and appreciated.

Unfortunately, we in Alabama do not have Statesmen like Senators, to represent us, therefore, we are asking you to represent us in your active support of the Bill.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Senator (Name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I want to take the opportunity to commend you for the support you are giving the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate.

It is regrettable that the Colored people of Alabama are without a spokesman in the Senate. I wonder if you would do us the kindness of representing us on the floor of the Senate.

We believe and hope you will continue to give active support for the passage of the Civil Rights Bill as it was when passed by the House.

With appreciation, I remain

Yours truly,

Senator (Name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Please accept my sincere thanks for the excellent support you have been giving the Civil Rights Bill.

Since we Negroes in Alabama do not have anyone to represent us on the floor of the Senate, I would appreciate you representing me.

May God bless you.

Yours truly,

Senator (Name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The Negroes of Alabama are without representation on the floor of the Senate.

Being the Statesman you are, I would like for you to represent me. May I also ask that you vigorously support the Civil Rights Bill as passed by the House, now before the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

Senator (Name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Senators Sparkman and Hill are not representing the colored people of Alabama, so we ask that you and others, who share our thinking on the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate.

In representing us, we wish your continued ardent support of the Bill as passed in the House

Yours truly,

PETITION TO OUR SENATOR

We, the undersigned, petition you, our Senator, to support and vote for action to limit debate on the Civil Rights Bill currently before the Senate.

We further petition you to support, vigorously work and vote for passage of the Civil Rights Bill exactly as it overwhelmingly passed the U. S. House of Representatives.

NAME	STREET	CITY

PETITION TO OUR SENATOR

We, the undersigned, petition you, our Senator, to support and vote for action to limit debate on the Civil Rights Bill currently before the Senate.

We further petition you to support, vigorously work and vote for passage of the Civil Rights Bill exactly as it overwhelmingly passed the U. S. House of Representatives.

NAME	STREET	CITY

STATEMENT OF APPRECIATION

TO: The Honorable Mike Mansfield and Senator Hubert Humphrey:

We, the undersigned take this method of thanking you and other courageous senators for championing the cause of human rights by your effort to have the Senate ratify the civil rights bill as was passed by the house.

You are exercising the courage, conviction and fortitude of a real Statesman.

Senators Hill and Sparkman of Alabama unfortunately, are not expressing our views nor do they share our philosophy in their active opposition to the bill.

We aspire for full and complete freedom.

May God bless you and give you the needed grace and strength to be victorious.

NAME	CITY	STATE

(over)

NAME	CITY	STATE

POINTS ON HOW TO GET OUT THE VOTE ON ELECTION DAY

Many elections are lost because the voters fail to go to the polls on election day and vote.

A vote not cast is a vote against you.

So you can see that it is very important to get voters to the polls on election day.

This however, can not be done by wishful thinking. You must organize and work toward the end of getting every known and unknown voter to the polls. To accomplish this task, I would suggest:

1. Call the interested leaders together and organize a "GET OUT THE VOTE CAMPAIGN."

2. Organize a car pool for the people who need transportation.

3. Organize a corp of baby sitters to take care of the children while the parents go to the polls.

4. Ten days before the election, organize a telephone committee to call all the voters and urge them to go both to your voters meeting the night before the election and to the polls on election day.

5. Arrange community meetings the night before the election to give the voters the needed information.

6. Send announcements to the churches about your meetings and urge the the people to go to the polls.

7. Assign a worker to every block to be responsible for knocking on the door of every voter ten days before the election and tell them of the coming election.

8. The block workers should call the block captain who will make a second call to the home of every voter, the day before the election to inquire if the voter needs transportation to the polls, and if they need a baby sitter.

   The block captain should tell the voters of the arrangements to provide transportation, the baby sitters, and the voters meeting.

9. The time for beginning the organizational structure is now (thirty days before the election).

10. Make use of everybody, the retired, the invalids, the shut-ins, the unemployed, the professional workers, the factory workers and the house wives, etc.

SENATORS

1. Birch E. Bayh
2. Joseph S. Clarke
3. Phillip A Hart
4. Hubert H. Humphrey
5. Edward M. Kennedy
6. Mike Mansfield
7. Eugene J. McCarthy

SENATORS

8. Gale W. McGhee
9. George S. McGovern
10. Pat McNamara
11. John O. Pastore
12. Jennings Randolph
13. Jacob Javits
14. Paul Douglass
15. Wayne Morse

THE ADDRESS OF EACH ONE IS THE SAME:

Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

OFFICIAL
CALL

TO

THE FIRST STATE CONFERENCE
OF
THE SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Convening
May 30, 1964

ZION BAPTIST CHURCH
801 WASHINGTON STREET
COLUMBIA , S. C.

EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION

The South Carolina Voter Education Project expresses appreciation to all who have in any way contributed to the successful development of this association.

A special word of appreciation is due the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Leaders and representatives of the two national political parties have also contributed, and are due words of appreciation.

A very special word of appreciation is due the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. It has been the VEP staff and financial grants that have made it possible for the South Carolina Project to survive its infant stage.

STATE OFFICERS

C. H. Thomas
Chairman

I. DeQuincey Newman
Sec. - Treas.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OFFICERS

Billie Fleming
1st Cong. Dist

James McPherson
2nd Cong. Dist.

S. L. McCain
3rd Cong. Dist.

Harrison Rearden
4th Cong. Dist

R. H. Haile
5th Cong. Dist.

R. N. Beck
6th Cong. Dist.

CONFERENCE OF POLITICAL HOPEFULS

R. T. Blackwell, Presiding

Open to Special Invitees and Those
Individuals Who Are Or Have Been
Candidates for Public Office in 1964

4:00 P. M.

* Dinner
  Mr. Moses Reddick, Speaker

* Discussion
  Evaluation of Experiences - Problem Solving

* Formal Organization

6:00 P. M. RECESS

Leroy E. Brown

Elected to Beauford County
Board of Directors

Willis Gardner

John White

Appointed Beauford County
School Trustees

This session will be held in the dining room of the Town and Tourist Motel, 1230 Harden Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

CONFERENCE OF COUNTY AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CHAIRMEN AND OBSERVERS

Dr. Charles S. Thomas, Presiding

4:30 P. M.

* Evaluation of South Carolina candidates for the national Congress

Discussion Leaders

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman
Mrs. Modjeska M. Simkins
Mr. William Kirkland

6:00 P. M.

* Future Plans of the South Carolina Voter Education Project

* Appointment of Committee

  Executive
  Constitutional
  Finance

* Resolutions

7:00 P. M. RECESS

CANDIDATES

State Legislature

Harold R. Boulware

W. McKinley Bowman

A. Manigault Hurley

Mattie L. James

Ben J. Mack

Wilson Miles

H. D. Monteith

J. W. Mungin

Hemphill P. Pride II

A. P. Williams

Donald J. Sampson

James Sulton

School Trustee

Harriet G. Liverman R. Rebecca Monteith Joseph Stroy

City Council

R. H. Haile R. J. Palmer

PUBLIC MEETING

May 30, 1964 - 7:30 P. M.

Dr. Charles Thomas, Presiding

Song Session

Devotional

Special Music

The Occasion

Report of the Six District Leaders

Music

Introduction of Speaker . . . . . Atty. Matthew Perry

Address . . . . . Sen. Leroy Johnson

Collection

Resolution . . . . . Rev. Matthew McCollum

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

Benediction

REGISTRATION LIST OF DELEGATES FOR THE SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT MEETING HELD IN COLUMBIA, S. C. MAY 30, 1964

NAME	COUNTY	CITY	STREET & NO.	PHONE
H. E. Wright	Richmond	Columbia	Allen University	254-4333
G. J. Robertson	McCormick	Parksville	P. O. Box #47	443-2679
R. Gilchrist	"	"	P. O. Box #67	443-2570
Alex ___?___	"	"		
O. Freeman	"	Plum Branch	P. O. Box #103	443-2572
John E. Freeman	"		P. O. Box #75	
Claudia Staton	"	McCormick	Rte. #1, Box 84	
Annie M. Sittles		"		465-2171
Martha A. Walker		"		
Harvey Murray		"		465-2812
James Price		"	Rte #3, Box 9-A	
James R. Hill	"	Plum Branch	Rte # 1, Box 70	
Stanley G. ___?___	"	"		443-2575
Clarence Jones	Orangeburg	Bowman	178 Main St.	
Vanuel Mitchell	Jasper	Ridgeland	P. O. Box 385	
Jessie M. Jones	"	"	Rte #1, Box 82	
Jonas Deat		Florence	512 S. Kemp	MO 2-5450
(Ms) Willie Robertson		Parksville	P. O. Box 47	443-2559
Jackson Brown, Sr.	Beaufort	Dale		
Rev. Andrew Johnson		Columbia	1106 Huger St.	AL 6-6481
Rev. B. C. Stewart		Darlington	P. O. Box #132	EX 3-3532
Rev. J. W. Robinson	Dillon	Dillon	202 W. Jackson	
Kay Patterson	Richland	Columbia	6815 Gavilan Ave.	PO 5-1280
PFC H. L. Frett		Ft. Jackson	HQ-HQ Co., USA	
US 51 515518			MES	
C. Richardson		Columbia	614 Blanding St	AL 4-0138
W. D. Canty	Horry	Conway	9th Ave. 1617	248-5181
L. Newton		Florence	Rte #3, Box #210	MO 9-9942
N. B. Dozier		Mullins	124 James St.	464-9094
Wilbur Hobby		Durham	P. O. Box 175	
J. D. Dask	Orangeburg-	Orangeburg	Rte #5, Box 316	JE 4-4255
J. H. Gettis		Osburn	Rte #1, Box #73	
Rev. J. H. Hosey	Hampton	Garnett	Rte #1, Box #133	625-3517
J. H. Hilson	Hampton	Varnville		
Harrison Rearden	Greenville-	Greenville	625 Old Augusta Rd	-277-4218
George Thompson	Allendale	Allendale	P. O. Box 41	584-2991
F. B. Drakeford	Kershaw	Camden	Rte #1, Box #26	432-3926
R. H. Haile, Jr.	Kershaw	Camden	1313 Campbell St	HE 2-2511
Henry W. Saxon	Beaufort	Seabrook	Box 49-A	
Josha Herbert	Florence	Effingham	Box 206	669-9943
Walter Benjamin		Effingham	Box 254-A	

Name	County	City	Street & No.	Phone
Edward H. Thomas	Florence	Florence	701 N. McQueen	MO 2-1117
Cleaver B. Johnson	Beaufort	Frogmore	Rte #1, Box 59	JA 4-5764
Frieda R. Mitchell	Beaufort	Seabrook	Rte #1, Box 108-A	846-8311
(Ms) Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.	Beaufort	Frogmore	Penn Community Ctr.	524-4317
Rosa V. White	Beaufort	Hilton Head	P. O. Box 19	785-3947
Nathan Jones	Beaufort	Seabrook	RFD	
Leroy E. Browne	Beaufort	Frogmore	P. O. Box 124	JA 4-2436
Barnwell Thomas, Jr	Beaufort	Frogmore		524-4317
Jackson Brown	Beaufort	Dale	Dale P. O.	
Dorothy D. Scrivven	Beaufort	Yemassee	RFD	
Walter Alston	Beaufort	Dale	Dale P. O.	
Cornelius Washington	"	Seabrook		
C. Washington	"	"	Rte #1, Box 71	
Johnny White	"	Hiltn Head-		3947
E. W. Glenn	Fairfield	Winnsboro	Rte #1, Box 141	8356
Florence H. Starks	"	"	502 Moultrie St.	
Mary G. Martin	"	"	P. O. Box 557	8357
Elliott Harris	"	"	405 Cemetery (?)	7487
Wayman Wroten		Frogmore	Rte #1, Box #42	
John W. Rearden		Edgefield	Rte #2, Box 47-B	
Janie Mae Harris	Fairfield	Winnsboro	405 Cemetary St. (?)	7487
Lula Kimpson	Lexington	Swansea	P. O. Box 283	3181
Rev. Lewis H. Simmons	Dorchester	Sumrville	P. O. Box 371	873-7553
Billie Fleming	Clarendon	Manning	502 W. Boyce	435-9945
Maggie Hilson	Hampton	Varnsvle		
Frederick J. Cook		Charlston	;40 Line St.	RA 3-1163
Richard Hodge	Marion	Mullins	Rte #2, Box 70	464-7112
James A. Hodge	Marion	Mullins	Rte 2, Box 70	464-7112
Johnnie Allen, Jr.	Horry	Conway	1602 Suggs St.	
C. V. Dozier	Horry	Conway	Rte #5, Box #202	
Lewis C. Dozier	"	"	Rte #5, Box #202	None
Atha Woodward	"	"	Rte #5, Box #204	
Lora A. Dozier	"	"	Rte #5, Box #202	
Verna L. Dozier	"	"	1706 Dewitt St.	248-5371
Jacob Ford	Richland	Columbia	1721 Gadsden St.	AC 4-3040
T. J. Nelson	Orangeburg	Eutawvle	Rte #1, Box #62	
Julius Wright	Orangeburg	"		
Norma T. Robinson	Marlboro	Bennetsvle-	400 W. Market St.	GR 9-4342
Classie Walker	Greenville	Greensvle	333 Ackley Rd.	CE 5-5014
W. E. Brown		Sumter	325 Bartlet St.	773-2145
Martha B. Cook	Charleston	Charleston	40 Line Street	RA 3-1163
Esau Jenkins	"	"	244 Spring St.	RA 2-9621
David Dorch, Jr.	Barnwell	Williston	521 Ika St.	
George Stallings	"	"	Rte #2, Box #110	
Joseph Lewis	"	"	314 Mill St.	4404

Name	County	City	Street & No.	Phone (Granitevle)
Rev. S. L. McCain	Edgefield	No. Augusta	Rte #1, Box #140	663-3849
Rev. Knight		Uttaville		
Josha ___?___	Horry	Lang (?)	Rte #1, Box 98-A	
Moses A. Riddick,Jr.	-Nansemond	Suffolk	2333 Norfolk Rd.	539-6662
Ed Nelson	Richland	Columbia	2129½ Oak St.	AL 6-4657
Sumter Nixon	Richland	"	RFD #2, Box 207	AL 3-1711
Pauline Wheeler	"	"	2220 Clark St.	AL 2-2680
Elliott Robinson	"	"	2306 Lodge St.	AL 1-7024
Alfred F. Young	"	"	1816 Tremain St.	253-2147
L. S. James	"	"	5107 Farrow Rd.	AL 6-8089
Philip Nelson	"	"	2129½ Oak St.	AL 6-4657
Grover C. Jenkins	"	"	1701 McFadden St. #7	253-6648
Rev. C. C. McIlwaine	"	"	5403 Ridgeway St.	AL 2-8350
Rev.C. C. Dixon	"	"	5121 Floron St.	AL 6-1871
J. R. Lewis	"	"	2335 Kaskell Ave.	AL 6-2716
Corinne B. Williams	"	"	1808 Washington St	AL 2-9573
Eliza Blair	"	"	1808 Tremain St.	AL 2-2748
Shelvie Wheeler	"	"	2220 Clark St.	AL 2-2680
Mrs. R. R. Monteith	"	"	1307 Mason Rd.	AL 2-3422
Miss Henri Monteith	"	"	1307 Mason Rd.	"
Rev. W. M. Bowman, Sr.	"	"	2334 Elmwood Ave.	AL 4-4365
Joseph Brannon	"	"	1424 Hutchinson St.	AL 3-6292
James Cooper	"	"	2019 Heidt St.	AL 2-1618
Harry Bull, Jr.	"	"	2462 Millwood Ave.	AL 3-1466
Mrs. A. W. Simkins	"	"	2025 Marion	AL 2-3507
Rev. Wm. Fair	"	"	111 Anderson Dr. State Park, S. C.	AL 2-0231
J. P. Reeden	"	"	1328 Gadsden St.	AL 4-3588
Lillie M. Washington	"	"	1808½ Pulaski St.	AL 2-0556
Harold R. Boulware	"	"	1127 Washington St.	
Cora Kenlay	"	"	816 Bay Street	AL 3-9607
T. M. Young	"	"	1320 Lyon Street	AL 2-0839
Horatio Harris	"	"	1314 Oak Street	AL 2-6480
I. DeQuincey Newman	"	"	919½ Washington St	256-4356
Rev. B. L. Hall	"	"	3216 Carver St	AL 4-0022
J. S. Brown	"	"	3920 Wellsley Dr.	AL 3-5290
Eugene R. Lewis	"	"	300 Pickens (?)	AL 3-8888
Wm. Ponds	"	"	1113 Tree St.	AL 2-7686
Elizabeth Simmons	"	"	2107 Lady St.	AL 4-7270
Dr. H. D. Monteith	"	"	6505 Main St.	
Mrs. H. D. Monteith	"	"	6505 Main St.	
Mrs. Ermanese Bolton	"	"	1822 Craven St.	AL 2-0705

WB

June 2, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Trip to Tuscaloosa, Alabama

On May 25, I visited Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and spoke at a mass meeting that was sponsored by the "Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee." The Executive Secretary for the group was Rev. T. Y. Rogers, Jr. The invitation from this group was extended through Mrs. Edwina Smith of the SCLC staff. The mass meeting was scheduled for 7 p. m. I arrived at 7:10, and found an audience of about 1,200 people singing with great enthusiasm.

The speech was well received - punctuated at several points with applause. It was very apparent to me that the group had been fired up for action by some extended period of work. I understand that Rev. Bevel has been working in the community for some time. I had the feeling that someone or group had better point this group in some specific direction, or anything can possibly happen.

I talked after the meeting with Rev. Rogers and several other leaders of the group. It was revealed that the community has fine citizenship schools in operation at the present time. Several weeks ago, Mrs. Septima Clark and Mr. Ben Mack went to Tuscaloosa and conducted a citizenship teacher training program. As a result, several ministers were trained to conduct classes. The five classes that are presently going on are under the supervision of ministers. This is a new situation. We have not had preachers involved to this degree before. It will make an interesting research fact to see just how successful they are.

I was impressed with this community. There is a lot of ready potential and the leadership seemed to be honest and sincere. Even when I called on my friends at the college (Stillman College), they had words of praise for the leaders.

I encouraged the group to apply to VEP for a grant.

RTB

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

/ WB —

June 4, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to Montgomery, Alabama

On ~~June~~ May 27, I visited Montgomery, Alabama, and talked with Solomon Seay, Attorney, Mrs. Idessa Williams, Mr. James Orange, Rev. B. J. Johnson, Rev. Eaton, a Mrs. Gregory, and Mrs. Dungee along with the Board of Directors of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

This visit was occasioned mainly by the fact that VEP has never been entirely satisfied with the kind of progress that has been made by the programs we have sponsored in the past. To date, there have been some four or five different grants. I started by inquiring of Mr. Seay about the project that was under the leadership of the local lawyers. I indicated to Mr. Seay that we had not felt the four hundred odd persons registered during their drive represented what we had expected the group to accomplish. Mr. Seay was pleased to explain that the figure of 400 or so only represented the number that had been successfully entered into the books, and did not include those in excess of 1,000 that had applied, but had not been registered. Mr. Seay contended that the number successfully registered was in fact in excess of 500, but that Mr. Rufus Lewis and the persons that worked with him had encouraged people not to give the lawyers their names and addresses. This, to some extent, cleared up some of the problems in our minds regarding this project.

As I moved about, I asked the question, "What would be necessary to get a community-involved project going in Montgomery?" Mr. Seay had pointed to two things that he thought were hopeful signs. In the first place, he spoke highly of the SCLC task force that had recently come to the community. Secondly, he stated that much was to be expected of a positive nature as a result of the fact that MIA had finally chosen another person in Mr. Lewis' stead to do registration work. I immediately took this statement about Mr. Lewis as a matter that demanded further investigation.

At the office of the MIA, I inquired of Mrs. Gregory what were the circumstances that had brought the MIA board to the decision to get someone in the place of Mr. Lewis. At first, Mrs. Gregory was not willing to talk about the matter. I think she had intended to cover up their dissatisfaction with Mr. Lewis, but after several questions, she decided to tell it all.

The story ran like this: Mr. Lewis acted for several years, as the voter registration agent of MIA. He also served on the screening committee. As the years passed, Mr. Lewis worked less and less with the Association, but did continue to work at these jobs. For the past four years, Mr. Lewis decided, by himself, who the Association would support for public office. In some instances, the organization was not pleased with his decisions, but in no single instance were they willing to publicly disclaim these decisions. It was hoped that it would be possible to get Mr. Lewis to work with the elected committee on these matters.

This year, when the election came, I was told the Association sent its committee out to screen candidates. The committee reported, and the Association published and distributed a slate of candidates, whereupon Mr. Lewis went on the radio with a number of spot announcements, telling the people that the ballot they had received was not the right one, and that he would send them the right one in a few days. This action on Mr. Lewis' part confirmed some of the suspicions that were already being entertained in the community. Thus, the Association felt that it had no alternative but to find another person to do the job. Mrs. Idessa Williams was chosen because she had demonstrated, through unselfish, untiring service, her interest and ability.

I talked with Mrs. Idessa Williams, and was impressed by the fact that she and Mrs. Zecozy Williams were, on the same evening, holding a registration meeting in the rural part of the county. Both of them are working without pay or even expenses. As Mrs. Idessa Williams and I talked, it was apparent that she was giving considerable study to the matter. She has some well thought-out plans. It was a pleasure to talk with a person that was not putting money before the program.

James Orange of the SCLC task force, explained that his group had been working with Mrs. Williams, the only person doing anything - he felt. Orange was pleased to learn that we at VEP were pleased with what they had been able to accomplish. He insisted that they could possibly have done a much better job if they had had some basic materials. He pointed out that the $200 that was sent to Mr. Lewis from VEP by way of SCLC, has never left the bank. He said that Mr. Lewis would not buy mimeograph paper, or help in any way.

I attended a meetin g of the MIA Board of Directors. The meeting had been called so that the Board could explain its position on the Lewis question. The Board had invited all of the local ministers to the meeting. There were some members of the Board that were interested in defaming Mr. Lewis, but the Eaton chairman would not allow this.

He insisted that the group should concern itself with plans as to how it could best support Mrs. Williams. Mr. Seay made a passionate plea for unity and planning. All of the ministers pledged their support to the newly chosen director.

We can expect a request for a grant from this group. If it is reasonable, I would recommend favorable action on same.

RTB

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB;js

WB
BW

June 8, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trip to ~~Eastern~~ WESTERN Tennessee

This trip included visits with the following individuals and the following areas:

Mr. T. C. Mason, Route #1, Box 229, PH: 476-7525
Mason, Tenn.
Covington, Tenn.
Tipton County

Mrs. Bernice Miller, 128 Malone Street, PH: 658-3581
Bolivar, Tenn.

Mrs. Rachel Freeman, East College Court, Apt. 8
Union City, Tenn.

Miss Alma Harper, 311 Greenwood, Union City, PH: 885-5715
County

Rev. J. R. Halliburton, 115 Nelson St., PH: 1331
Ripley, Tenn.

Mrs. Ovella Ross, 1509 Base St., Mrs. Joannie P. Whittelow,
926 Grant Street
Dyersburg, Tenn.

Mrs. Mildred Hay, P. O. Box 242, PH 1172
Haywood County

Mr. Hugh Lowe, Miss Helen Hayes
234 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tenn.

When the final summary of the Voter Education Project is written, it will no doubt in some way reflect the fact that so far as organizations are concerned, the greatest numerical success was accomplished by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Such a summary would be accurate if it should also reflect the fact that the greater personal contributions, in terms of numerical successes,

was made by Mr. W. C. Patton. At the time that these statements are being written about the contributions of Mr. Patton and the NAACP, we are more than aware of what these efforts leave to be desired.

While this report is directed to covering a field trip in ~~eastern~~ western Tennessee, an effort is made here to do even more that just this, in this instance.

Section I. - will be devoted to an evaluation of the staff that works under the direct supervision of Mr. W. C. Patton. The persons considered are Miss Helen Hayes, Mr. Hugh Love, and a Mrs. Crawford.

Section II. - will be devoted to a description of the approaches used by Mr. W. C. Patton and company, as exemplified in the various projects.

Section III. - will be given to a discussion of the effectiveness of the approaches in the ~~East~~ West Tennessee area.

Section IV. - will be a summary, in which we try to set out in a precise way some criticism, positive and negative, of what we have seen.

****

Section I.

Miss Hayes is a young lady, 23 years old; a graduate of Florida A. & M. University. Prior to coming to work for the NAACP, she was employed with a Negro weekly in the city of Mobile, Alabama. Miss Hayes, after leavingcollege and during the time that she was with the newspaper, was also active in voter registration and in Democratic Party activity.in the Mobile community. She is a very social person, appearing to be comfortable in about every social setting. The same kind of comfort and confidence, however, is not apparent in professional situations. In conversations with other voter registrant professionals from which she could benefit, she is too often defensive and given to flashes of anger. When working with volunteers, there is a tendency to work at being confident and all-knowing. I rather suspect that the veil that she puts up is not adequate to hide her lack of study and preparation.

Miss Hayes is a holder of a Bachelor's Degree in Sociology, but I have seen nothing in her performance that reflects her formal preparation. We spent a day in the field which afforded us much opportunity for conversation. In a casual way, we afforded many opportunities for

her to say things that would have indicated what she had done and was doing in some reading that might help her better understand her job, and possibly enable her to perform with greater proficiency. I feel safe in saying that deliberate thoughts and study has given away to the rule of, "do something, even if it is wrong." Miss Hayes employs the approach directed by Mr. Patton. There are degrees of success in what she does, considerable less than her potential, I suspect. One thing is true - Miss Hayes' loyalty to NAACP and Mr. Patton is beyond question. Her loyalty to voter registration remains in question.

****

Mr. Hugh Love is a young man, 23 years old, married and the father of three children. Mr. Love is a graduate of the now famous Pine Wood School in Mississippi. He has also had one year of study at ~~Carmel~~ LeMoyne College in Memphis, Tennessee. We spent a day in the field together in which I was very impressed with his decisive and penetrating curosity. The line of conversation, and his choice of words suggest that he has had the benefit of serious education. Mr. Love did not appear very literate so far as things about politics and registration are concerned, and yet, I suspect that no one has pointed his attention in these directions. I enjoyed particularly, our argument about his idea that one is more successful if he presents himself as superior to the people that he works with, rather than trying to relate to and identify with people at their level. He was stubborn in his contentions, and yet quite open-minded.

In the field, Mr. Love employs an almost inflexible approach. Several opportunities were afforded him to offer suggestions to workers during the course of the day that we worked together - but in each case, he did not come through. Creativity was certainly not one of his exhibited talents.

Mr. Love has great possibilities providing his inclination for frivolity and personal ambition does not take precedence over personal development.

****

I had an extended conversation with Mrs. Crawford, Mr. Patton's secretary. Her serious dimensions and examinging mind, which was so very apparent as we talked, gave me reason to know that she is in the civil rights movement with design and purpose. I regretted her statement that so far as what should be done in voter registration was concerned, Mr. Patton is 98% right. I did not feel that I could afford to react to this, and yet, I did feel that such a statement can come to be reason enough to relieve her of the responsibility to think about how she can make an even greater contribution to what we are trying to do.

Section II.

The approaches to voter registration that are associated with and considered to be the personal property of Mr. W. C. Patton are in fact approaches that can be found, almost unchanged, in every manual in common circulation today. Organized labor, the major political parties, the American Heritage, the League of Women Voters, and other similar organizations, have for years milled out "how to do it" manuals and kits, most of which have not gone beyond the suggestion of setting up a card file and doing door-to-door canvassing. In these manuals, quite often, the use of handbills, sound trucks, and other communicative devices are taked onto the basic suggestions. The desirability of block organization is invariably suggested or implied. This is to be carried out through the organizational structure and leadership that is already existing in the given community. This, then, is very much the approach of Mr. W. C. Patton.

The approach and these manuals too often do not take into account the differences in communities and the need for a different approach for these communities. Such obvious differences as rural vs urgan, low income vs middle income, hills vs plains, Negro vs non-Negro, are almost without exception, ignored. By the same token, there is rarely to be found a discussion of how to appeal to different age groups - and this should be made, or how to use local issues to promote registration. The interest expressed in government in the past and at the present time by young people have not been embraced and made a part of registration manuals as a rule.

The shortcomings set out here relative to the general approach and the commonly circulated manual would, in the main, hold true of what Mr. Patton is doing. I hasten to point out that what I am saying here is that it is my feeling that the W. C. Patton approach, while effective to a degree, could be improved by taking into account the indicated shortcomings.

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Section III.

On Wednesday, June 3, 1964, I arrived in Memphis, Tennessee, and talked with Mr. Hugh Love, the designated director of the project. I asked Mr. Love how many people he had working in the project, and he suggested that there were some three or four hundred individuals. When I learned that we were in the office of the project, and compared the limited activity with other situations, I concluded that we did not have the same understanding of what we meant by the expression, "working in a project."

I asked how the people were recruited, and was told that they had been gotten together by phone calls to former workers, and by solicitation of clubs and organizations.

Among the approaches to be attempted, Mr. Love indicated that they plan to give prizes to the most successful indificual and organization. The kick-off meeting for the drive was held May 20, 1964, at which time the workers assembled, and were instructed and given literature. A sound truck has operated in the community since the beginning of the drive. It was estimated that some 2,500 people had registered between May 20 and June 5. I observed Mr. Love and Miss Hayes at work in the city of Memphis for a half day during which time some eight people were taken down in three trips.

I asked Mr. Love what he had found to be the major reason why people were not registered. He said, "Well, I feel that anybody that is not registered is a fool, but I guess I ought to say negligence and procrastination." I thought this was an interesting conclusion for a man working with the unregistered.

When asked about what he was saying to people in an effort to get them interested in registering and voting, Mr. Love said that he tells them that this is the only way that they can become first-class citizens. "Sometimes I tell them that it is their duty," he said.

I asked if he had a program for reaching the street corner people. He admitted after an embarrassing lapse of expression, that, "We use the same approach with all people." He then sought to explain, "The street corner people are different - they are young, they have not lived in the time when the white man was superior." This, I thought, was also an interesting expression. It might be that Mr. Love explained himself to a greater extent than he explained the people that he was speaking about.

Mr. Love stated that he had sent a copy of the NAACP sample sermong for Citizenship Sunday to all of the ministers. He was not sure how many had found it possible to use it.

I was told that the educators are helping, but he couldn't say just how. The following statements were solicited of Mr. Love:

> "The students at the three colleges are organized, but they have not done any registration work yet . . . .
>
> "There is a trade union organization in all of the plants, but I have not heard of them doing anything in registration . . .

"The only problem that I have is that I have too much to do, with Memphis and all of the others . . . .

"There is no paid help in Memphis - we do pay 75¢ per trip to the courthouse providing the driver takes as many as three persons . . . .

"Sometimes we spend money on office supplies and refreshments."

I asked Mr. Love if the community leadership was united. He indicated that it was, to the best of his knowledge.

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In Union City, we visited with Miss Ramona Carwell, Miss Alma Harper, and Mrs. Rachel Freeman.

Miss Alma Harper is the director of the Obinon county drive. We spent some three hours talking with her. The essence of the conversation was, "I can't get anybody to work - I don't have transportation - I am not well - I have just a few days ago had an operation on my leg - the people curse you out when you try to talke with them." We were not able to find out anything that sounded like an organized program.

I asked about the attitude of the office of the registrar. Miss Alma Harper said that the registrar was very cooperative, that at one previous time, she had been able to get the registrar to set up an office in the community, but that only three people registered all day.

Miss Harper is a lady of about 50 years of age. She volunteered the information, "My boyfriend sells whisky, and sometimes I go over there and he makes them go down with me to register before he will sell them a drink."

Among the many complaints, Miss Harper said, "I have been running all over this county, spending my own money because the little money that you gave ran out."

When asked about other help, Miss Harper indicated that the only encouraging conversation that she had had was with the county president, Mr. Harvey Vick. However, it did not appear that Mr. Vick had done any actual work.

Explaining the difficulties that a worker often encounters,

Miss Harper said, "Just this morning, as I was approaching a man to ask him to register, he said, 'Here comes that G____D_____ sophisticated w_____ trying to tell us what to do!'"

Mr. Love instucted Miss Harper to get someone to drive her around and that he would see to it that the person was paid. No specific sum was discussed. I rather suspect that Miss Harper had no understanding of what her rights and limitations were in the business of hiring drivers or other help.

I don't know exactly what this meant, and yet I feel it has significance: In the middle of the conversation, President Kennedy's picture came on television. Miss Harper stopped a statement that she was making and said, "Oh, look there, bless his heart." This expression of endearment came as somewhat of a surprise to me. At another point in this trip, 70 or 80 miles away, I was told by an interviewee, "The people don't want to do anything since the President was killed - they seem to feel that all is hopeless."

****

I talked to Mrs. Rachel Freeman, the director of the Union City drive, who complained bitterly about the fact that none of the NAACP members or officers would help in this drive. "The drive in this city consists of three people," Mrs. Freeman said. It was her feeling that the people at the courthouse are friendly, but we just can't get the people down to the courthouse, she said. I waited for Mr. Love to offer suggestions, but the only thing he said was, "You can get them - just keep trying."

One of the persons working with Mrs. Freeman was a recent high school graduate. The suggestion was offered that if she was old enough to register, the people that graduated from high school with her quite likely would be also; that she could have a class reunion party at her home. This, it was felt, would interest them. Once at the party, she could introduce the idea of registering, and possibly helping in the drive. I left with the feeling that the idea had some appeal. I noted the fact that there was no offer of funds for testing this approach.

****

In Dyersburg, I talked with Mrs. Orvella Ross about her drive. Mrs. Ross sounded like she could get the job done. I think she is interested, but it was amazing how little she knew about what was expected of her. Miss Hayes made the initial contact for this project. There was all sorts of confusion. The literature had just been received,

the forms to be used were not understood, there was no clear understanding of how long the drive was to last. Mrs. Ross said that Miss Hayes told her that she would receive $55 per week. Mr. Love told Mrs. Ross this was a mistake, the pay would be $25 per week.

Mrs. Ross spoke of organizing the youth for canvassing. This was discouraged by Mr. Love, saying old people will not listen to youth. (I, of course, wondered if he had heard of some of the success that youths have had in some communities.)

In spite of the consufion, Mrs. Ross had planned a reasonably well-organized mass meeting for the following night: The Rev. Hooks from Memphis was scheduled as the principal speaker.

When asked about the attitude of the registrar, Mrs. Ross said that she had just talked to the registrar a few days before. She said that he stopped her on the street and said, "Ovella, the NAACP is not coming up to the standards like it should in registration." "I told him I would tell the folks," she said.

Relative to other conditions in the community, Mrs. Ross pointed to what I think were some significant gains in employment.

****

In the city of Mason, I talked with Mr. T. C. Mason, the director of the drive. Mr. Mason, a man appearing to be in his late fifties, is quite articulate and sober - but he had no program in operation. He said that he was trying to get a complete list of the registered voters, and that this was holding him up. I asked him what he planned to do with the list when he got it - I don't think he had definitely decided on that part of his program. Mr. Mason complained of the lack of cooperation, and explained that many people that might possibly help are now in the field due to the season of the year.

We were asked for specific suggestions as to how to get his drive off the ground. I did not say anything, and Miss Hayes apparently did not have anything to offer. I asked what organizations there were in the community, and was told that most of the organizations are women's clubs. I followed with the question as to whether the clubs would work in a drive for a prize. Mr. Mason said he did not like the idea of paying people; he felt that they should do it out of interest in the cause. "We just need community leaders," he said, talking about professional people. "Well, what about the ministers?", I asked. "They talk, but they won't act....they are not afraid.....the whites bother you when you have no organization - when you have one, they don't bother you."

As we talked, it was very apparent that Mr. Mason had never heard of VEP or the south-wide effort. The NAACP came in for some criticism in this discussion also. Mr. Mason indicated that he did not feel that the literature that had been sent to him could be used in his community. It seemed as if he was saying that to put the bumper stickers on a car was to single one's self out for attack. Here, we see the fear coming out in an indirect way. He thought that the display cards for churches and stores were good, however.

I asked Mr. Mason if he had received sample sermons for Citizenship Sunday from Mr. Love. He said that he had, but that he had not distributed them because he did not think very much of ministers that read sermons.

I went to Brownsville, but was not able to see the project director. We were told by her husband that his wife was working, but he could not give us the name of anyone that was working with her.

Section IV.

It must be noted that most of the facts, opinions, and conclusions contained in this report are based in the main, on a three-day visit in the subject area. Such a short period of time and such limited contact is hardly adequate for a definitive investigation; and yet, it is felt that there is merit in what has been written here.

In the way of summary, I would point out:

1. At almost every stop, the projects under Mr. Patton's supervision are receiving far less in the way of funds than we here at VEP thought our grants to them would allow.

2. There is no clear cut idea as to what each project is allowed financially and for that reason, many project leaders elect to do little or nothing in the way of spending.

3. Loyalty to the NAACP and Mr. Patton is beyond question in the field and in the office. There is likewise loyalty to the job of voter registration - possibly to a lesser degree.

4. There is some understanding of the job to be done, and how to go about it, but there does not appear to be any great interest or ability to expand upon what is known, or to improve existing skills.

5. It would appear that regional leadership training institutes, well thought out and planned, would be of great benefit.

6. There is great interest in voter registration in the field, but most of it will not likely be translated into action because of the reason stated above.

In spite of anything that I have written here that may appear critical of Mr. Patton, I would like to state that I have developed a great respect for him. Some of what I have written, I would have said to him had he been in the office at the time of my visit. I take comfort in the belief that Mr. Patton and I have developed that unusual rapport wherein it is not necessary to agree in order to maintain our respect for each other.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB
BW

June 11, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: South Carolina Voter Education Project Meeting

Voter registration in the state of South Carolina has reached a level of organization and development wherein it can be expected to continue for some few years with a minimum amount of support and supervision. The leadership in the state is still lacking the confidence in its opinions that one would desire, but this will surely develop with time. The twelve or so field trips made in the state were fully justified by the positive accomplishment reflected in the three-session statewide meeting held May 30, 1964, which completed the formation of the South Carolina Voter Education Project. Against a background of three failing attempts at a statewide organization in the past twenty years, knowledgeable people in the state are now saying, "With the kind of leadership that the organization has, and with units in every county, we come closer to having a state organization than we ever have before."

The South Carolina project was developed in a way different from previous attempts. Instead of calling a few people from around the state together, and choosing state officers and then trying to move down to the local level, this organization was started at the county level, then moved to the congressional district level, and then on to the statewide level. One of the virtues of organizing this way was that leadership was passed out at each level, thereby decreasing the supply of available talent and lessening the possibility for conflict.

The May 30 meeting, the purposes of which are set out in a field report written May 20, entitled "South Carolina Leadership Meeting" went off as planned, and as set out in the attached program. The 4 o'clock session of county and congressional district chairmen was presided over by Dr. Thomas. (He has submitted a report of this meeting.)

I presided at a 4 o'clock dinner session that was closed to office holders and candidates. Some twenty persons attended. The principal speech was delivered by Mr. Moses Riddick, followed by a very healthy and enthusiastic discussion of the following questions:

1. Does the presence of Negro candidates substantially effect the interest Negro people show in the political life of the community?

2. How can interest be increased?

3. What kind of campaigns do Negroes usually conduct in the state?

4. What are some improvements that can be made on these campaigns?

5. What can we do to better prepare Negro candidates to serve, if elected?

Mr. Reddick was well received by the group, and made a real contribution. Some of the things that he said, caused me to know that I have not yet mastered the art of speaking frankly without offending. At one point, he looked at the group and said, "All of you will be defeated - you sitting there praying to God to elect you to office. Don't you know the same God that is up there now was up there when you were in slavery? I prayed to be elected, and got defeated three times. Then I went to work, and built some block organization!" In the same frank way, he talked to the group about how to raise money for registration and where to look for it. (A tape of his speech was made, and is in our files.)

The evening session where Senator Leroy Johnson spoke was attended by about 750 people who received his message with great enthusiasm. The attached news clip summarizes this session. A partial list of the 160 delegates is also attached.

Randolph T. Blackwell
Field Director

RTB:js

WB
BW

June 29, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph T. Blackwell

Re: Field Trips to South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia

On June 15, I stopped briefly in Oconee, South Carolina, and held a conference with Dr. Hill of that city. My primary reason for talking with Dr. Hill was to inquire of him as to whether he was in contact with the congressional district leaders of the Third District.

The Third District was one of the last in the state of South Carolina to be organized, and the one district in the state that had not involved, to some degree, all of its counties.

As I talked with Dr. Hill, it was developed that he had been contacted by some of the district leaders, but that he had not gotten his organization tied into the overall organization. Dr. Hill indicated that he had received an invitation to the meeting, but had not found it possible to attend. He complained about the fact that the Third Congressional District is extremely spread out, and that to have attended the meeting would have meant traveling 150 to 200 miles.

I was pleased to receive from Dr. Hill the assurance that he is still interested in the district organization, and I assured him that I would talk with Rev. McCain and see if something could not be worked out.

On the same evening, I made an effort to talk with Dr. Hawkins in Charlotte, North Carolina, about this program, but learned that he was out of town.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, on June 16, I talked with Dr. George Simplins, and was told by him that he and his group would be interested in trying to conduct a drive sometime before the November election. He indicated that he had received a grant from NAACP for voter registration in the amount of $500.

Dr. Simpkins promised that he would supply us with a summary report and that he would place before us a proposal for another grant.

In Richmond, Virginia, June 17, I talked with Mr. Herman Benn, Rev. R. J. Wimbush, Mr. Lester Banks, Mr. John Brooks, and Mr. Earl Davis.

Mr. Herman Benn and Rev. Wimbush are officers in the Virginia Voters League. Rev. Wimbush succeeded Mr. Cook, the former Executive Secretary of the League. Rev. Wimbush explained that Mr. Cook was of senior years, and in declining health. Mr. Cook's condition was explained to have contributed substantially to the decline of the state organization.

Rev. Wimbush indicated that the League still has very good connections around the state though they are, to a degree, inactive. It was his contention that with a little help, he could reactivate this once very active organization.

I suggested to these gentlement that VEP might possibly be interested in making a grant larger than the last one if they would indicate their area of strength. In response to this, they suggested that they had contacts of significance in the Fourth Congressional District, and would like to do work in that area and possibly the Eighth. I suggested that they place a proposal before us.

Being in Richmond offered me an opportunity to talk with Mr. Lester Banks and Mr. John Brooks. I was interested in three questions:

1. What was the state NAACP planning in the area of voter registration for the period before November?
2. What financial assistance had NAACP contributed to voter registration in the state?
3. Had my former impressions of Mr. John Brooks been justified?

As we talked, I learned that the NAACP had not spent any of its funds in the state of Virginia. Nothing was said that sounded like the association plans to spend any funds before November.

Mr. Banks expressed some interest in VEP funds for the Fourth Congressional District, and some 10 or 12 cities in the state. As he talked, I got the feeling that Mr. Banks was putting his program together for the first time.

Mr. Brooks was his usual sociable self, and yet I still don't know just how sincere he is about voter registration. Mr. Brooks told me that the NAACP had done a bang-up job in North and South Carolina. He explained how he had set in operation, an organization in South Carolina that was really the ideal thing. I sought to explain some of the facts about the South Carolina program, but Mr. Brooks would not relent.

I frankly cannot tell whether Mr. Brooks believes what he says, or whether he is just careless with the truth.

One thing of value that came out of the conference was Mr. Brooks' frank suggestion that the best group to do the job in Richmond was the Richmond Crusade for Voters.

I made an effort to establish contact with this group, but the principal officers were not available. Mr. Brooks is associated with people in the group, and said that he would encourage the group to communicate with VEP.

I called on Earl Davis at his house in Richmond and had a very warm conversation about the Raleigh, North Carolina, project. He indicated that in the main, he was satisfied except for the fact that the Democratic party had not come through with its share of the cost of the program as agreed.

Mr. Davis indicated that he would keep us informed as to what are the areas of priority for the coming month as far as he sees them.

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In Petersburg, June 19, I talked with Mr. Herbert Coulton of SCLC. As on previous visits, I found Mr. Coulton engaged in a kind of activity that could be interpreted as doing community voter registration, and yet his activities lend themselves to other interpretations. On this occasion, I found Mr. Coulton at the local bowling alley where he was meeting with a group of people. Mr. Coulton explained that by working with this group on a recreation problem, he is able to get them to work with him in voter registration.

As per usual, Mr. Coulton was not able to spell out an organized program, and yet he insisted that he is getting people to register constantly. He complained that he is still handicapped by the lack of funds.

Mr. Coulton insisted that through the efforts of himself and some others, a Negro would be elected to the City Council of Petersburg on the following Monday.

I told Mr. Coulton that a number of groups are expressing interest in the Fourth Congressional District of Virginia, and that VEP would be interested in any proposal that he might have.

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In Enfield, North Carolina, I talked with Mr. A. Reed Johnson about the Enfield project. I asked Mr. Johnson if the Negro people had become discouraged by the fact that all of their candidates had been defeated in the last election. Mr. Johnson said that they had been prepared for that kind of outcome. They were, he said, encouraged by the showing that was made. I asked if this would effect their organization. He answered that this would serve to indicate the need for more effective organization. While I was at the office of Mr. Johnson, some 25 or 30

cars collected in the yard for a mid-day meeting of leaders from all over the county to talk about moving on with their organization.

I raised with Mr.Johnson the matter of SCEF taking credit for the work being done in Enfield. Mr. Johnson showed me the letters that had been sent out and received between himself and WAB. Commenting on his letter, he said that he would prefer not to try to discuss the matter in a letter, because there are many sides. He said that he did not feel that Salter was a Communist; that Salter had denied any such connection; that Salter had worked with them and had made a great contribution; that their organization is an old one, and that the most successful things that it had done were done before Salter came to the community.

I got the feeling that Mr. Johnson took offense to the suggestion that they might not be making their own decisions. He said that he would like to come to Atlanta and talk the matter over. I agreed that this might be a good idea. Mr. Johnson then said that he would have done the next day if it had not been for the fact that his wife had just gotten fired as a teacher because of her work in voter registration. He said that they had over the past two years or so, put all of the money that they could into community projects. He then asked if I thought WAB would pay for his travel to Atlanta, and I suggested that he should call and ask - that it might be possible.

With reference to future plans, Mr. Johnson said that the movement is still making plans to carry on, but that their future is in question due to the lack of funds. I suggested that VEP would be interested in any proposal that he might have.

****

In Wilson, North Carolina, June 19, I stopped and had a brief conference with Dr. Butterfield. It was important to inquire of him how his project had worked out. I was pleased to be able to say to him that we were generally pleased with the results of his project. Dr. Butterfield said that they feel that an even greater job can be done. He pointed out that the grant that VEP had made was used to pay a group of individuals that had not only worked at getting people registered, but also at setting up block organization. He said that some of the recruited block-workers later came to feel that they were entitled to pay, also. This is a problem that is being worked out. Dr. Butterfield said that they are interested in conducting another drive before the November election, and that they planned to ask for some additional help. I indicated to him that we would be interested, whatever we would have to propose.

****

In Raleigh, North Carolina, June 19, I talked with Mr. James Shepard, about the project in that city. Mr. Shepard reviewed for me the history of the project in what I thought was an objective fashion. He pointed out that on the whole, the SNCC workers were good. At points "they

tended to be a little opinionated," he said, but that he learned to deal with that. Mr. Shepard said that he did not want to hold the fellows to a higher standard than he should. Using such language as, "They are opening doors that I would not attempt." indicating that he was not sure that they did not have a right to be just a little stubborn. "There are some things that just cannot be done here," Mr. Sheppard said.

Mr. Sheppard indicated that the project came to a successful conclusion with two problems left behind. An unpaid telephone bill and a missing typewriter. I told Mr. Shepard that Mr. Davis had said to me in Richmond that he was going to try to take care of the phone bill. I promised that I would call the SNCC office and tell them that the Raleigh group felt that their organization was responsible for the missing typewriter.

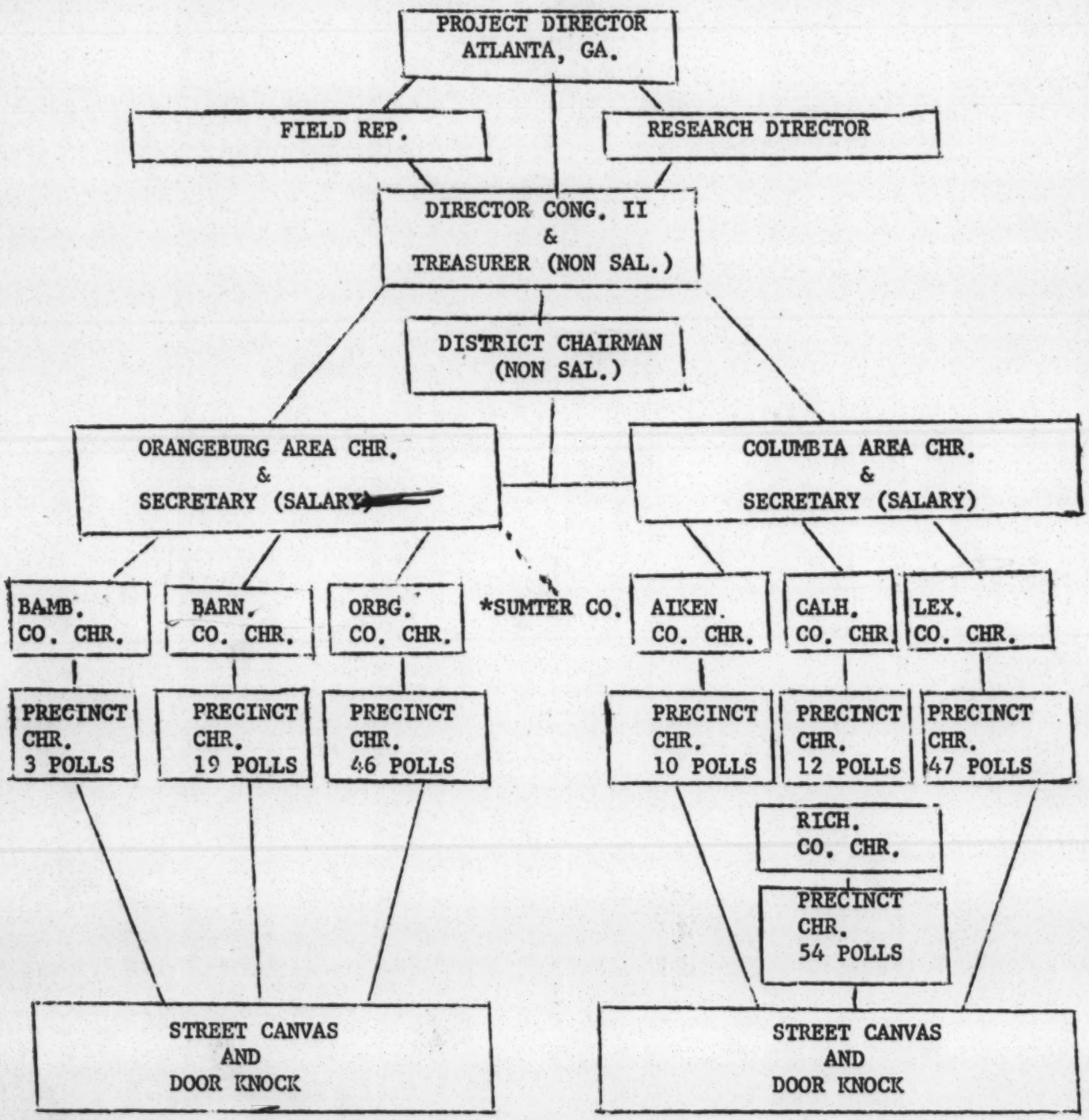
RTB jp

js

PROPOSAL OF THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
IN SOUTH CAROLINA FOR 1964

SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT #2

ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN



*SUMTER COUNTY IS WORKED BY CORE.

1. District Director and Treasurer are non-salary personnel. The Director has a part-time secretary.

2. Area chairmen and Secretaries full-time and/or part-time are salary personnel.

3. County chairmen will be paid an honorarium (only if this is approved in the new budget as requested).

4. Ward and Precinct chairmen and their workers are non-salary workers, but honorarium, prizes, and awards are paid on this level. Advertising, programing, etc. subject to approval by chairmen and/or the director.

5. Official transportation is paid to all workers on all levels.

6. Supplies are distributed only through all chairmen (new proposal) subject to approval by the director.

7. The program will continue on a very limited financial basis until a new grant has been received. Reports to continue through January, February, and March.

8. A new grant is requested to begin March 1, 1964 and continue through May.

   NOTE: No grant has been approved for this period an no spendings are to be charged against the district director's office unless prior approved.

9. We will use much of our time and energy between now and March 1st to iron out many of our basic problems steming from organization and administration.

10. If a new grant is approved for March, April, and May, 1964, the major thrust should come in April and May, but most especially in May when we will have fifteen (15) days to register.

11. Our educational program will be discussed later as it relates to the hard months ahead after the registration books are closed.

12. Please see to it that registered voters attend the party club meeting of their choice.

13. Much praise is extended to all of the many workers (paid and especially to those unpaid) for the job well done over the past grant period. Your most sincere cooperation is asked for as we continue to work together for a greater South Carolina and America.

Yours very truly,

C. H. Thomas, Jr.

C. H. Thomas, Jr., Director
S. C. Congressional District #2

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTH CAROLINA CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT #2

PROPOSED BUDGET 1964

Period March, April, and May, 1964

		Per Month	Period
1.	Secretaries and Clerks 2 are officers and Director's office	$425.00	$1275.00
2.	Office space fixtures, and utilities 2 offices	150.00	450.00
3.	Area Chairmen (2)	425.00	1275.00
4.	Helpers at County Registration Office during regisrration periods (2)	150.00	300.00
5.	Postage and supplies 2 are offices and director	150.00	300.00
6.	Travel All official travel for all workers on all levels	400.00	1200.00
7.	Honorarium for 7 County Chairmen at $50.00	350.00	1050.00
8.	Advertising, programining, prizes, and awards; at all levels from precinct polling to county chairman, and district chairman. (7 Counties at $35.00)	245.00	735.00
9.	Telephone 2 are officers; 7 Co. Chairmen; 1 director at $5.00	50.00	150.00
	TOTAL	$2345.00	$6735.00

For June, July, August, September, October, November, and December, we request $1,000.00 for each of the six months or $6,000.00 for the period after May, but completing the year 1964.

Re-statement:

1. For March, April, and May $6735.00
2. For June - December $6000.00

GRAND TOTAL $12735.00

450
25
16
8
499

LOOKING FOR RIRST-CLASS CITIZENSHIP?

Here's all you have to do

1. **PAY YOUR POLL TAX** by cash or by mailing check or money order to: City Treasurer, City Hall Building, Corner Atlantic & Plume Sts.

AMOUNT

1960----------	$1.50 +	25¢ Penalty
1961 ----------	1.50 +	16¢ Penalty
1962 ----------	1.50 +	8¢ Penalty

2. **REGISTER** at City Hall Annex - Yellow brick building next to City Hall, Monday thru Friday: 8:30 A.M. - 5 P.M.

3. **FOR FURTHER INFORMATION** aid, or transportation to and from City Hall, contact the TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT, 655½ E. Princess Anne Rd. Telephone: MA 7-0655

Voter's Guide

FACTS FOR VOTERS IN NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Issued by the
TIDEWATER VOTER
REGISTRATION PROJECT

QUALIFICATIONS

FOR VOTING

YOU MAY VOTE IF:

1. You are a U. S. citizen 21 years of age or over;

2. You have lived in Virginia one year, in Norfolk six months, and in your precinct 30 days;

3. You have paid your poll taxes as required; and

4. You are registered.

You may vote in a primary if you are qualified to vote in the general election for which the primary is held.

POLL TAX

What it is. The poll tax is a capitation or head tax of $1.50 for each year of Virginia residence (except the first), levied on every citizen over 21, whether or not he or she intends to vote.

Its relation to voting. In order to vote you must have paid, six months before the November election, any poll taxes due for the three years preceding the year in which you wish to vote.

HOW AND WHEN TO PAY

The poll tax is assessed by the Commissioner of Revenue on every person over 21 years of age known to be in residence in the city on January 1 of a given year. The bill is mailed by the Treasurer, along with other tax bills, and is payable by December 5. If you have not received your poll tax bill by December 1, call the Treasurer's office to be billed, or pay in person at City Hall. If you fail to pay the poll tax by December 5, you must pay it with a 5 per cent penalty added by the registration deadline the following May, in order to vote.

Keep your poll tax receipts - you may need to show them at the polls.

Members of the Armed Forces and Veterans.

Members of the Armed Forces and Veterans are excused from payment of the poll tax for any year or part of the year in which they were in active service, providing they claim Virginia as their legal residence. Those who are overseas may vote without registering. In that case they should apply for Armed Forces ballots from the State Board of Elections, Richmond, Virginia.

21 Year Olds. A Virginia resident who will become 21 before the date of the general election must register before the registration deadline even though he may not yet be 21. Then he may vote without paying the current year's poll tax.

SPECIAL ELECTIONS

If a special election is held before the second Tuesday in June you may vote if you were qualified to vote the previous November or if you paid all poll taxes due at least six months before the second Tuesday in June. For a special election held on or after the second Tuesday in June, voting qualifications are the same as for the November general election of that year, up to six days prior to the election unless it falls during the 30-day period before a regular election, when books are closed.

ABSENTEE VOTING

Any qualified voter who is physically unable to go to the polls on election day or who is away on business or vacation, may vote by absentee ballot. (This includes students away at school.)

How to apply for ballot

1. Ask in person at your Registrar's office for the application for an official ballot, which may be filled out immediately. You will then receive your ballot. Or you may:

2. Write the General Registrar for the application for an absentee ballot. You will receive an application form which must be filled out and witnessed by one person, giving the witness' address. Then mail or give the application form to the General Registrar not less than eight days before the election in which you wish to vote.

HOW TO CAST YOUR ABSENTEE VOTE

1. When you receive the sealed envelope containing the ballot, take it, sealed, to a notary public and follow the instructions on the envelope.

2. Return the ballot in the official envelope, by registered mail or in person. Any ballot returned in any other way will be void.

3. If you find that you will not need to use your absentee ballot, return it unopened at least three days before the election; then, if you go to your polling place on election day you may vote.

4. Even though you have cast your absentee vote, you may appear at the polls on election day, void your ballot, and vote in person.

HOW TO REGISTER

Registration is permanent in Virginia. Once registered, always registered, for as long as you maintain your legal residence.

When to register You may register any time in the year except during the periods when the books are closed - 30 days preceding the primary, 30 days preceding the general elections, and six days preceding a special elec-

tion. Remember to take your poll tax receipts, or, if exempt, proof of military service.

Where to register. You may register in the office of the General Registrar, Second floor, City Hall Annex, Plume & Atlantic Streets. The Registrar's Office is open from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday - Friday.

Change of Residence. If you plan to move from one precinct to another, call the General Registrar to ask that she transfer your name to the new precinct. This must be done before the registration books close. You must vote in the precinct in which you live, except that you must vote in your original precinct if there is an election within the next 30 days.

AT THE POLLS. . .

Outside the polls. No person other than judges and clerks may be within 40 feet of the voting machine and no crowds may congregate within 100 feet of the voting place.

Inside the polls. When you enter, give your name and address to the clerks to be checked on the poll tax and registration lists. When your name is found on both lists by them, you are ready to vote.

To Vote. Voting machines are in use in Norfolk in the primary and general elections. Demonstration machines are on display at the polls.

D E A D L I N E S !

TO VOTE IN NORFOLK

(You register only once, but poll tax must be paid each year):

1. <u>Poll tax deadline</u> - Pay your poll tax six months before November election day.

2. <u>Registration</u> - is permanent, but if you have not registered, you may register any time up to 30 days before primary election or up to 30 days before November election day.

3. <u>Primary Elections</u> are held the first Tuesday after the second Monday in July.

4. <u>General Elections</u> are held the Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

REGISTER AND VOTE

"The rights you win will be your own"

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT
Room 103, YMCA Bldg.
812 Wood Street
Norfolk, Virginia MA 7-0655

Rev. C. E. Griffin, President
Arthur T. Freeman, Director

REV. C. E. GRIFFIN
PRESIDENT

MR. EARL BRAXTON
VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. BETTY D. JORDEN
SECRETARY

DR. S. F. COPPAGE
TREASURER

MR. ARTHUR T. FREEMAN
DIRECTOR

DR. W. P. ROBINSON
COORDINATOR

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT, INC.
655½ EAST PRINCESS ANNE ROAD
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
- + -
PHONE MA 7-0655

"A Program to Increase the Electorate of Tidewater"

Dear

We take this opportunity to congratulate you on being one of our new first-class citizens.

On becoming a qualified voter, you have taken the first big step toward eliminating the problems and injustices which now confront the Negro people here in the city of Norfolk and throughout these United States. We feel that one of the most significant steps the Negro can take at this hour is that short walk to the voting booth; for without the power of the ballot, the ears of the legislators and officials are deaf to the wishes of our people.

It is now up to you to exercise that God-given right in the struggle for equality. Every right entails a duty. Negroes have a right to vote, and the duty to exercise that right.

Yours for a better Norfolk,

Arthur T. Freeman

Arthur T. Freeman, Director

ATF/lsd

REMEMBER...

POLITICS is the Business of running YOUR government
POLITICS is YOUR BUSINESS!

SO WHAT?

SOOOOOOOO.....

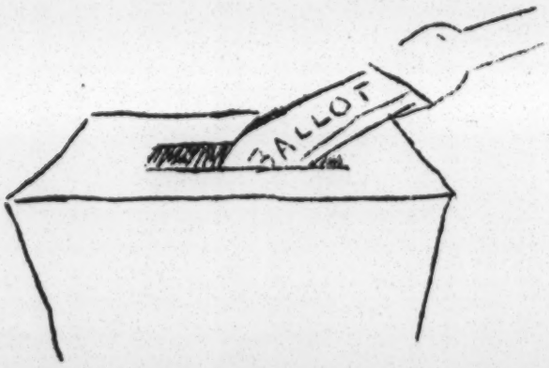
1. Be sure to register

2. Find out {when / where / how} to Vote

3. Decide {whom / what} to Vote for

4. Urge others to do likewise

and.. 5. **VOTE--**



TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

ORGANIZATION_____ AREA_____

PRECINCT_____

TVRP WEEKLY REPORT

_____
name of worker

Period covered by report;

From_____to_____

_____
address

	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT	TOTAL
NO. CONTACTED							
1. No. at home							
2. No. not at home							
3. No. Registered							
4. No. promised to go							
5. No. disinterested							
6. No. Ineligible*							
7. No. Moved							
8. Deceased							
9. Unable because of illness							
NO. OF RETURN CALLS TO MAKE							
TOTAL							

* Ineligible because they are not able to read or write.

THE NINE PROMISES OF A GOOD CITIZEN

1. I will vote at all elections. I will inform myself on candidates and issues and will use my greatest influence to see that honest and capable officials are elected. I will accept public office when I can serve my community or my country thereby.

2. I will serve on a jury when asked.

3. I will respect and obey the laws. I will assist public officials in preventing crime and the courts in giving evidence.

4. I will pay my taxes understandingly (if not cheerfully).

5. In thought, expression and action; at home, at school and in all my contacts, I will avoid any group prejudice based on class, race or religion.

6. I will work for peace but will dutifully accept my responsibilities in time of war and will respect the Flag.

7. I will support our system of free public education by doing everything I can to improve the schools in my own community.

8. I will try to make my community a better place in which to live.

9. I will practice and teach the principles of good citizenship right in my own home.

THE FREEDOM PLEDGE

I am an American. A free American.
Free to speak -- without fear
Free to worship God in my own way
Free to stand for what I think right
Free to oppose what I believe wrong
Free to choose those who govern my country.
This heritage of Freedom I pledge to uphold
For myself and all mankind.

* * * * * *

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT
ROOM 103, YMCA BLDG.
812 WOOD STREET
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA MA 7-0655

Dear Friend:

We don't see your name in " T H E B O O K ". . . . . .
the Voter Registration Book, that is . . . .!

Every Good Citizen votes. . . . . to V O T E you must first R E G I S T E R ! So, don't delay - go to the City Hall Annex, Atlantic & Plume Streets today and put your name on "The Book" !

Do you need help, information or transportation? Then call the Tidewater Voter Registration Project office at 627-0655 and we will help in whatever way we can. Or, you may contact:

_____

_____
name

_____
address

_____
phone

The next time we take a look in "The Book" - we hope your name has been added!

Sincerely yours,

Arthur T. Freeman
TVRP Director

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

SURVEY REPORT SHEET

DATE _____

NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE	60	61	62	REGISTERED

WORKER'S NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

SURVEY REPORT SHEET

DATE _____

NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE	60	61	62	REGISTERED

WORKER'S NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT
ROOM 103, YMCA BLDG.
812 WOOD STREET
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA MA 7-0655

Dear Friends,

Here is a chance to enhance your organization's treasury, and also contribute to the advancement of the Negro people here in the Tidewater area.

The Tidewater Voter Registration Project is sponsoring a gigantic Voter Registration Contest. This contest will run for the duration of the year 1963; that is from November 6th through December 31st. The following CASH PRIZES will be awarded to the winning organizations or individuals registering the highest number of new voters beyond the figure 25 (twenty-five):

FIRST PRIZE - - $ 50.00

SECOND PRIZE - $ 25.00

THIRD PRIZE - - $ 15.00

Also, a cash prize of $ 10.00 will be given to one of the lucky new registrants, to be determined by a drawing to be held at the conclusion of the contest.

Enclosed you will find a contest entry blank along with a set of rules and information. Upon receipt of your entry blank, TVRP will supply you with form tickets for your new registrants. Enter now and start tonight by registering the members of your organization 100% qualified voters.

For further information contact the TVRP office at 627-0655.

Yours in Citizenship,

Arthur T. Freeman

Arthur T. Freeman
Director

C. E. Griffin

(Rev) C. E. Griffin
President

ATF/lsd
Enclosures

TVRP VOTER REGISTRATION CONTEST

OFFICIAL ENTRY BLANK

(please print clearly)

We, the members of the _____
(Name of Organization)
hereby register our intent to participate in the TVRP VOTER REGISTRATION CONTEST.

* * * * * *

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION _____

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION _____
(civic, social, etc.)

NUMBER OF MEMBERS _____ NUMBER REGISTERED _____

MEETING DATE _____

Signed _____ _____
office

Date _____

City Treasurer,

Norfolk, Virginia _____, 19____

I hereby appoint _____ as my agent, and have given him the sum of $_____ to pay my Capitation (Poll) taxes for the year(s)_____.

_____

_____

PRESENT ADDRESS

_____

FORMER ADDRESS

City Treasurer,

Norfolk, Virginia _____, 19____

I hereby appoint_____as my agent, and have given him the sum of $_____to pay my Capitation (Poll) taxes for the year_____.

_____

_____

PRESENT ADDRESS

_____

FORMER ADDRESS

City Treasurer,

Norfolk, Virginia _____, 19____

I hereby appoint_____as my agent, and have given him the sum of $_____to pay my Capitation (Poll) taxes for the year_____.

_____

_____

PRESENT ADDRESS

_____

FORMER ADDRESS

TO THE GENERAL REGISTRAR OF THE _____PRECINCT, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

I hereby make application in my own handwriting
to registrar in the above-named precinct

Name_____ Residence Address_____

Age_____Date of birth_____Place of birth_____

Occupation_____Occupation for the year next preceding _____

Have you previously voted?____Name state_____County_____Precinct__

If naturalized, give date of papers and in what court?_____

Length of residence in state_____City_____Precinct_____

Have you ever been convicted of any crime?_____If so, what crime?_____

CERTIFIED BY:_____GENERAL REGISTRAR

REGISTRATION OATH:

I,_____do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am entitled to register under the laws of this state, and that I am not disqualified form exercising the right of suffrage by the Constitution of Virginia.

_____

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO BEFORE ME THIS____DAY OF_____, 19_____

_____
General Registrar

TO THE GENERAL REGISTRAR OF THE _____PRECINCT, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

I hereby make application in my own handwriting
to registrar in the above-named precinct

Name_____ Residence Address_____

Age____Date of birth_____Place of birth_____

Occupation_____Occupation for the year next preceding_____

Have you previously voted?_____Name state_____County_____Precinct___

If naturalized, give date of papers and in what court?_____

Length of residence in state_____City_____Precinct_____

Have you ever been convicted of any crime?_____If so, what crime?_____

CERTIFIED BY:_____GENERAL REGISTRAR

REGISTRATION OATH:

I, _____do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am entitled to register under the laws of this state, and that I am not disqualified from exercising the right of suffrage by the Constitution of Virginia.

_____

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO BEFORE ME THIS _____DAY OF_____19_____

_____
General Registrar

TIDEWATER VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

BLOCK WORKERS REPORT SHEET

WORKER'S NAME_____ DATE_____ PRECINCT_____

****

VISIT #_____ ADDRESS_____

NAME_____ _____ AGE_____ _____
(husband) (wife) (h) (w)

NO. VOTING AGE IN HOME_____ NO. REGISTERED_____ PRECINCT _____

NO. POLL TAX PAID_____ FOR WHICH YEARS?_____ PHONE_____

OBSERVATIONS_____

_____

VISIT #_____ ADDRESS_____

NAME_____ _____ AGE_____ _____
(husband) (wife) (h) (w)

NO. VOTING AGE IN HOME_____ NO. REGISTERED_____ PRECINCT_____

NO. POLL TAX PAID_____ FOR WHICH YEARS?_____ PHONE_____

OBSERVATIONS_____

_____

VISIT #_____ ADDRESS_____

NAME_____ _____ AGE_____ _____
(husband) (wife) (h) (w)

NO. VOTING AGE IN HOME_____ NO. REGISTERED_____ PRECINCT_____

NO. POLL TAX PAID_____ FOR WHICH YEARS?_____ PHONE_____

OBSERVATIONS_____

_____

VISIT #_____ ADDRESS_____

NAME_____ _____ AGE_____ _____
(husband) (wife) (h) (w)

NO. VOTING AGE IN HOME_____ NO. REGISTERED_____ PRECINCT_____

NO. POLL TAX PAID_____ FOR WHICH YEARS?_____ PHONE_____

OBSERVATIONS_____

_____

_____

**NOTE TO WORKER - Use this space for any additional comments.

Budget for Virginia (Six Months)

During the next six months I will be working in several cities in Virginia. In these areas registration is not very difficult but it will need some financial as well as some organizational help. I am hoping this report will be given due consideration.

PETERSBURG

Canvassers	$1,000.00
Extra office help (for six months)	600.00
Transportation (gas, and car polls)	250.00
Supplies (postage, postals, memo paper etc.)	150.00
Baby sitters	100.00
Radio time	150.00
Other techniques (freedom dance, etc.)	100.00
	$2,350.00

SUFFOLK

Office help	300.00
Canvassers	500.00
Transportation	200.00
Supplies	100.00
Baby sitters	50.00
Other techniques	100.00
	$1,250.00

LYNCHBURG

Canvassers	150.00
Transportation	200.00
Supplies	100.00
Baby sitters	100.00
Office help	250.00
Other techniques	100.00
	$1,600.00

PORTSMOUTH

Canvassing	1,500.00
Office help	500.00
Transportation	300.00
Supplies	150.00
Baby sitters	100.00
	$2,550.00

Budget for Virginia cont'd

Continuation of drive in
DANVILLE

Canvassing
Office help
Transportation $500.00
Supplies
Baby sitting

Yours in the Struggle,

Herbert V. Coulton

BEAUFORT COUNTY STATISTICS

1960

Prepared by

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Frogmore, South Carolina

Beaufort County - 1960

This study is designed to provide a statistical outline of Beaufort County and to help locate problems warranting special attention.

Since Penn Community Services works primarily with the Negro community, this study is focused specifically on Negro, or non-white, statistics. We realize that these problems are not limited to the Negro community. While the responsibility of improvement lies partially with the Negro community, significant changes must necessarily involve total community cooperation.

Some figures stand out in the following tables:

Population: During the decade 1950-1960, Beaufort changed from a predominantly Negro County (57%) to predominantly white (62%). The county experienced the highest percentage increase (64%) of the state -- primarily white persons, through establishment of the Marine Corps Air Station.

Education: 81% of Negro students enrolling in 1950 ~~at the St. Helena School~~ dropped out before graduation; 46% of the Negro population over twenty-five years old are functionally illiterate, yet the public schools spend per Negro pupil only 70% of the funds that it spends for each white student.

Farm: Negroes comprise 74% of the farm operators but farm only 8% of the land; only 3% are tenants.

Employment: Almost one-third of the Negro families earn less than $1,000 annually, and over one-half earn less than $2,000. More than one-half the workers hold unskilled jobs.

Rural Housing: One-third of the total homes in the county either have an outdoor privy or no facility whatsoever. 15% of the homes do not have flues for heating, while one-third are without piped water.

Health: 55% of Negro babies are delivered by a midwife, and 35% of Negro births are illegitimate.

Registration: Negroes comprise about one-third of registered persons for voting, yet only 17% of those eligible are registered.

Several terms should be defined: The definition of farm was changed in 1960, to include farms that have at least 10 acres or sell $250 worth of products annually; earlier the figures were 3 acres and $150. The new definition partially accounts for the large decrease in number of farms.

Figures for the Beaufort Division include those of Beaufort city. The city statistics are listed because of their significance.

Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Population

Total and Nonwhite Population 1900-1960

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite
1900	35,495	32,146	90.6
1910	30,355	26,392	86.9
1920	22,269	17,468	78.4
1930	21,815	15,572	71.4
1940	22,037	14,781	67.1
1950	26,993	15,521	57.5
1960	44,187	17,104	38.7

During the decade 1950-60, Beaufort County had the largest percentage of increase in the state: 63.7%.
The population per square mile in 1950 was 40.2; in 1960, 75.1. The County has 588 square miles (see map).
The 1960 rural population totalled 37,889 of which 22,834 were white, 14,929 (40%) were Negro, 126 of other races.
The rural non-farm population is 81.9% of the total (the state is 44.1%). The rural farm population is 3.8% (the state is 14.7%).
The median age in the County in 1950 was 20.9; in 1960, 19.1 (South Carolina: 23.4; United States: 29.5).

Education

School Attendance 1959-60 (ten day)

	Total	Negro
Enrollment	9,118	5,214
Daily average attendance	7,857	4,547
Percent attendance	86.17	87.21
State average	87.1	84.6
Teachers		
Elementary	183	104 (56% of total)
High School	115	64 (55%)
Total	298	168 (56%)
Average Teaching Load (daily)		
Elementary	27	28
High School	25	25
Total Number Schools (not buildings)		
Elementary	15	8
High School	8	5
Drop-outs 1950 to 1962		
1950-51 enrollment in 1st grade	1,025	800
1962 High School graduates	290	150
Drop-outs	735	650
Percent of 1950-51 enrollment	72%	81%

Costs per child 1956-57 Season

	White	Negro	Percent of White
Elementary	$199	$136	68%
High School	237	171	72%

Amount Spent on Current Operations of County Schools 1959-60

Total	County	State	Federal
$1,495,981	$303,447	$962,403	$230,131 (15%)

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Education - continued

Years of School Completed 1960

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons, 25 and over	15,741	6,514	41	100
No school years completed	809	752	92	12
Elementary, 1-4 "	2,415	2,198	91	34
" 5-8 "	3,806	2,335	61	36
High School, 1-3 "	2,778	598	21	9
" " 4 "	3,667	331	9	5
College, 1-3 "	1,154	112	9	2
" 4 or more "	1,112	188	16	3
Median school years "	9.9	5.5		
	(1950: 6.3)			

Functional Illiteracy 1960

Total adults, 25 and over 15,741

Functional illiterates, " " " 3,224 (20.4%; state: 20.3%)

Farm

Farms in Beaufort County are decreasing in number, growing in size. Approximate land area 1959: 376,320 acres, 28% of which is in farms; the state proportion is 47%.

Average Size of Farms

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Acreage 1959	181.7 (state 117.0)	20.4 (state 39.8)	11
" 1954	110.5 (" 89.1)	21.8 (" 35.9)	20

Average age of all farm operators

1959: 53.6 1954: 51.7

Number of Farms

	1959	1954
Under 10 acres	61	433
10 to 49 "	401	616
50 or more "	117	152

Off-farm Work and Economic Class

Off-farm Work and Other Income

Farm operators, working off their farms 1959 337

100 or more days 257

Farms by Economic Class

Commercial farms 125

Other farms, part-time 330

" " part-retirement 100 (includes "residential, subsistence, or marginal farms")

Farms and Acreage by Color and Tenure

Farm Operators	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Number 1959	579	430	74
Acreage "	105,230	8,780	8
Number 1954	1,201	1,018	85
Acreage "	132,763	22,219	17
Full Owners			
Number 1959	365	274	75
Acreage "	38,480	5,563	14
Number 1954	843	724	86
Acreage "	66,030	13,104	20
Managers			
Number 1959	15	-	-
" 1954	9	1	11

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Farms - continued

Farms and Acreage by Color and Tenure

All Tenants	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total
Number 1959	23	15	65
" 1954	57	48	84

Proportion of Tenancy

Percentage 1959	4.0 (state 31.8)	3.5 (state 53.7)
" 1954	4.7 (" 40.3)	4.7 (" 62.8)

Truck Crop Labor

	Migratory Labor	Commuting Labor
1950	201	850
1955	941	1,310

The annual average temperature is 66.5°; the January average is 50.9°; the July average is 81.5°.
The annual rainfall average is 46.0 inches; the monthly high average in July is 5.7 inches.
The average number of growing days is 284.

Employment

Family Income in 1959

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	8,030	3,002	37	100
Under $1,000	1,145	975	85	32
1,000-1,999	1,029	723	70	24
2,000-2,999	1,193	613	51	20
3,000-3,999	1,085	306	28	10
4,000-4,999	1,074	209	19	7
5,000-5,999	806	90	11	3
6,000-6,999	471	37	7	1
7,000-7,999	402	12	2	*
8,000-8,999	269	12	4	*
9,000-9,999	176	21	11	*
10,000 & over	380	4	1	*
Median Income				
Families	$3,597	$1,728	48	
Families and unrelated individuals	$1,864	$1,294	69	

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Employment - continued

Industry of Employed ("Total" and "Nonwhite" columns differ slightly in designation of industries)

Total and Percent of Total Employed		
Employed	8,377	100%
Agriculture	1,270	15
Construction	636	8
Manufacturing	443	5
Food and kindred prod.	229	3
Railroad and other transportation	188	2
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	110	1
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	1,626	19
Private households	862	10
Other personal services	397	5
Educational services	537	6
Other professional and related services, public administration	1,172	14
Other industries and not reported	1,136	14

Nonwhite and Percent of Nonwhite Employed		
Employed	4,421	100%
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	1,205	27
Construction	402	9
Manufacturing	295	7
Transportation and kindred services	122	3
Wholesale and retail trade	444	10
Finance, Insurance and real estate	32	*
Business and repair services	20	*
Personal services	1,046	24
Entertainment and recreation services	41	1
Professional and related services	325	7
Public administration	358	8
Industry not reported	131	3

Occupation and Industry	MALE				FEMALE			
			Percent				Percent	
	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite
Employed	4,830	2,390	49%	100%	3,547	2,031	57%	100%
Professional, technical and kind.workers	272	52	19	2	420	147	35	7
Farmers and farm managers	145	81	55	3	25	25	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm) clerical, sales	930	85	9	4	941	58	6	3
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	979	344	35	14	33	13	39	*
Operatives, kind.	707	451	63	19	342	279	81	14
Private household	18	18	100	*	773	744	96	37
Service workers (except priv.h'held)	270	120	44	5	393	210	53	10
Farm laborers,f'men	518	454	87	19	491	491	100	24
Laborers (nonfarm)	800	700	87	29	13	13	100	*
Occupation not reported	191	85	44	4	116	51	43	3
Employment Status								
Persons, 14 over	18,056	4,706	26	100	11,474	4,996	43	100
Labor force	15,885	3,389	21	72	4,118	2,187	53	44
Percent of total	88%	72%			36%	44%		
Civilian lab.for.	5,073	2,592	51	55	-	-		
Employed	4,830	2,390	49	51	3,547	2,031	57	41
Unemployed	243	202	83	4	240	148	61	3

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Housing

Housing Units	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Occupied	8,973	3,513	39	100
Nonfarm	8,170	2,773	33	79
Farm	377	214	56	6
Owner occupied	5,308	2,716	51	77
Nonfarm	3,962	2,239	56	64
Farm	290	186	64	5
Renter occupied	3,665	797	21	23
Nonfarm	2,824	1,331	47	38
Farm	87	28	32	*
Year Structure Built				
Number	10,747	4,363	41	100
1950 to Mar.1960	5,354	850	15	19
1940 to 1949	2,090	1,643	78	38
1939 or earlier	3,303	1,870	56	43
Value				
Owner occupied	4,196	2,248	53	100
Less than $5,000	1,822	1,700	93	76
5,000 to 9,900	1,026	431	42	19
10,000 to 14,900	886	89	10	4
15,000 or more	462	28	6	1
Median	$6,200	$5,000-	80	
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	3,578	501	14	100
Less than $20	150	138	92	28
20 to 39	135	103	76	21
40 to 59	484	118	24	24
60 to 79	921	100	10	20
80 to 99	1,063	38	3	8
100 or more	825	4	*	*
Median	$78			
No cash rent		268		
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old in 1960	37,730	14,408	38	100
Same house as in 1960	12,706	9,556	75	66
Same county as in 1960	5,889	3,289	55	23
Same state as in 1960	1,875	246	13	2
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	397	75	18	*

Persons per Household

1950: 3.8 1960: 3.95

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Housing - continued (separate "Nonwhite" figures not available)

TOTAL	
Bathing Facilities	
Bathtub or shower, exclusive use	7,541
Bathtub or shower, shared	36
No bathtub or shower	3,170
Toilet Facilities	
Flush toilet, exclusive use	7,634
Flush toilet, shared	49
Other toilet facilities or none	3,064
Heating Equipment	
Steam, hot water; warm air, floor, wall or pipeless furnace; built-in electric units	3,673
Other means with flue	5,300
" " without "	1,607
None	167

RURAL NONFARM

Housing units: 8,170 Occupied: 6,786

Owner occupied: 3,962

Nonwhite owner occupied: 2,239

Percent: 56

Renter occupied: 2,824

Nonwhite renter occupied: 534

Percent: 18

Toilet Facilities	
Flush toilet, exclusive use	5,372
Flush toilet, shared	4
Other toilet facilities or none	2,794
Heating Equipment	
Steam, hot air; warm air furnace, or built-in room units	2,913
Other means with flue	3,928
" " without "	1,189
None	140
Water Supply	
Hot and cold piped water inside structure	5,256
Only cold piped water inside structure	212
Piped water outside	80
No piped water	2,622
Source of Water	
Public system or private company	3,548
Individual well	3,066
Other	1,556
Sewage Disposal	
Public sewer	1,940
Septic tank or cesspool	3,725
Other or none	2,505
Year Structure Built	
1955 to March 1960	3,449
1950 to 1954	1,066
1940 to 1949	1,546
1939 or earlier	2,109

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Health

Physicians, Dentists, Nurses - 1959

	Number	Rate per 10,000 population County	Rate per 10,000 population State	Ratio per 100 square miles County	Ratio per 100 square miles State
Physicians, surgeons (including Resident Physicians, Health Officers)	10	2.4 (3 counties have less)	6.8	1.5	5.2
Dentists	3	0.7 (3 counties have less)	2.1	0.4	1.6
Nurses	48	11.4 (8 counties have less)	28.9	7.1	22.0

Births 1959

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total	Percent of Negro
Number	1,442	552	38	100
Agency				
Hospital	1,130	240	21	43
Physician	7	7	100	1
Midwife	304	304	100	55
Illegitimate				
Number	199	192	96	35

Death Rate per 1,000 Population 1960

Total	White	Nonwhite
6.6 (lowest in state) (state: 8.3)	4.0 (lowest in state) (state: 7.4)	10.6 (20 counties lower) (state: 9.3)

Nonwhite Marital Status 1960

		Percent
Male		
Number, 14 and over	4,816	100
Single	2,080	43
Married	2,526	52
Separated	166	3
Widowed	197	4
Divorced	13	*
Female		
Number, 14 and over	5,015	100
Single	1,369	27
Married	2,688	54
Separated	289	6
Widowed	938	19
Divorced	20	*

*Less than 1%.

about 8 000, white not included Hartley Commission

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Registration

Total adults, 21 and over 19,345

Number Registered

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	4,240	1,234	29
1960	5,471	1,588	29
1962	6,744	2,091	31 — John McCray

Number of Voters

1958 June primary	3,044
1960 general election	3,821
1962 June primary	3,415

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Population 1957	30,466	18,209	60
Registered 1958	4,240	1,234	29

Percent of Negroes over 21 registered 17 — 500 by Finst of Feb.
" " Whites " " " 50

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Beaufort Division	16,686	4,922	29	100
Education				
Persons under 18	4,925	1,778	36	36
Living with both parents	4,163	1,166	28	24
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,851	1,050	27	100
No school years completed	129	105	81	10
Elementary 1-4 "	367	339	92	32
" 5-7 "	510	347	68	33
" 8 "	210	49	23	5
High School 1-3 "	887	129	14	12
" " 4 "	1,251	73	5	7
College 1-3 "	292	-	-	-
" 4 or more "	205	8	3	*
Median school years "	11.4	5.7		

Employment	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	3,592	788	21	100	2,644	799	30	100
Labor force	3,232	597	18	76	729	374	51	47
Percent of total	90.0	75.8			27.6	46.8		
Civilian labor force	806	492	61	62				
Employed	768	458	59	58	692	365	52	46
Unemployed	38	34	89	4	29			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	768	458	59	100	692	365	52	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	16	-	-	-	40	4	10	1
Farmers & farm managers	12	-	-	-	4	4	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical and sales workers	131	17	12	4	237	27	11	7
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	124	52	41	11	12	8	67	2
Operatives, and kindred workers	157	109	69	24	62	53	85	15
Private household wkrs.	-	-	-	-	127	123	96	34
Service workers (except private household)	42	26	61	6	84	44	52	12
Farm laborers and farm foremen	120	100	83	22	98	98	100	27
Laborers (except farm)	139	135	97	29	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	27	19	70	4	28	4	14	1

Registration

Burton	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	346	112	32
1960	494	148	29
1962	616	196	31

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,460
Nonwhite	823
(56% of total; breakdown not available)	
Private wage and salary workers	1,056
Government workers	292
Self-employed "	95
Unpaid family "	17
Industries	
Agriculture	243
Construction	142
Manufacturing	64
Food and kindred prod.	24
Railroad and other transportation	29
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	17
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	322
Private households	136
Other personal services	93
Educational services	44
Other professional and related services, public administration	205
Other industries and not reported	165

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	1,594
Other means with flue	630
" " without "	123
None	29
Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	1,648
Individual well	408
Other	309
Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	1,256
Septic tank or cesspool	657
Other or none	452

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	2,172	476	21	100
Under $1,000	134	85	63	18
1,000-1,999	222	138	62	29
2,000-2,999	241	140	58	29
3,000-3,999	336	69	20	14
4,000-4,999	440	28	6	6
5,000-5,999	300	8	3	2
6,000-6,999	173	-	-	-
7,000-7,999	133	4	3	*
8,000-8,999	76	4	5	*
9,000-9,999	36	-	-	-
10,000 and over	81	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,348	$2,107	48	
Families and unrel.indiv.	$3,151	$1,790	56	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,376	520	21	100
Nonfarm	2,331	499	21	96
Farm (occupied)	45	21	46	4
Owner occupied	850	446	52	86
Nonfarm	809	425	52	82
Farm	41	21	51	4
Renter occupied	1,383	74	5	14
Nonfarm	1,379	74	5	14
Farm	4	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	620	388	62	100
Less than $5,000	329	312	94	81
5,000-9,900	176	71	40	18
10,000-14,900	90	5	6	1
15,000 or more	25	-	-	-
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	1,379	51	4	100
Less than $20	4	4	100	8
20-39	12	4	33	8
40-59	60	5	8	10
60 or more	1,268	38	3	74
No cash rent	35	23	66	
Median	$93	-	-	
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,376	520	22	100
1950-March 1960	1,962	228	12	44
1940 to 1949	183	123	67	24
1939 or earlier	231	169	73	32
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old 1960	8,393	2,448	29	100
Same house as 1960	1,762	1,437	82	59
Same county	1,327	760	57	31
" state	366	17	5	*
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	21	-	-	-

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BLUFFTON DIVISION

	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Population				
Bluffton Division	3,135	2,049	65	100
Education				
Persons under 18	1,095	867	79	42
Living with both parents	724	515	71	25
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	1,325	751	57	100
No school years completed	130	125	96	17
Elementary 1-4 "	330	295	89	39
" 5-7 "	284	187	66	25
" 8 "	78	14	18	2
High School 1-3 "	130	58	45	8
" " 4 "	157	4	3	*
College 1-3 "	93	21	23	3
" 4 or more "	123	47	38	6
Median school years "	7.1	4.4		

Employment	MALE				FEMALE			
	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	850	485	57	100	931	583	63	100
Labor force	503	266	53	55	313	208	66	36
Percent of total	59.2	54.8			33.6	35.7		
Civilian labor force	503	266	53	55				
Employed	469	232	49	48	273	168	62	29
Unemployed	34	34	100	7	40			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	469	232	49	100	273	168	62	100
Professional, technical, kind.	45	5	11	2	69	33	48	20
Farmers & farm managers	12	8	67	3	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	85	8	9	3	52	-	-	-
Craftsmen, foremen, & kind.	65	17	26	7	-	-	-	-
Operatives, and kind. workers	49	25	50	11	43	39	91	23
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	51	51	100	30
Service wkrs. (exc. h'hold)	20	8	40	3	12	4	33	2
Farm laborers & farm foremen	45	33	73	14	41	41	100	24
Laborers (except farm)	140	124	89	53	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	8	4	50	2	5	-	-	-

Registration

	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
Hilton Head			
1958	130	92	70
1960	185	104	56
1962	301	163	54
Daufuskie			
1958	13	7	53
1960	23	12	52
1962	23	12	52
Barrell Landing			
1958	89	3	3
1960	95	3	3
1962	110	8	7
Bluffton			
1958	321	46	14
1960	407	57	14
1962	519	103	19

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BLUFFTON DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	742
Private wage and salary workers	513
Government workers	106
Self-employed "	102
Unpaid family "	21
Industries	
Agriculture	118
Construction	66
Manufacturing	116
Food and kind.prod.	75
Railroad and other transportation	45
Community, utilities, & sanitary services	12
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	82
Private households	60
Other personal services	28
Educational services	70
Other professional and related services, public administration	61
Other industries and not reported	84

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	136
Other means with flue	798
" " without "	387
None	14

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	160
Individual well	819
Other	384

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	5
Septic tank or cesspool	845
Other or none	513

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	633	372	59	100
Under $1,000	163	135	83	36
1,000-1,999	134	114	85	31
2,000-2,999	100	84	84	23
3,000-3,999	61	29	48	8
4,000-4,999	46	10	22	3
5,000-5,999	40	-	-	-
6,000-6,999	28	-	-	-
7,000-7,999	12	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	4	-	-	-
9,000-9,999	8	-	-	-
10,000 and over	37	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$2,195	$1,447	66	
Families and unrel.indiv.	$1,815	$1,248	69	
All Housing Units				
Number	1,335	423	32	100
Nonfarm	1,267	406	32	96
Farm (occupied)	68	17	25	4
Owner occupied	530	316	60	75
Nonfarm	470	299	64	71
Farm	60	17	28	4
Renter occupied	220	107	49	25
Nonfarm	212	107	50	25
Farm	8	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	375	237	63	100
Less than $5,000	215	182	85	77
5,000 to 9,900	81	43	53	18
10,000 to 14,900	58	8	14	3
15,000 or more	21	4	19	2
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	212	61	29	100
Less than $20	52	48	92	79
20-39	12	8	67	13
40-59	24	5	21	8
60 or more	23	-	-	-
No cash rent	101	46	46	
Year Structure Built				
All units	1,335	423	32	100
1950-March 1960	566	98	17	23
1940 to 1949	211	60	28	14
1939 or earlier	558	265	47	63
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 yrs old 1960	2,285	1,483	65	100
Same house as "	1,401	1,051	75	71
" county " "	490	366	75	25
" state " "	144	8	6	*
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	29	17	59	1

BEAUFORT COUNTY: PORT ROYAL DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Port Royal Division	15,025	2,328	15	100
Education				
Persons under 18	5,541	1,069	19	46
Living with both parents	3,066	687	22	30
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,626	704	19	100
No school years completed	91	75	82	11
Elementary 1-4 "	229	173	76	25
" 5-7 "	388	183	47	26
" 8 "	307	79	26	11
High School 1-3 "	884	115	13	16
" " 4 "	1,145	62	5	9
College 1-3 "	275	13	5	2
" 4 or more "	307	4	1	*
Median school years "	11.7			

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	9,362	1,044	11	100	2,732	511	19	100
Labor force	9,044	918	10	88	1,076	284	26	56
Percent of total	96.6	87.9			39.4	55.6		
Civilian labor force	897	269	30	26				
Employed	868	260	30	25	688	258	38	50
Unemployed	29	9	31	*	74			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	868	260	30	100	688	258	38	100
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	55	8	15	3	60	4	7	2
Farmers and farm managers	33	9	27	3	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales workers	232	4	2	2	257	4	2	2
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	179	38	21	15	4	-	-	-
Operatives, and kind. workers	99	43	43	17	68	40	59	16
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	160	152	95	59
Service workers (except private household)	70	14	20	5	91	30	33	12
Farm laborers & farm foremen	36	36	100	14	16	16	100	6
Laborers (except farm)	119	99	83	38	8	8	100	3
Occupation not reported	45	9	20	3	24	4	17	2

Registration

Port Royal	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	267	68	25
1960	379	86	22
1962	436	97	22

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: PORT ROYAL DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,556
Private wage and salary workers	1,008
Government workers	458
Self-employed "	82
Unpaid family "	8
Industries	
Agriculture	89
Construction	92
Manufacturing	71
Food and kind. prod.	38
Railroad and other transportation	28
Community, utilities, & sanitary services	16
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	328
Private households	173
Other personal services	83
Educational services	82
Other professional and related services, public administration	338
Other industries and not reported	256

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	1,032
Other means with flue	1,096
" " without "	183
None	17

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	1,684
Individual well	484
Other	143

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	679
Septic tank or cesspool	1,288
Other or none	344

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,934	335	17	100
Under $1,000	105	69	66	21
1,000-1,999	135	63	47	19
2,000-2,999	367	86	23	26
3,000-3,999	289	43	15	13
4,000-4,999	248	36	15	11
5,000-5,999	252	22	9	7
6,000-6,999	124	4	3	1
7,000-7,999	144	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	105	4	4	1
9,000-9,999	69	8	12	2
10,000 and over	96	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,286	$2,413	56	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,430	$1,024	72	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,328	385	17	100
Nonfarm	2,292	372	16	97
Farm (occupied)	36	13	36	3
Owner occupied	1,211	296	24	77
Nonfarm	1,186	287	24	75
Farm	25	9	36	2
Renter occupied	870	89	10	23
Nonfarm	859	85	10	22
Farm	11	4	36	1
Value of House				
Owner occupied	925	253	27	100
Less than $5,000	176	145	82	57
5,000 to 9,900	257	79	31	31
10,000 to 14,900	338	25	7	10
15,000 or more	154	4	3	2
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	859	67	8	100
Less than $20	15	15	100	22
20-39	17	9	53	13
40-59	207	23	11	34
60 or more	598	20	3	30
No cash rent	22	18	82	27
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,328	385	17	100
1950-March 1960	1,367	119	9	31
1940 to 1949	587	115	20	30
1939 or earlier	374	151	40	39
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old 1960	13,677	2,066	15	100
Same house as 1960	1,550	888	57	43
" county " "	1,079	445	41	22
" state " "	496	42	8	2
Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	241	33	14	1

BEAUFORT COUNTY: ST. HELENA DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
St. Helena Division	6,048	4,996	83	100
Education				
Persons under 18	3,193	2,767	87	55
Living with both parents	1,952	1,557	80	31
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	2,553	2,027	79	100
No school years completed	231	227	98	11
Elementary 1-4 "	776	756	97	37
" 5-7 "	748	660	88	33
" 8 "	164	124	76	6
High School 1-3 "	232	134	58	7
" " 4 "	201	50	25	2
College 1-3 "	67	18	27	*
" 4 or more "	134	58	43	3
Median school years "	6.1	5.1		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	1,576	1,240	79	100	1,928	1,606	83	100
Labor force	1,059	803	76	65	720	642	89	40
Percent of total	67.2	64.8			37.3	40.0		
Civilian labor force	1,051	803	76	65				
Employed	980	745	76	60	682	604	89	38
Unemployed	71	58	82	5	38			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	980	745	76	100	682	604	89	100
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	26	18	69	2	38	30	79	5
Farmers and farm managers	30	22	73	3	8	8	100	1
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	68	18	26	2	76	18	24	3
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	165	88	53	12	-	-	-	-
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	175	139	79	19	104	104	100	17
Private household workers	18	18	100	2	177	173	98	29
Service workers (except private household)	43	23	53	3	42	34	81	6
Farm laborers & farm foremen	157	149	95	20	207	207	100	34
Laborers (except farm)	257	237	92	32	5	5	100	*
Occupation not reported	41	33	80	4	25	25	100	4

Registration

Lady's Island	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	220	60	27
1960	298	69	23
1962	452	103	22
St. Helena			
1958	437	325	74
1960	629	462	73
1962	860	662	76

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: ST. HELENA DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	1,662
Private wage and salary workers	1,179
Government workers	349
Self-employed "	126
Unpaid family "	8
Industries	
Agriculture	406
Construction	114
Manufacturing	92
Food and kind. prod.	63
Railroad and other transportation	26
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	22
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	217
Private households	215
Other personal services	31
Educational services	78
Other professional and related services, public administration	223
Other industries and not reported	238

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	195
Other means with flue	1,035
" " without "	404
None	59

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	69
Individual well	1,146
Other	501

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	-
Septic tank or cesspool	913
Other or none	803

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,208	945	78	100
Under $1,000	386	386	100	41
1,000-1,999	219	199	91	21
2,000-2,999	191	142	74	15
3,000-3,999	164	112	68	12
4,000-4,999	98	58	59	6
5,000-5,999	39	18	46	2
6,000-6,999	41	13	32	1
7,000-7,999	4	-	-	-
8,000-8,999	16	-	-	-
9,000-9,999	21	13	62	1
10,000 and over	29	4	14	*
Median Income				
Families	$1,995	$1,435	72	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,696	$1,078	64	
All Housing Units				
Number	1,693	1,091	64	100
Nonfarm	1,633	1,043	64	96
Farm (occupied)	60	48	80	4
Owner occupied	1,165	938	81	86
Nonfarm	1,118	895	80	82
Farm	47	43	91	4
Renter occupied	240	153	64	14
Nonfarm	227	148	65	14
Farm	13	5	38	*
Value of House				
Owner occupied	975	823	84	100
Less than $5,000	695	682	98	83
5,000 to 9,900	166	112	67	14
10,000 to 14,900	54	21	39	3
15,000 or more	60	8	13	1
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	227	51	22	100
Less than $20	14	14	100	27
20-39	18	10	56	20
40-59	29	13	45	25
60 or more	53	14	26	27
No cash rent	113	97	86	
Year Structure Built				
All units	1,693	1,091	64	100
1950-March 1960	599	271	45	25
1940 to 1949	399	278	70	25
1939 or earlier	695	542	78	50
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 yrs.old 1960	5,162	4,290	83	100
Same house as "	3,578	3,269	91	76
" county " "	1,080	842	78	20
" state " "	177	61	34	1
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	21	21	100	*

*Less than 1%.

BEAUFORT COUNTY: SHELDON DIVISION

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Sheldon Division	3,293	2,809	85	100
Education				
Persons under 18	1,755	1,558	89	55
Living with both parents	1,130	945	84	34
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	1,256	1,031	82	100
No school years completed	175	171	98	17
Elementary 1-4 "	423	407	96	39
" 5-7 "	293	264	90	26
" 8 "	86	78	91	8
High School 1-3 "	106	50	47	5
" " 4 "	75	28	37	3
College 1-3 "	70	17	24	2
" 4 or more "	28	16	57	2
Median school years "	5.3	4.4		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	759	602	79	100	925	785	85	100
Labor force	498	377	76	63	349	298	85	38
Percent of total	65.6	62.6			37.7	38.0		
Civilian labor force	498	377	76	63				
Employed	457	336	74	56	310	263	85	34
Unemployed	41	41	100	9	39			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	457	336	74	100	310	263	85	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	8	-	-	-	24	12	50	5
Farmers and farm managers	54	42	78	13	13	13	100	5
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	53	20	38	6	15	-	-	-
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	66	42	64	13	4	-	-	-
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	46	38	83	11	28	24	86	9
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	49	49	100	19
Service workers (except private household)	9	9	100	3	48	36	75	14
Farm laborers & farm foremen	151	127	84	38	129	129	100	49
Laborers (except farm)	66	58	88	17	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Registration

Sheldon	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	152	56	36
1960	197	81	41
1962	232	103	44
Lebece-Dale			
1958	158	75	47
1960	188	91	48
1962	248	125	50

BEAUFORT COUNTY: SHELDON DIVISION - continued

Total Employed	
Number	767
Private wage and salary workers	562
Government workers	82
Self-employed "	103
Unpaid family "	20
Industries	
Agriculture	384
Construction	46
Manufacturing	34
Food and kindred prod.	5
Railroad and other transportation	20
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	8
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	60
Private households	53
Other personal services	71
Educational services	20
Other professional and related services, public administration	34
Other industries and not reported	37

Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	30
Other means with flue	626
" " without "	134
None	25

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	25
Individual well	476
Other	291

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	-
Septic tank or cesspool	227
Other or none	565

Family Income in 1959	Total
All families	583
Under $1,000	208
1,000-1,999	148
2,000-2,999	91
3,000-3,999	40
4,000-4,999	50
5,000-5,999	22
6,000-6,999	20
7,000-7,999	-
8,000-8,999	-
9,000-9,999	4
10,000 and over	-
Median Income	
Families	$1,56
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$1,21
All Housing Units	
Number	815
Nonfarm	647
Farm (occupied)	168
Owner occupied	496
Nonfarm	379
Farm	117
Renter occupied	198
Nonfarm	147
Farm	51
Value of House	
Owner occupied	284
Less than $5,000	250
5,000 to 9,900	25
10,000 to 14,900	4
15,000 or more	5
Gross Rent	
Renter occupied	147
Less than $20	38
20-39	4
40-59	10
60 or more	4
No cash rent	91
Year Structure Built	
All units	815
1950-March 1960	120
1940 to 1949	264
1939 or earlier	431
Residence in 1955	
Persons 5 yrs old 1960	2,74
Same house as 1960	2,27
" county " "	27
" state " "	7
Moved, residence in 1955 not rep'd	

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT CITY

Population	Total	Nonwhite	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
Beaufort City	6,298	2,048	33	100
Education				
Persons under 18	2,530	935	37	46
Living with both parents	1,900	589	31	29
Years of School Completed				
Persons 25 and over	3,130	951	30	100
No school years completed	53	49	92	5
Elementary 1-4 "	290	228	79	24
" 5-7 "	513	301	59	32
" 8 "	225	49	22	5
High School 1-3 "	539	112	21	12
" " 4 "	838	114	14	12
College 1-3 "	357	43	12	5
" 4 or more "	315	55	17	6
Median school years "	11.7	7.0		

Employment	MALE Total	MALE Non-white	MALE Percent of Total	MALE Percent of Nonwhite	FEMALE Total	FEMALE Non-white	FEMALE Percent of Total	FEMALE Percent of Nonwhite
Persons 14 and over	1,917	547	29	100	2,314	712	31	100
Labor force	1,549	428	28	78	931	381	41	54
Percent of total	80.8	78.2			40.2	53.5		
Civilian labor force	1,318	385	29	70				
Employed	1,288	359	28	66	902	373	41	52
Unemployed	30	26	87	5	20			
Occupation and Industry								
Employed	1,288	359	28	100	902	373	41	100
Professional, technical and kindred workers	122	21	17	6	189	64	34	17
Farmers and farm managers	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Managers, proprietors (except farm), clerical, sales wkrs.	361	18	5	5	304	9	3	2
Craftsmen, foremen, kind. wkrs.	380	107	28	30	13	5	38	1
Operatives, and kindred wkrs.	181	97	54	27	37	19	51	5
Private household workers	-	-	-	-	209	196	94	53
Service workers (except private household)	86	40	47	11	116	62	53	17
Farm laborers & farm foremen	9	9	100	3	-	-	-	-
Laborers (except farm)	79	47	59	13	-	-	-	-
Occupation not reported	66	20	30	6	34	18	53	5

Registration

Beaufort City	Total	Negro	Percent of Total
1958	2,107	390	19
1960	2,576	475	18
1962	2,947	519	18

BEAUFORT COUNTY: BEAUFORT CITY - continued

Total Employed	
Number	2,190
Private wage and salary workers	1,382
Government workers	577
Self-employed "	204
Unpaid family "	27
Industries	
Agriculture	30
Construction	176
Manufacturing	66
Food and kindred prod.	24
Railroad and other transportation	40
Community, utilities, and sanitary services	35
Wholesale trade, eating and drinking places, other retail trade	617
Private households	225
Other personal services	91
Educational services	243
Other professional and related services, public administration	311
Other industries and not reported	356

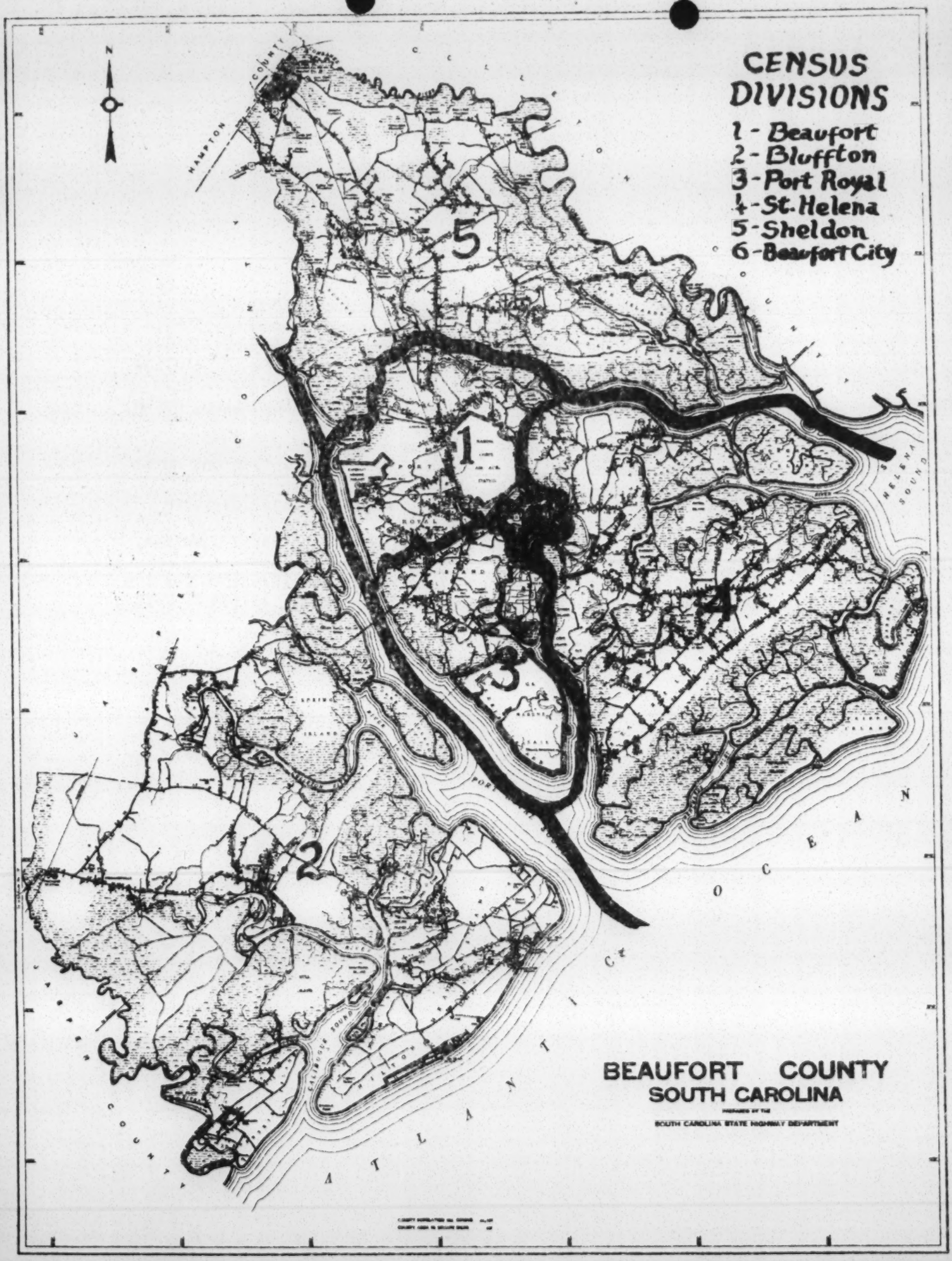
Heating Equipment - all units	
Steam, hot water, warm air furnace, built-in units	686
Other means with flue	1,115
" " without "	376
None	23

Source of Water - all units	
Public system or private company	2,174
Individual well	14
Other	12

Sewage Disposal - all units	
Public sewer	1,123
Septic tank or cesspool	1,041
Other or none	36

*Less than 1%.

Family Income in 1959	Total	Non-white	Percent of Total	Percent of Nonwhite
All families	1,500	400	27	100
Under $1,000	149	92	62	23
1,000-1,999	171	81	47	20
2,000-2,999	203	86	42	22
3,000-3,999	195	37	19	9
4,000-4,999	192	55	29	14
5,000-5,999	153	29	19	7
6,000-6,999	85	8	9	2
7,000-7,999	109	8	7	2
8,000-8,999	68	4	7	1
9,000-9,999	38	-	-	-
10,000 and over	137	-	-	-
Median Income				
Families	$4,167	$2,314	56	
Families and unrelated indiv'ls	$3,618	$1,773	49	
All Housing Units				
Number	2,200	526	24	100
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm (occupied)	-	-	-	-
Owner occupied	1,056	291	28	55
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-
Renter occupied	754	235	31	45
Nonfarm	-	-	-	-
Farm	-	-	-	-
Value of House				
Owner occupied	1,017	284	28	100
Less than $5,000	157	137	87	48
5,000 to 9,900	321	105	33	37
10,000 to 14,900	342	30	9	11
15,000 or more	197	12	6	4
Gross Rent				
Renter occupied	754	226	30	100
Less than $20	22	22	100	10
20-39	77	72	94	32
40-59	154	62	40	27
60 or more	461	70	15	31
No cash rent	40	9	23	4
Year Structure Built				
All units	2,200	526	24	100
1950-March 1960	740	68	9	13
1940 to 1949	446	65	15	12
1939 or earlier	1,014	393	39	75
Residence in 1955				
Persons 5 years old in 1960	5,467	1,800	33	100
Same house as 1960	2,143	925	43	51
" county " "	1,635	651	40	36
" state " "	613	80	13	4
Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	85	4	5	*


CENSUS DIVISIONS
1 - Beaufort
2 - Bluffton
3 - Port Royal
4 - St. Helena
5 - Sheldon
6 - Beaufort City
N
HAMPTON COUNTY
5
1
2
3
4
PORT ROYAL SOUND
HELENA SOUND
CALIBOGUE SOUND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BEAUFORT COUNTY
SOUTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

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Voter Meeting

Senator: Negroes Can Change South

By DAVE BLEDSOE
Staff Writer

A Negro Georgia state senator said Saturday that the Negro voter could change the face of the South.

Addressing a meeting of the Voter Education Project in Columbia Saturday night, Sen. Leroy Johnson urged a continuation of the fight for equal rights on all fronts. The predominantly Negro audience interrupted his occasionally fiery speech with frequent applause.

"The Negro must no longer be planned for, he must be planned with," Sen. Johnson said.

He traced the evolution of the Negro movements calling them a "wind of change that is blowing across America." Much of this change is being brought on by the new generation which no longer clings to the past, he said.

Sen. Johnson predicted further demonstrations and court battles at any place "where the Negro is relegated to second class citizenship."

In his hour-long speech, Sen. Johnson outlined the areas where Negroes have been successful in advancing what he termed "their burning desire to be free.

"A man should be able to live where he can afford to live, send children to schools of his choice, vote as he pleases and, mainly, be free of segregation," he said.

The Voter Education Project, organized in 1963, achieved permanent status by a vote of the executive committee in closed session Saturday afternoon.

Dr. Charles A. Thomas of Orangeburg, chairman of VEP, said that 40,000 Negro voters have been registered in the year-long drive by the group.

Progress reports from the six congressional districts were presented to the group in closed session prior to Sen. Johnson's speech.

Drive To Double Negro Voters Now Under Way

By JACK ADAMS

The Wilson Citizens Committee has started an accelerated program "to double" the number of Negro voters in the county.

The committee, composed of Negro leaders representing various clubs, has a goal of raising the number of Negro voters to more than 5,000 during its three-week campaign, which started Monday.

Already, the effects of this campaign are being noticed at the Board of Elections. More than 70 Negroes have registered since the first of the week.

Rev. T. A. Watkins of First Baptist Church, Pender and Nash Sts., is president of the committee, which recently received a $1,500 grant from the Voter Education Project in Atlanta, Ga.

Past Programs

In the past, Watkins said, there have been programs to encourage more voter participation among the Negroes in Wilson County, but this is the strongest concerted action that has been taken.

"Apathy has held us back," Watkins added, "and lack of funds. This grant helps us a lot, and clubs also are contributing."

Prior to the January 14 election during which the "Little Federal" plan was killed, there were 2,595 Negro voters in Wilson County, representing approximately 15 per cent of the total number of registered voters in the county.

In order to increase the number of Negro voters, a house-to-house canvass is being conducted.

List Compiled

Also, the committee is receiving from the Board of Elections a list of all the Negro voters in the county. This list is being compiled at a price of three cents per name.

"With this list," Watkins said, "we can determine whether a person is registered or not. Some of them say they are and they're not, so we can just check back and find out for sure."

Workers who conduct the house - to - house canvass are paid through the funds accumulated by donations from clubs and the $1,500 grant.

Money Is Factor

"We'd like to run this campaign longer than three weeks," Watkins said, "but we'll run out of money."

Dr. E. K. Butterfield, local dentist who serves as social affairs chairman for the committee, stated, as did Watkins, that there is no political connection with the drive.

"We feel that it's just our responsibility to encourage voting and that it's every citizen's responsibility to vote," Doctor Butterfield said.

Workers for the committee have been instructed against trying to persuade persons how to vote, Doctor Butterfield added.

Since January 14, there have been 124 Negroes who have registered to vote, while, during the same period, 118 whites also have registered.

Surge Unusual

"This surge in registration has never occurred since I've been here," said Robert Griffin, chairman of the Board of Elections

Bipartisans Crush All Attempts To Weaken Rights Bill In House

By JOHN BECKLER

WASHINGTON (AP) — Southerners raised the cry of "steamroller" today against a bipartisan group that has so far crushed all attempts to weaken the civil rights bill in the House.

The coalition of Republicans and Democrats put together by the House leaders of each party scored its biggest victory Wednesday night when it approved with only minor changes the key public accommodations section of the 10-part bill.

The provision, which, along with the rest of the bill faces a tough time in the Senate, would prevent discrimination against Negroes by eating, lodging or entertainment establishments.

A 153-68 vote against an amendment by Rep. George Meader, R-Mich., that would have drastically limited the effect of the provision, climaxed a long day of frustration for Southern opponents and touched off the first real display of bitter sectional feeling since debate started Friday.

Rep. Paul C. Jones, D-Mo., shouting, "The old steamroller is rolling," accused the leadership of shutting off attempts to alter the bill by putting up a united front against any and all amendments.

And Reps. Edward J. Patten, D-N.J., and George Andrews, D-Ala., engaged in a shouting argument sparked by Patten's

Partly Cloudy, Cooler Weather

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Griffin also noted that such is deluge of registrations is even rare just before an election unless it is of major significance.

The nearest election — the

See NEGRO VOTERS Page 2

Bipartisans Crush All Attempts To Weaken Rights Bill In House

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And Reps. Edward J. Patten, D-N.J., and George Andrews, D-Ala., engaged in a shouting argument sparked by Patten's remark that Southern arguments he has been listening to all week "make me sick."

Andrews grabbed a second microphone and said he hoped Patten would support an amend-

See CIVIL RIGHTS Page 2

Partly Cloudy, Cooler Weather Is In Prospect

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Weather Bureau said the general rains which covered North Carolina Wednesday night were expected to taper off today. Scattered showers and snow flurries were forecast for the mountains with a chance of scattered thunderstorms along the coast.

Greensboro and Charlotte recorded the most rain Wednesday night. Greensboro had 1.18 inches and Charlotte an inch. Other rainfall reports were .98 at Wilmington, .92 at Raleigh-Durham, and .88 at Asheville.

The highs and lows for the 24-hour period ending at 7 a.m. today included 64-46 at Raleigh-Durham, 63-54 at Wilmington, 62-43 at Greensboro, and 58-46 at Charlotte.

The predicted lows tonight range from the low 30s in the mountains to 35 to 45 elsewhere.

Candidates For Governor Discuss Problems Affecting NC Economy

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Various problems affecting North Carolina's economy drew the attention Wednesday of the three major Democratic candidates for governor.

I. Beverly Lake, Dan K. Moore and Richardson Preyer all were in action during the day in the Piedmont section of the state.

Lake said he would create a 100-member committee to advise him on state policy. The group would "serve without pay as a permanent committee to confer together and advise me what policies I should adopt and what I should recommend to the legislature," he told a High Point audience.

Among other things, Lake said, the committee would recommend ways in which the state could assist North Carolinians in business expansion.

He said he would not offer tax concessions or favored treatment in an attempt to lure new industry to the state.

Moore discussed the tobacco-health problem in a speech at Durham, a key cigarette-manufacturing city.

See POLITICS Page 2

Amendments Tackled

Tax Cut Bill Nears Passage In Senate

By JOE HALL

WASHINGTON (AP) — The administration's $11.6 billion tax cut bill moved today to the brink of final passage in the Senate.

Democratic leaders said if the bill wasn't passed by tonight, it almost certainly would be approved Friday. It has already cleared the House.

At least 10 to 12 amendments —some dealing with such controversial issues as reductions in the depletion allowances for oil and gas—remained to be acted on before a final vote.

The administration cleared its final big hurdle Wednesday with a 48-45 defeat of a Republican effort to repeal the 10 per cent retail excise tax on four categories.

GOP Proposal

The GOP proposal would have wiped out World War II levies on furs, cosmetics, jewelry, watches and luggage including handbags, and would have cost the Treasury about $450 million a year.

To line up votes against it, Democratic leaders pledged a review of all federal excises later this season, starting in the House Ways and Means Committee.

After the vote on the retail excise taxes, the Senate bogged down in six hours of heated de-

See TAXES Page 2

Four Soldiers Die In Wreck

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C. (AP) —Four Ft. Bragg soldiers were killed early today when a tractor-trailer truck loaded with 30,000 pounds of wool slammed into a car at an intersection on Interstate 95.

Fayetteville police said it was the worst accident inside the city limits since 1939.

Killed were Wilfred D. Buffington, 24, of Bauxite, Ark.; Marvin B. Atkins, 24, of Detroit; Grady D. Taite, 20, of Chance, Ala., and John D. Goodwin, 23, of New York City.

jury that tried the Teamsters president in 1962 on charges of conspiracy.

They claim the witness, Edward G. Partin of Baton Rouge, La., was "an undercover agent for the FBI" who misused their confidence during the trial at Nashville.

Hoffa and five others are being tried before U.S. Dist. Judge Frank Wilson on charges of trying to tamper with the Nashville jury. That trial ended with a hung jury.

Partin, who is under indictment on charges of embezzling $1,600 from his local, linked the defendants one-by-one with alleged attempts to rig the jury.

Partin, secretary-treasurer of the Baton Rouge local, testified Hoffa told him midway in the 1962 trial he "would pay $15,000 to $20,000 to get to the jury." At another time, Partin said Hoffa boasted he had one juror "in my hip pocket" and added that a "hung jury is as good as an acquittal."

Negro Voters

(Continued From Page One)

May Democratic primaries — is about three months away.

Of the 124 Negroes who have registered since the January 14 election, 72 of them have been on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

There were 30 Negroes registering yesterday, 16 from the first precinct. Eight whites also registered yesterday.

Tuesday Figures

On Tuesday, 14 Negroes and five whites registered, and on Monday, 28 Negroes and seven whites registered.

Griffin said that several persons have come in to register, claiming they have been called by the Board of Elections to do so.

"Someone is calling these people and saying that we are asking them to come down," Griffin added. "We have not called anyone to register."

Griffin pointed out that the Board of Elections makes no effort to solicit voters nor to discourage them.

"We are completely impartial," he said. "We're just a service to those who want to

ing into the firm five times within the last 10 days and stealing cigarettes.

He was arrested by detective J. T. Smith and officers E. R. Felton and J. R. Sawyer.

Students

(Continued From Page One)

The mountain hut is only four miles, as the crow flies, from the base, but rangers said it was 14 miles by trail.

It was about 7 a.m. when the searchers reported seeing the student hikers at the hut.

Rangers sent a request to Dow Air Force Base in Maine for a helicopter.

The students had food for only four days when they started the hike. They had tents and sleeping bags, and wore heavy clothing.

The search was organized Monday when the four failed to return on schedule.

Guantanamo

(continued From Page One)

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"The Cuban government has no obligation to supply water to the naval base under any international treaty, and has been doing so only for the sake of not increasing tension between the two countries."

the brake. He finally st[illegible] automobile in the middle of [illegible]ring Ave. The truck, driven by Elton Gupton of 806 Lee St., was traveling south on Herring Ave. and struck the automobile.

The newspaper report erroneously stated that the truck was unable to stop at the intersection.

Four Convicted

Four cases were tried in Recorder's Court yesterday, with each of the defendants being convicted.

The judgments:

Robert C. Seate Jr., 25, 1702 Hilcrest, speeding 49 in 35 zone, prayer for judgment continued upon payment of costs.

Earline Barnes, Negro, 20, drunk, sentence suspended upon payment of costs.

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Taxes

(Continued From Page One)

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On two close votes, the Senate decided to retain in the bill a House provision barring federal regulatory agencies from requiring utilities to pass along immediately to their customers tax savings achieved under the 1962 investment credit provision.

READ TIMES' CLASSIFIED ADS

Money is what it can buy...

Clothes, food, homes, cars, insurance.
Or more money.

Money in the form of interest from banks

Judge Frank Wilson on charges of trying to tamper with the Nashville jury. That trial ended with a hung jury.

Partin, who is under indictment on charges of embezzling $1,600 from his local, linked the defendants one-by-one with alleged attempts to rig the jury.

Partin, secretary-treasurer of the Baton Rouge local, testified Hoffa told him midway in the 1962 trial he "would pay $15,000 to $20,000 to get to the jury." At another time, Partin said Hoffa boasted he had one juror "in my hip pocket" and added that a "hung jury is as good as an acquittal."

Negro Voters

(Continued From Page One)

May Democratic primaries — is about three months away.

Of the 124 Negroes who have registered since the January 14 election, 72 of them have been on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

There were 30 Negroes registering yesterday, 16 from the first precinct. Eight whites also registered yesterday.

Tuesday Figures

On Tuesday, 14 Negroes and five whites registered, and on Monday, 28 Negroes and seven whites registered.

Griffin said that several persons have come in to register, claiming they have been called by the Board of Elections to do so.

"Someone is calling these people and saying that we are asking them to come down," Griffin added. "We have not called anyone to register."

Griffin pointed out that the Board of Elections makes no effort to solicit voters nor to discourage them.

"We are completely impartial," he said. "We're just a service to those who want to register and to vote. We offer no suggestions on how they should register and accept anyone qualified to vote."

Mrs. Emmett Riddick, executive secretary of the Board of Elections, says there also has been a number of people who thought they had to re-register every six years, even if they had voted in that period.

"I don't know where they got the idea that they had to register each six years," she said. "Their registration remains good as long as they vote each six years."

One of the reasons persons are anxious to re-register may be because of the fact that it was publicly stated that over 2,000 voters would be purged from the books if they failed to vote in the February 14 election.

George Szypula, Michigan State's first and only gymnastics coach won the National AAU tumbling crown four straight years while attending Temple University.

D CEMETERY

DESIGNS, BASKETS,
ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS
N LEFT ON GRAVES
CEMETERY, WILL BE
, FEBRUARY 7, 1964.

ISH TO SAVE THESE,
ET THEM BEFORE
DATE.

RE REQUESTED TO
HRISTMAS FLOWERS
BY FEBRUARY 7 - - -
DATE WE WILL
VE THEM.

emorial Gardens,
Inc.

The mountain hut is only four miles, as the crow flies, from the base, but rangers said it was 14 miles by trail.

It was about 7 a.m. when the searchers reported seeing the student hikers at the hut.

Rangers sent a request to Dow Air Force Base in Maine for a helicopter.

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READ TIMES' CLASSIFIED ADS

Money is what it can buy...

Clothes, food, homes, cars, insurance.
Or more money.

Money in the form of interest from banks — or bonds.

Money in the form of dividends from stocks.

Money in the form of capital appreciation from rising stock prices.

A home, insurance, and emergency savings come first, of course.

We've said that time and time again.

But the next rung on your financial ladder might well be common stocks.

Why?

Because nine out of ten stocks on the New York Stock Exchange have paid dividends — 656 of them every year without fail in fact, for more than twenty years — some for over 100 years.

Because if you bought $1,000 worth of every stock on the New York Stock Exchange starting in January of 1926 — and if you reinvested your dividends as you went along — then by 1960 a person in the equivalent of today's $10,000 income bracket could have realized on the total investment a return equal to 8.2% interest compounded annually after payment of all commissions *and* capital gains taxes.

Purely as a matter of mathematics, $1,000 compounded annually at 8.2% would amount to $15,774 in 35 years. Or $10,000 would amount to $157,740.

Of course, the past is no proof of the future.

And just which stocks you select can make all the difference in the world. That's why anybody who means to begin a sensible investment program of his own should consult an established brokerage firm.

In this regard, you're always welcome in any one of 154 Merrill Lynch offices around the world.

Or you can simply write to us about your funds and financial situation, about how much money you'd like your extra money to earn, what you hope your investment program might accomplish for you — and how soon.

We'll suggest a program we feel is most suitable for your circumstances — mail you a detailed report on just what we think you might do.

There's no charge for this service. We're happy to do it with no obligation on your part even to use our brokerage services.

If you'd like our help, simply address your letter to —

W. Johnston King, Manager

MERRILL LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & SMITH INC

MEMBERS NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE AND OTHER PRINCIPAL STOCK AND COMMODITY EXCHANGES

119 WEST NASH STREET, WILSON
Telephone: 243-3161

Negroes

...ing Registrations Rise; 415 Are Added

The flood of voting registrations continued to rise yesterday, with the total since the January 14 "Little Federal" plan election climbing to 415.

There were 70 persons who registered yesterday, 66 of them Negroes.

Of the total of 415, there have been 281 Negro registrations and 134 by whites.

The Negro registration is part of a concerted drive sponsored by the Wilson Citizens Committee "to double" the total number of registered Negroes.

The house-to-house canvass to solicit Negro registration started Monday, February 10.

The drive gained its initial impetus from a $1,500 grant, and has gained further financial backing from contributions by Negro clubs and organizations.

The Rev. T. A. Watkins of First Baptist Church, Nash and Pender Sts., is president of the Citizens Committee, an organization composed of Negro leaders representing several civic clubs.

WBB
JM
RTB

May 31, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

By: Wiley A. Branton

Re: Field Trips

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

I left Atlanta early Thursday morning May 16th by private auto, and drove to Birmingham (accompanied by my entire family).

SCLC officials had made a project announcement of a gigantic voter registration program in Birmingham in lieu of demonstrations. VEP has been supporting a registration effort in that city since last fall, and we have already given the local group $9,000, and they have raised better than $2,500 in the local community for voter registration which they sent to us, and we gave back to them. The effort there is under the sponsorship of the Ninth Congressional District of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting.

Atty. Orzell Billingsley put in an effort to get better community support. Atty. Arthur Shores was made chairman of this special effort. Mrs. Bernice Johnson, a public school teacher, is now serving as voluntary coordinator for the program, and is doing a magnificent job. The only full time paid employee is Miss Doris Nelson who was the office secretary, but is now the field director.

I know something of the concern which the local sponsoring group felt regarding the announced plans of SCLC officials. During the height of the demonstrations, a SCLC official took several people from a church where they had been attending a voter registration clinic, and announced they were going to march to the courthouse, and all of them were arrested. There were some people in the group who had no intention of being arrested, and others were forced to spend long hours in jail, when they thought they would be released immediately. This action did not meet with the approval of VEP sponsored groups, and the whole episode did hamper the regular voter program. This occurred at a time when SCLC and the Alabama Christian Movement were under an injunction against demonstrations, and many people who had been active in our voter registration program felt that the VEP sponsored groups might be placed under an injunction, and there were school teachers and others working in voter registration who could not afford to be involved with people who appeared to be deliberately violating the terms of the injunction.

With this background, I felt it was important for me to discuss the voter registration drive with SCLC officials in Birmingham, and also

1- wab Field Reports

with the VEP groups there. (ASCARV). I talked with Arthur Shores, Orzell Billingsley, Doris Nelson, Emory Jackson (Editor of the Birmingham World), and others, and the opinion was unanimous that the prior actions of the SCLC and the Alabama Christian Movement (the voter registration march) were detrimental to the registration efforts, and would likely effect the kind of program which SCLC might conduct. They felt that SCLC and the Movement should use the mass meetings simply to urge people to register, or to attend one of the voter meetings conducted by ASCARV, and then let ASCARV get them down to the courthouse. This would be good, but they also expressed doubt that SCLC would follow through on its announced plans for any appreciable length of time.

I talked with Wyatt Walker briefly, but most of my conversation was carried on with Andrew Young. Rev. Young agreed that the prior march to the courthouse had been a bad thing, and was something which did not meet with his personal approval. He stated that there were a number of students from Miles College and from the community who want to get active in voter registration this summer. I told him that James Forman of SNCC had expressed a desire to send some SNCC contacts in there, and we agreed that any voter registration program in Birmingham should be coordinated, and that nothing should be done without the full knowledge and approval of the local ASCARV group. Rev. Young was to meet with the ASCARV group on Monday, May 20th, and promised to let me hear from him soon after that date.

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

I arrived in Greenwood, Mississippi, late into the evening of May 16th, and went immediately to the COFO office. Bob Moses had left the office a few minutes earlier to go to the city police station to check on Melton Hancock, who had been arrested, and who was said to have been beaten by the city police. When Bob did not return right away, I went down to the police station and the police commissioner and the chief of police became rather disturbed on seeing me as they wondered how I happened to show up so soon after the "beating". The police alleged that Hancock resisted arrest after he failed to produce his driver's licence on the demand of the officer, and he was struck across the head with a night stick. He had been taken to the hospital. Stitches were required, and he was kept in the hospital all night. Subsequently, he was released and was given a fine which was appealed. The Justice Department is investigating the beating.

After spending more than an hour at the jail, I brought Bob back to the COFO office where I immediately went into a conference with Bob Moses, Lawrence Guyot, Emma Bell and others regarding the budget for

COFO operations. A separate memo has been previously prepared regarding this budget discussion, It appears that we have people still going down to the courthouse in Greenwood each day, but we still have no information as to how many have successfully registered.

TUSCUMBIA, FLORENCE AND SHEFFIELD, ALABAMA

On Monday, May 20th, I visited Tuscumbia, Florence, and Sheffield, Alabama, and made an attempt to see several people in that area whose names had been given to me by Fannie Neal of COPE, as persons active in voter registration. It appears that this is a section of Alabama where there is very little racial discrimination in the registrar's office, but unfortunately, the office is open only two days per month. I had a very lengthy conference with Mrs. Bernice Owes, (1006 E. 18th St., Sheffield, PH - 382-1548). Mrs. Owes is secretary of the Colbert County Voter's League. She is also the secretary for the Laborer's Union, a local Negro labor union which maintains a rather nice labor hall. Mrs. Owes can be reached at the labor hall, PH - 383-3572. The Colbert County Voter's League is active in Sheffield, Tuscumbia, and Muscle Shoals, but most of the active members live in Sheffield. The president is Charlie Burgess of 200 Central Ave., Muscle Shoals, who works for Reynolds Metal Co.

The Tennessee River separates Sheffield from Florence, and there is a separate voter's league in Florence. The only place where one can register in Colbert County is at the courthouse in Tuscumbia, and this poses a transportation problem for people living in Sheffield and Muscle Shoals. Both voter's leagues are members of ASCARV, and they attend the semi-annual meetings. Other persons in this area who are active in voter registration are: Mrs. Rebecca Rutland, Box 396, Cherokee, Alabama; William Lang, Tuscumbia; James Hampton, Sheffield; and Martha Pearl Jimmer, Leighton, Alabama. Mrs. Owes promised to communicate regarding voter registration plans in that area at an early date.

DECATUR, ALABAMA

I phoned the VEP office from Florence, and Randolph Blackwell told me that a Mr. Sykes, a funeral director in Decatur, Alabama, was very much interested in talking with somebody about voter registration, and I agreed to go over to Decatur and see him. When I first talked with Mr. Sykes on the phone, he denied he had any interest in voter registration until he found out that I was with the VEP, and then he became rather eager to talk with me. I talked with him at his funeral home (1004 Bank St., Decatur), but his wife pretty well

took over the conversation. Mrs. Sykes is from New York, and it appears she has not lived in Decatur too long. (They both appear to be about 60).

Mr. Sykes had received a letter from W. C. Patton informing him that Mrs. Bernice Johnson and Miss Doris Nelson would be visiting Decatur in June to help them with a special registration drive during the first week of July, which will take place in several rural counties with support from VEP. I get the impression that there is a need for someone to go into Decatur and stimulate some local leadership before much can be expected from this group.

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

I know that the registrar's office in Huntsville, Alabama, is open on the first and third Mondays, and since May 20th was a third Monday, I thought I would go to Huntsville and witness some registration first-hand. I mentioned this to Blackwell on the phone so that he might confirm the fact that this was the date the registrar's office would be open. When I arrived in Huntsville, I went immediately to the office of the Madison County Coordinating Committee, (228 Church St.), which is maintained in the office annex of the Presbyterian Church. I found Mr. Robert Adams, the director of the project, and a secretary on duty, but was disappointed to learn that the registrar's office had not been open at all during May on account of a special liquor referendum election which is to be held in the first week of June. It is customary for the registrar's office to close during the last 30 days propr to any election, and this was the situation here. I felt that our field director should have gathered this information (the fact that this registrar's office was closed, and about the election), since he had made two separate trups into the Huntsville area during a two-week period prior to May 20th, one of which was especially for checking on the Huntsville program.

It also appears that Huntsville pretty much drained its potential during the previous VEP supported effort, as the number of people going down under the current program is considerably smaller. The group has done a very good job in conducting house to house surveys to determine the registration status of all the people, and they know where most of the unregistered people live, and who they are. I noted that high school students were used to gather this information, and it appears that they were paid for door to door canvassing. Although the amount paid to the students was very nominal, it would appear

to me that volunteers can and should be recruited for such door to door campaigning and similar activities.

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

WAB:js

It should be noted that on May 12, I spent three hours talking with Lee Bell at his home about the Huntsville project. I also talked with Dr Cochin and Mrs Pierson about the project. Each of these conversation were held separately and in neither one of them was the fact that there was a special election being held mentioned. In each conversation the plans for the month were spelled out and I relied on what was told to me. I don't see that there was any thing deceiving in these people having not told me of this election nor do I see how on a Sunday I could have checked this matter or tried to.

RTB

January 2-5, 1963 - Preparing materials for citizenship clinic series; arranging to send out 2,000 letters to youth and adult leaders in some 100 counties.

The materials for the clinics include:

Bulletin No. 1 - Program schedule and Discussion outline on Organization
2 - Outline for Citizenship Discussion
3 - Planning a Voter-Registration Campaign

A detailed outline for the day-long program
Voter-Registration Brochure - Furnished by SCLC
Brochure--This is SCLC " " "
Brochure--Citizenship Training - Furnished by SCLC
How to Organize a Block Party - " " "
Citizenship Clinic Manual - " " "

This year two filmstrips are used:
Government is Your Business, The Christophers
The Christophers, Knock on Every Door

Unrehearsed role-playing to demonstrate canvassing and organization technique are outlined in a pre-clinic session, the night before the clinic.

See schedule of nine Congressional District Clinics.

J H Calhoun

January 4, 1963- Visited Gainesville, with Rev. Bennette, for a meeting with leaders for organization and attendance at a clinic. The meeting was held at Mt. Zion Baptist Church.

A voter-registration plan for Hall County was worked out, with arrangements for a county-wide meeting January 27, at the same place. Mr. Maynard Brown acted as temporary chairman and agreed to serve permanently and work with the Progressive Club, the Hall County Voters League and the E. E. Butler High School P. T. A. The group recommended that the combined 9th & 10th District clinic be held in Athens instead of Agusta. All churches and interested organizations were to send representatives to the county-wide meeting and outlying communities were to be invited.

We returned to Atlanta that night.

During the day I discussed with Mr. O. J. Hurd a meeting for East Point January 9, and informed him that it may not be possible for me to attend, but I would get Rev. Bennett.

I was also busy writing the V. E. P. report for the period of September 10, thur December.

J. H. Calhoun

January 8, 1963 - Talked with Mrs. Barlow, Columbus, about Vernon Mitchell, whom I had been trying to contact for several weeks. She assured me that he was interested in the registration program and would contact me when he returned to Columbus.

Attended meeting of interested citizens in Columbus to set up a program for voter-registration and discuss program of 3rd District Citizenship Clinic, in Holsey Chapel C.M.E. Church. Rev. W. J. Reynolds, temporary chairman, presided, with 25 persons present. Because the attendance was small, the group decided to have a county-wide mass meeting to invite persons from all sections and 23 organizations named in the voter-registration plan, which was revised at the meeting. Wednesday, January 30, was set as the date and the pastor of Wynton Hill Baptist Church, 2620 Buena Vista Church, extended an invitation, which was accepted. I promised to try to get Rev. H. I. Bearden of Atlanta as speaker. In my talk, the importance of coordination and ministerial leadership was stressed. The mass meeting was cited as a build-up for the clinic on February 2 and the urgency of having youth present was pointed out. A clinic committee was named composed of M. B. Jackson, chairman, B. F. Lawton, C. B. Marshall, Sam Sapp, B. F. Priester and G. F. Rivers, to meet Wednesday, January 16, at noon in the Atlanta Life Branch Office.

Began sending out 2,000 statewide announcements of clinics.

J H Calhoun

JANUARY 15, 1963 - Contacted M. F. Jackson, Columbus in regard to meeting with committee in Columbus Wednesday, after failing to reach Atty. Albert Thompson, vice chairman of the committee.

Prepared letters and material for Columbus Clinic. Arranged for Rev. H. I. Bearden as speaker for Columbus Mass Meeting, January 30, because he formerly pastored at St. James AME Church and is popular as a religious leader, as well as, his work with NAACP and the Premiss King decision outlawing the White Primary. Worked on revision of Citizenship Clinic Manual.

Attended meeting of the All Citizens Registration Committee, West Side Branch, YMCA (See Rev. Bennettes' report.) Officers for the year were not elected, but the co-chairmen Mr. Jesse Hill and Dr. C. A. Bacote were authorized to name a nominating committee to report on February 7 for the Annual election.

J H Calhoun

JANUARY 16, 1963 - Visited Columbus to meet with officers of the registration committee, headed by Rev. W. J. Reynolds to arrange for the 3rd Congressional District Clinic, Feb. 2. Place, program and publicity were discussed with the 13 leaders present: Albert W. Thompson, G. F. Rivers, Tommie Moses, Mrs. Clasie Walker, B. F. Preston, Sam Sapp, Whit Battle, Jackson Wheeler, B. F. Lawton, A. J. McClung, M. B. Jackson and Rev. Reynolds. It was agreed to prepare letters to 3 ministerial organizations from Rev. M. L. King, Jr., me and the local temporary co-chairmen: Reynolds and Thompson. Futhermore, we would send, on SCLC stationary, letters for 80 odd ministers, asking their support, as well as, blank letterheads and envelopes for the committee to use. We also worked out plans for the January 30 Mass Meeting to elect pernament officers.

Luncheon was served: Dutch Treat, and I returned to Atlanta that afternoon.

J W Calhoun

JANUARY 17-21 - Working on reports for V E P, conferring with Rev. Bennette on field work and reporting. Report submitted to Rev. Young and found to be faulty. I was asked to make a detailed summary.

Prepared letters and materials for Columbus ministers as requested. Sent out additional letters to leaders for Valdosta Citizenship Clinic 8th Congressional District January 26.

J H Calhoun

January 23-24 - Made detailed summary report for V E P. Prepared materials for Valdosta Clinic, including 25 Citizenship Clinic Manuals because printer could not get any of 1,000 revised edition of manuals ready. Conferred with Citizenship School staff or their part in clinics. Arranged to send out letters for 4th Congressional District Clinic.

J. H. Calhoun

January 25, 1963- Left Atlanta 11:45 A.M. to visit Jacksonvelle, Georgia and the 8th Congressional District Clinic in Valdosta. We arrived in Jacksonville at 5:15 and found about 30 citizens waiting. I discussed with them advances made in our state thru political action and the necessity for increasing registered voters. They presented the problem of having registered 600 in 1962, as a result of organization inspired at the 8th Disrrict Clinics in October 1961 and March 1962, but all were disqualified when called up for the test. I suggested that 100 of those who failed be brought together and examined. If the disqualifications are justified we will try to initiate citizenship training; if not it should be brought to the attention of local officials. If they fail to act, we will help to report it to the U. S. Department of Justice.

A voter registration plan for the Telfair County was developed in the meeting and they were urged to send representatives to the Valdosta Clinic, which they did.

A subsequent visit by the Citizenship School staff: Mrs. Clark and Miss Ponder, revealed that 75 of the persons interviewed, were not qualified and citizenship training is projected. Four citizens are in training at McIntosh this week and a county-wide mass meeting is planned for Monday night February 25, to which the citizenship and voter-registration staffs will attend. We proceeded to Valdosta, but the pre-clinic briefing session was apparently not understood and did not transpire. Those who arrived Friday night were; Rev. Bennette, Mrs. Ellis Mrs. Freeman and I for voter-registration; Mrs. Cotton, Mrs. Clark, Miss Ponder and Mrs. Young from the Citizenship Training techniques into the clinic such as: Singing, role playing and interpretation of the film strips, which our staff can now do effectively, after observing it in two clinics: Valdosta and Columbus. Our staff led these demonstrations in the La Grange and Athens Clinics.

J. M. Colham

January 26, 1963 - The 8th Congressional District Clinic, opening the series, began on schedule with an effective Memorial Service, led by Mr. C. C. Hall, undertaker in Fitzgerald and Principal of the Lowndes County High School. The Citizenship School staff led demonstrations and two movie strips were shown. Voter registration techniques were explained and demonstrated. District elections were held for youth, as well as, adults and chairmen were named for each county to return and start organization. The following week copies of the program, names and addresses of all delegates and officers were mailed to each of them.

J H Calhoun

Mr. Roscoe Brown, Chairman

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO. 3

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign Steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Appling

Size of Negro Population 2,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 600

Potential Negro Registered Voters 600

Increase Goal 200

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb., 1, to April 14, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Mc Tier — Pines View

Morris Still — Side - Camp (Mt. Olive Church)

The Hundred (St. Mathew Church)

Number of Volunteers Needed 6 - 10

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Hardens' Chapel Methodist Church
2 Rachalt Baptist
3 1st AB
4 St. James A. M. E.
5 2nd Pleasent Hill
6 N. F. Baptist Church
7 Mizpah
8 1st Pleasant A. M. E.
9 Church of God in Christ
10
11 V. F. W.
12 W. M. B. S.
13 Choir Broadcast
14 Eastern Star
15 Masons
16 Good Samaritains
17 Fellowship Saving Club
18 P. T. A.
19
20

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Date for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
VI Set up Basic Committees (As outlined in Organizational Chart)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. / Budget-Finance / Car Pool Com. / Tel.-Pub.Com. / Church Com.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Berrien

Size of Negro Population 1,500

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 400

Potential Negro Registered Voters 310

Increase Goal 155

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb. 1, to July 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Alapaha, Ga.

Enigma, Ga.

Ray City, Ga.

Gladys, Ga.

Nashville, Ga.

Number of Volunteers Needed 28

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 _____ 11 _____
2 _____ 12 _____
3 _____ 13 _____
4 _____ 14 _____
5 _____ 15 _____
6 _____ 16 _____
7 _____ 17 _____
8 _____ 18 _____
9 _____ 19 _____
10 _____ 20 _____

SUMMARY

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

Mr. L. Hick, Chairman

STATE-WIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Brantley

Size of Negro Population 1,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 600

Potential Negro Registered Voters 400

Increase Goal

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb., to Dec., 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Dasignate Rural Areas)

Nahunta, Ga.

Hobope, Ga.

Waynesville, Ga.

Hortense, Ga.

Number of Volunteers Needed 10

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Brantley County Registration Committee
2 Independence Club
3 Seven Star Lodge No. 122
4 Churches
5 Clubs
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SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Date for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
VI Set up Basic Committees (As outlined in Organizational Chart)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. / Budget-Finance / Car Pool Com. / Tel.-Pub.Com. / Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Clinch

Size of Negro Population 2,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 375

Potential Negro Registered Voters

Increase Goal 625

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb. 15, to March 31, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

All of Clinch

(County - Depending on Cooperation of Local Groups)

Number of Volunteers Needed 20

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Eastern Star
2 Masonic Lodge
3 Antioch Baptist Church (Homerville)
4 Morning Star Baptist Church
5 Brown's Chapel Methodist Church
6 Church of God in Christ
7 Church of God Written in Heaven
8 P. T. A. - Homerville High
9
10
11 St. John Baptist Church - Dupont, Ga.
12 Baptist Church - Fargo, Ga.
13 Methodist Church - Fargo, Ga.
14 Holines Church
15 Cogdale Methodist Church
16 Cogdale Baptist Church
17 Travelville Baptist Church
18
19
20

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ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. / Budget-Finance / Car Pool Com. / Tel.-Pub.Com. / Church Comm.

Mrs. Mary J. Graham, Chairman

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Telfair County, Jacksonville, Ga.

Size of Negro Population 4,011

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 334

Potential Negro Registered Voters 2,087

Increase Goal 1,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates **From** Feb. **to** May, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

MR Rae - McCrau
Scottland - Mr. Howard
Jacksonville - Hosea Pace
Lumber City - Rev. Colston - Pastor
Milan - Mr. McGill, PTA & Rev. McKenzie
Helans - Pres., NAACP - Mr. Hornes

Number of Volunteers Needed 35 - each need to get 8 workers per month.

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Voters League, Jacksonville
2 N. A. A. C. P.
3 Prince Hall Masons (2)
4 Eastern Star
5 Christian Pilgrim
6 Good Simaritan
7 Churches
8 P. T. A.
9 Ladies of Profession
10 Farm Bureau
11 Home Demonstration Agents
12 Farm Administrators
13 Choir Unions
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PROBLEM: Approzimately 300 failed literacy test. Send workers in for 5 nights

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ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
STEERING COMMITTEE
Recruiting Com. / Budget-Finance / Car Pool Com. / Tel.-Pub.Com. / Church Comm.

E. E. Moore, Sr. 971 [illegible]ebeau Street, Waycross, Ga.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Waycross, Ware County, Georgia

Size of Negro Population 8,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 2,900

Potential Negro Registered Voters 5,000

Increase Goal 5,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From January to May, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

City & County
Wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12 - 31 St.
Northside - Reedsville
Hazzard Hill - Old 9
Hebordville - Groveland Park
Newtown - Telmore - Waresboro
Dixie Union - Glemore
Haywood
Crawley

Number of Volunteers Needed 100

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 City Teachers Assn.
2 Keystone Voters League
3 Southside Voters League
4 American Legion
5 Eastern Stars
6 N. A. A. C. P.
7 Phyllis Wheatly Club
8 G. T. E. & A (J. C. Reese)
9 Masons
10 I. B. P. O. E. of Waycross (Elks)
11 Daughter Elks
12 Interdenominational Ministers Allaiance
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ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

Sunday, January 27, 1963 - I drove to Gainesville alone for the county-wide meeting at 4:00 p.m., which was delayed because there was another meeting in the Mt. Zion Baptist Church. The following leaders were present: Ulysses Byas, C. R. Morrow, J. W. Merrett, J. W. Morrow, Jr., Rev. Rufus Dinkins, Mrs. Marian Christian, I. J. Watson, Dr. Nelson McGhee, Jr., Austin C. Brown, Rev. Harold C. Turner and Maynard Brown.

The voter-registration program was revised and the group became convinced that a county-wide mass meeting was essential. This was scheduled for February 13 or 14, either of which Senator Leroy Johnson might be available. I was requested to provide 150 announcements and materials for kits of the District PTA Council scheduled to meet on February 9 and to help them with letters or other publicity. Prof. Byas, principal of the E. E. Butler High School agreed to take a large responsibility, so did Mrs. Christian, PTA president. Improvement of conditions in Gainesville, support of ministers and enlistment of youth, were the main topics of discussion. The ministers present expressed strong support of the campaign. I returned to Atlanta that night. During the meeting it was reported that 300 voters were added in the 1962 campaign.

J. H. Calhoun

MUSKOGEE COUNTY, GEORGIA VOTER REGISTRATION MEETING

WYNNTON HILL BAPTIST CHURCH - JANUARY 30, 1963

Meeting opened by Rev. W. J. Reynolds
Mr. T. J. Johnson, Master of Ceremonies
Music by - Locust Hill Baptist Church Choir
Wynnton Hill Baptist Church Choir
Prayer -
Scripture -

Miss Dollie Arrington outlined the history of the struggle of the American Negro to regain the ballot and the obligation of those present to everything possible in getting Negroes registered if they are to have the political power they seek.

Rev. W. J. Daniels introduced Rev. H. I. Bearden, Pastor of Big Bethel AME Church, Atlanta, as a man born to greatness.

Rev. Bearden

I. Best years of his life as pastor of St. James AME Church

A. Columbus, Georgia and Citizens Committee gave to the million Negroes of Georgia their voting rights.

B B. Rev. Primus King became plaintiff

C. Messrs. McGhee, Ashworth and Atty. Smith got Atty. Strozier to take the case.

II. There is power in a vote

A. Vote is important, even in church - One vote may decide

B. The vote casts something - Magna Carts, U. S. Constitution

III. Muskogee County Citizens Committee

A. Rev. Smith and Mrs. Reeves - History of Judge Elliott and how Negro vote helped to make him.

B. Seems that committee has gone to sleep.

C. Got a park from the vote-political promise

IV. Objectives of vote

A. More schools, paving, etc. - came from vote

B. Jobs

C. Police

1. Mistakes no excuse
2. Atlanta and other cities made mistakes
3.

3. Once had 100 churches and liquor stores - If each member got 50 we would have power.

C. Examples of Sanders and Allen's elections, as well as, senatorial candidates.

VI. Not your mouth, but your vote will decide the destiny of Georgia.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Chairman - Rev. W. J. Reynolds - Elected
T. J. Johnson - Declined
Rev. T. J. Blue - Declined

Vice Chairman - Mrs. R. L. Walker - Declined
Mrs. T. L. Moses - Declined
Crawford Marshall - Declined
Atty. Albert Thompson - Elected

Secretary - Moses Jackson - Declined
Mrs. R. L. Walker - Declined
G. F. Rivers - Declined
Mrs. Dollie Arrington - Elected

Treasurer - Moses Jackson - Elected

It was agreed that all efforts would be made to publicize the 3rd Congressional District Clinic at the Masonic Temple, Columbus, Saturday, February 26. Several persons also agreed to attend the pre-clinic session Friday night, October 1 at the Masonic Temple. Rev. Bearden was given an honorareium of $15.00 by the committee and the party, composed of Mrs. Ellis, Rev. Bearden, Rev. Bennette and I, returned to Atlanta Wednesday night via Auto.

J H Calhoun

February 1, 1963 - Left Atlanta for Columbus at 5:45 with Mrs. Ocelia Ellis, office secretary-field worker to be joined later by Rev. Bennette and the Citizenship School staff: Mrs. Septima Clark, Mrs. Annelle Ponder, and Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, who did not arrive, however, until Saturday morning. The rest of us were quartered at the Carver Motel.

Mrs. Ellis and I had a pre-clinic session with Mr. M. B. Jackson, treasurer of the Committee, Mrs. Clocie Walker, Mr. C. B. Marshall, Mr. G. F. Rivers, Mr. Whit Battle, Mr. Sam Sapp and others. The program was reviewed and special emphasis was placed on the urgency of having youth representation. Mr. Vernon Mitchell, 1962 director, was not present, neither was Chairman Reynolds.

It was apparent, by this time, that the coordination of leadership in Columbus was still faulty. The same old group was not too sympathetic with the younger leadership and ministerial support was seriously lacking. There was still some trace of opposition to Mr. Vernon Mitchell, although most everyone agreed that he was the best person to direct the campaign. Rev. Reynolds, a hard worker was too dictatorial and lacking in organizational techniques. We were encouraged, however, by the promise of Mr. Mitchell to work with us.

JHolcham

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CITIZENSHIP CLINIC

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA, MASONIC TEMPLE - FEBRUARY 2, 1963

Clinic opened with Memorial Service for the late John Wesley Dobbs, Grand Master of Prince Hall Masons conducted by J. H. Calhoun, assisted by Rev. Fred Bennette, closing with the singing of "This Little Light of Mine," one of Mr. Dobbs' favorite spirituals.

Mr. Calhoun explained the program of the Clinic and Rev. Fred Bennette, field secretary showed the film: "Knock on Every Door." Mrs. Septima Clark explained the Citizenship School Program and urged attendance from each county.

Mrs. Dorothy Cotton arrived in time to conduct singing and role playing on how to canvass, assisted by Rev. Bennette and Mr. Calhoun, who did the "fishing" interview" in which the canvasser used the prospect's interest in fishing to gain his confidence and friendliness, after which the latter agreed to go to the courthouse and register. Miss Annell Ponder and Robert Dowdell, of Americus did an unrehearsed skit protraying handling of a difficult prospect. Mr. T. J. Johnson, Sr., Mrs. Classie Walker and Miss Isoline Davis also did a skit potraying a difficult mother and daughter who were afraid of "white folks." Mr. Sam Sapp led a song and Mrs. Cotton, assisted by Mr. Calhoun brought out, thru questions the good and bad points of the demonstrations.

Only two counties being represented, voter-registration plans were worked out for each, with each delegate receiving a copy. After dinner, served to 38 of the 52 persons registered by Holsey Temple CME Church, adult and youth delegates separated. The former discussed the importance of bond issues and constitutional amendments and nominated district officers. Youth delegates discussed organization, "A Program for Youth" and nominated District officers.

In the closing session, the film "Knock on Every Door" was shown, followed by an explanation of the important points. Volunteers were taken for Courthouse Committees in Columbus, (17) and Americus (7).

The following officers were elected:

Adults	Youth
Vernon Mitchell, Columbus Chairman	James Williams, Columbus Chairman
Samuel Weston, Americus Vice-Chirman	Atha Denson, Americus, Vice Chairman
Mrs. Classie Walker, Americus Secretary	Carolyn Snead, Americus Secretary
	Gwendolyn Cox, Columbus Assistant Secretary

The clinic closed with the singing of "We Will Overcome" in a joined circle and Benediction at 4:00 P. M. The staff returned to Atlanta that afternoon.

J H Calhoun

February 4, 1963 - Contacted Rev. A. R. Hill, La Grange, in regard to the 4th Congressional District Clinic, scheduled for February 9, and Mr. Washington Virgil of Thomasville, about the 2nd Congressional District Clinic, March 2. Mr. Hill agreed to schedule of clinic and county-wide meeting set for tonight. Mr. Virgil stated that his group had re-elected him to serve as chairman and he had called them for a meeting Tuesday, February 12, after which he would contact me.

We prepared a letter to go to adult and youth leaders of the 5th Congressional District. Program and organization list for the 3rd District Clinic prepared for mailing to participants.

Went with Rev. Bennette to La Grange to meet with leaders of Troup County, where there were about 40 persons present, under the direction of Rev. Hill. A voter-registration plan for Troup County was worked out under direction of Mr.
The program of the 3rd District Clinic was worked out and assignments were suggested for role-playing. It was agreed that we would not come in until early Saturday morning for the Clinic. This arrangement was found to be unsatisfactory, however, causing us to decide to continue the pre-clinic arrangements for Friday nights.

J. H. Calhoun

February 5, 1963 - Talked with Vernon Mitchell, Columbus, about funds and activities of Muskogee County organization and arranged for Senator Johnson's visit to Gainesville for Mass Meeting. Talked with Prof. Ayers about the Gainesville meeting for Thursday night. Senator Johnson could not attend on time because of an important commitment for the Jaycee award. Conferred with office staff and arranged for letters to Columbus participants, as well as, letters to Fifth District leaders.

Attended meeting of the All-Citizens Registration Committee with Messrs. Jesse Hill and C. A. Bacote, co-chairmen, presiding. In the election of officers, the committee recommended re-election of the same officers: Jesse Hill and C. A. Bacote, co-chairmen, Marshall Arnold, Secretary; C. R. Yates, Treasurer; and Rev. C. A. Colbert, Chaplain. The co-chairmen were authorized to name necessary committees. Mrs. Bradley, of Washington Evening High School, who had brought several of her students, told of plans for registering evening school students. I suggested that we take advantage of the presence of nearly 100 persons and set up temporary sectional committees, before having to leave for another meeting. I understand, however, this was not done. I announced the Fifth Congressional District Citizenship Clinic at Wheat St. Baptist Church, Atlanta, February 23, 1963.

At the meeting of the Atlanta Negro Voters League Executive Committee, which followed, there was considerable discussion over an issue, raised mostly by Mr. C. A. Scott, Editor-Publisher of the Atlanta World, as to whether the All-Citizens Registration Committee is a sub-committee of the Atlanta Negro Voters League. The misunderstanding was clarified by Dr. C. A. Bacote, co-chairman of the committee, R. A. Thompson, Warren R. Cochrane, J. R. Henderson and myself. In the background there appeared to be political implications against Mr. Jesse Hill, who had been active for Muggsy Smith in the 1961 Mayoralty campaign and with the Democrats in 1962. It was shown that the Committee was organized in 1946, three years before the organization of the League, that it was a coordinated group of all organizations interested in registration. The Atlanta Branch, NAACP, the Urban League, and the former Atlanta Civic and Political League had been the main support. Later, the Atlanta Negro Voters League, along with the NAACP, were the principal financial backers. Recently the SCLC and last year the VEP have given financial support. Officers of the NAACP and Atlanta Negro Voters League have usually seen to it that their respective Registration Committee chairmen have been the same person. In 1962, there being different persons: Messrs. Hill (NAACP) and Bacote (ANVL), they were made co-chairmen. It was finally agreed that the League would continue to support the committee as in the past, but give closer attention.

J. H. Calhoun

February 7, 1963 - Conferred with Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta, Hosea Williams, Savannah, and William Randall, Macon about state - wide activities, with special emphasis on the Macon and Savannah Citizenship Clinics. The latter is to take the form of demonstrations for leaders from other districts since the 1st District has been working two months on a program of citizenship training and voter-registration.

The Macon clinic will precede the semi-annual meeting of the Georgia Voters League.

Mr. Williams was not able to see Rev. Young, who was out of the city.

J H Calhoun

FEBRUARY 8, 1963 - Conferred with Senator Leroy Johnson, and Dr. C. Clayton Powell on the relationship of the Senator's position to voter-registration and made plans for coordinating leadership over the state. The necessity for working with leaders like Willian Randall, Macon, Hesea Williams, Savannah, Vernon Mitchell, Columbus, Slater King, Albany, Rev. O. S. Hamilton and L. B. Wallace, Augusta, all of whom are active in voter-registration.

Rev. Mullins from Thomasville, pastor of the 1st. Baptist Church, visited the office in the interest of the 2nd Congressional District Clinic, March 2. The sponsoring group wanted information on who was sponsoring the Clinic and what political committment was required. He was informed as to the history of the Statewide Registration Committee and its affiliation with SCLC, as well as, the fact that no political committment was involved. He expressed concern with divisions in leadership, fear on the part of leaders and confusion created by the techniques of hand-outs, small favors and threats. He felt that the clinic and coordinated organization in voter-registration would help. He cited an instance of a Negro woman's being wrongfully prosecuted for drawing a gun on a white person and the Negro Ministerial Alliance refusing to raise funds for her defense as an example of the confusion. Rev. Mullins, who had been in Thomasville only one year was cautioned against projections himself, rather than working behind established leadership, unless forced to in order to get action, in which case it would be better to project a young, native citizen. We expect final response from Thomasville after their executive committee meeting Tuesday night.

I conferred with Mr. Jesse Hill on the naming of committee chairmen for the Atlanta program and brought him up to date on action of the Atlanta Negro Voter League in clearing up misunderstanding as to the origin and status of the All-Citizens Registration Committee, as well as, the League's decision to continue support of the committee with a closer affiliation with its activities.

Late Friday afternoon I learned of the dissatisfaction of VEP with SCLC reports. Upon contacting Mr. Jack Lennon of VEP, I learned for the first time the exact nature of the desired reports. At his suggestion, we were to continue the discussion, so that he could learn the Georgia Program.

J. H. Calhoun

FEBRUARY 9, 1963 - Directed 4th Congressional District Citizenship Clinic. Arrived at First Baptist Church, LaGrange, Ga., Rev. A. R. Hill, Pastor, at 8:50 A. M. Registration began at 9:10 A. M. with 6 present when the program began at 9:40 A. M. with the Memorial Service for the late John Wesley Dobbs, conducted by Rev. A. R. Hill and Rev. E. D. Hill, respectively. Trouble with the projector caused a delay, but the First Baptist Church had a projector on loan from the City Library, which was used to show two films: "Government is Your Business" and "Knock on Every Door." In the absence of Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Mrs. Ocelia Ellis, with the assistance of Rev. A. R. Hill, pastor of the church and coordinator of the Clinic, led the singing and demonstrations. Two role-playing demonstrations were presented on canvassing with objectors and three high school students, Misses Grace Hill, Cornelia Hightower and Elizabeth Smith led discussions on the seven steps of organization from the Clinic Manual. A sumptuous repast was served for 44 persons at $1.00 each which was paid by SCLC. Two counties were represented: Troup and Carrollton, the latter for the first time in the 5 year history of the annual citizenship clinics. Messrs. Crogman Mullins and C. B. Ward of that county reported that they have no difficulty in registering. They expressed the need for help in organizing to increase registration from 900 to 1400 this year. Troup County representatives expressed the same interest to help increase their representations from 1200 to 3500. Because of threatening weather, causing small attendance, a meeting was scheduled for February 22 to which leaders from all 4th Congressional District Counties will be invited.

Mr. Crogman Mullins and Rev. A. R. Hill of LaGrange were asked to serve as temporary co-chairmen to initiate voter registration and set up organization for the district. Miss Grace Hill is to serve as temporary youth chairman, with the other youth forming a committee. Mr. Rufus Hill, high school student, furnished piano music for the occasion.

Rev. Fred Bennette, field secretary, Mrs. Ocelia Ellis, secretary-field owrker, Miss Emily Poole and Mrs. Septima Clark of the Citizenship school composed the staff. Mr. Thomas McBride, Troup County Farm Agent was very helpful with the Clinic.

J. H. Calhoun

FEBRUARY 10, 1963 - Contacted Mr. L. B. Wallace with regard to a meeting with leaders prior to the public meeting in Tabernacle Baptist Church, Augusta, Monday, February 11 at 7:30 P. M.

Worked out plans for speech in Augusta and wrote an outline for role-playing at the Athens Clinic.

J. H. Calhoun

February 11, 1963 - Cont. - Visited Augusta with Rev. Bennette and Mrs. Ellis as speaker for a mass meeting; left Atlanta at 3:45 p.m. and arrived in Augusta at 6:30 p.m., going directly to the office of Mr. L. B. Wallace. He carried us to dinner, where we encountered Messrs. Vernon Jordan, NAACP State Field Secretary, Patton, NAACP voter-registration Field Secretary, Father Morris and C. S. Hamilton, president of the NAACP. Mr. Wallace had informed me the day before by telephone that the NAACP had concluded a Freedom Rally that day; with Father Gibson, of Miami, Florida, as speaker. They left as soon as we arrived. Mr. Wallace did not mention the meeting of the group of leaders I had asked him to call before the mass meeting.

It was a cold rainy night and the crowd at Tabernacle Baptist Church was small. As we entered the church, the same NAACP group was conferring in the church office. It was encouraging to note that the two rival groups had come together after the older one, The Citizens Voters League, had elected a new president: Mr. H. C. Brooks. Father F. W. Morris is president of the other: the Augusta-Richmond County Voters League. Combining their respective voter-registration committees, with Mr. Wallace as temporary chairman, this is supposed to heal a leadership breach which had caused dissension for a number of years. The older group had been accused of accepting money from candidates under the former president, Mr. Zeigler. (See reports of Rev. Bennette and Mrs. Ellis for details of meeting)

After the meeting the NAACP group was again conferring with leaders. In a telephone conversation with Rev. Hamilton, who is a former Morehouse College schoolmate, I learned that Messrs. Patton and Jordan had been invited in a month before; he knew nothing of the activities of the two political groups until they asked to use his church about 10 days before. He said they had agreed to let me come on and speak, but that they had worked out plans to accept help from the NAACP. He advised us to wait and see how the program they adopted Monday night would work out, as Mr. Wallace had acted on his own.

In Athens last Saturday, Mr. Brooks, new president of the Citizens Voters League, was very cooperative and apologetic. He said the NAACP was to give $1100 of a $1900 or $2000 budget, but they could hardly raise their share of the amount by April 1, the close of the drive. He suggested the possibility they would ask SCLC to help if the drive should be extended.

J. H. Calhan

FEBRUARY 12, 1963 - Arranged for letters to persons who attended the LaGrange Clinic including those of record for the 4th Congressional District Citizenship Clinic, inviting them to the meeting February 22 in First Baptist Church, LaGrange for the purpose of organizing.

Called and conferred for 1½ hours with Mr. Jack Minnis of VEP in regard to deficiences in SCLC reporting, revealing the following problems:

I. VEP was not familiar with the voter-registration program of SCLC as it relates to the activities of the Statewide Registration Committee, especially in regard to the Annual Congressional District Citizenship Clinics.

II. There was lack of understanding of the basic objectives of VEP by the SCLC field staff.

A. A research project to determine:

1. The procedures and status of voter-registration in certain states and/or areas of the South.
2. Problems involved in registering Negroes in these areas:

a. In relation to state laws and practices of public officials.
b. In regard to reactions and attitudes of Negro leaders and citizens at large, especially ministers.

B. Carrying out the purpose of the project in such ways as to:

1. Provide the proper information thru records.
2. Assuring expenditures of funds for voter-registration activities.
3. Maintaining the tax-exempt status of the SRC.

III. Mr. Minnis was given the following information:

A. The Statewide Registration Committee was organized in 1957 by the Georgia Voters League as non-political.

1. It was structured with an executive committee and district chairmen.
2. A budget was established; of which NAACP contributed $2,500 the first year, 1958, $1,500 the second year, SCLC and Mr. N. B. Herndon $1,300 the fourth year. There being no state elections in 1961 there was not much registration activity.
3. A program of affiliation with SCLC was established in December, 1961, with me as part-time director of voter-registration for Georgis, Rev. Fred C. Bennette and Rev. Benard Lee as field secretaries.

B. The program of the Statewide Registration Committee, which was adopted by SCLC as follows:

1. A series of Citizenship Clinics for each U. S. Congressional District, teaching:

a. Importance of citizenship, registration and coordination.
b. Seven steps in county-wide organization.
c. Georgia registration laws procedures, canvassing and get out the vote techniques.
d. Suggested youth and church programs.
e. A citizenship clinic manual with law and procedures on registration.

2. Contacts are made thru personal visits, telephone calls and two letters to some 2,000 youth and adult leaders in 100 counties.
3. Pre-clinic and follow-up organization in such counties as funds, time and staff will permit.

C. Results of activities in Georgia for 1962 were obtained mostly prior to May 5, the day the books closed. Books in most counties remained open, but for the September Primaries and General Election they closed in May, six months ahead. Futhermore, August, September, October and November were spent by voters in state and senatorial primaries and the General Election. Registration was mostly incidental. See reports on activities - May 15 and December 15.

D. The period of August 1, to December 31 was spent as follows:

1. August - September - Directing DOVEL in Albany - See reports.
2. First week in October to first week in November on leave without pay.
3. November to December - see separate reports.
   a. Preparing reports on DOVEL.
   b. Planning and arranging for meeting of the Executive Committee of the Statewide Registration Committee December 15.
   c. Staff conferences and SCLC field staff meeting on 1963 program.
   d. Making contacts and arrangements for Citizenship Clinic Series.

IV. Copies of reports, plans, agreement were left with Mr. Minnis, with the following understanding:

A. Detailed reports will be submitted as per VEP requirements.

B. Request will be made to SCLC for field workers conference with Mr. Minnis to secure similar understandings.

J. H. Calhoun

FEBRUARY 17, 1963 - Attended a staff conference at SCLC for two hours, after preparing reports on previous week's activities. In the staff conference were Rev. Andrew Young, Rev. Fred Bennette, Rev. Bernard Lee, Mrs. Ocelia Ellis, Miss Jean Turner and Myself. We read and discussed the VEP criticisms on the reporting of SCLC field workers. After Rev. Young gave his reactions, I explained the understanding that I had gained from conversation with Mr. Jack Minnis of VEP. It was agreed that field workers should prepare detailed reports for January and February as requested by VEP. For the first time Rev. Lee first and Rev. Bennette gained an exact understanding of the nature of the desired reporting. As stated in the conference, the difficulty seemed to have arisen from the fact it was impossible for Mr. Minnis, who is responsible for the detailed work on the Research Project to relay his necessary requirements thru Mr. Branton and Rev. King or Rev. Young, who apparently were not familiar with the actual field work. This was especially a problem for our state since Mr. Minnis was also unfamiliar with the nature of the Georgia Program. I tried again to make it clear that VEP is not attempting to direct our activities but to know exactly what we are doing in detail, as well as, the results obtained for research and record purposes of VEP.

In a previous conference at B. B. Beamon's with Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker and Rev. Young, we had gone over some of this ground work.

Thursday evening at 6:30, Rev. Bennette and I went to Gainesville for a Mass Meeting on voter-registration, sponsored by the Hall County Registration Committee, headed by Mr. Maynard Brown. We arrived at 8:00 P. M. and the meeting started. (See Rev. Bennette's Report) . Because of the lateness of the arrival of Senator Leroy Johnson, who had to attend an affair relating to his Jaycee Award as one of Atlanta's five young men of the year, I had to talk some 45 minutes on the political implications of citizenship and voter-registration. My subject was: "An Idea whose Time has come: Freedom," using a more historical approach than was used in Augusta.

Both Addresses to the audience of nearly 200 citizens from 3 or 4 counties, seemed to be highly inspirational. Sixty-five volunteers were enlisted and the Citizenship School program was emphasized. Hall County registration should improve greatly this year. We returned to Atlanta that night.

J. H. Calhoun

FEBRUARY 15, 1963 - Prepared letter for distribution to leaders for Thomasville Clinic after call from Mr. Washington Virgil. Made up report on expenditures at LaGrange Clinic. Conferred with Rev. Andrew Young on report for January - February. Prepared materials for Athens Clinic. Made several unsuccessful efforts to contact Mr. Eli Jackson of Greensboro by telephone. Arranged with Miss Peggy Rutland to get out letters for Thomasville Clinic. Left Atlanta 7:00 P. M. with Mrs. Ocelia Ellis, office secretary-field worker and Miss Emily Poole.

= Delayed by confused highway directions, arrived in Athens, Georgia at 9:15 P. M. and found 15 youth and adults, including Mr. Ray Ware, Rev. M. Tate pastor of Hill Chapel Baptist Church, waiting for pre-clinic session. In the session, we rehearsed only role-playing for canvassing and organizations. Several, including Miss Thelma Terrell and Miss Carol Arnold, volunteered to act Saturday. Had dinners with Mr. Ray Ware as our guest, Rev. Bennette did not attend pre-clinic session inasmuch as he attended an organization meeting in Conyers, Rockdale County. He came up Saturday Morning.

J H Calhoun

FEBRUARY 16, 1963 - 9TH AND 10TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CITIZENSHIP CLINICS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

The meeting was delayed for Principal Edwards of the High School to participate in Memorial Service for the late Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs, but he was unable to come. The services started at 10:15 A. M. in Hill Chapel Baptist Church, site of the Clinic, conducted beautifully by Rev. R. B. Hawk, head of the Athens High School Political Science Department and pastor of Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in Atlanta.

Movies strips and unrehearsed role-playing demonstrations, from which important points were made thru questions, answers and discussions, made this the most effective clinic of the series. Outstanding participants in the clinic were: Rev. Hawk and Ray Ware of Athens, M. H. Brittian of Washington and H. C. Brooks of Augusta, Because of their experience in handling community problems and securing improved facilities thru political influence. Mrs. Mamie Terrell of Athens was also very effective, as well as youth participants from Athens and Augusta. The youth delegation from Washington was rather quiet, whereas, the Augusta youth showed the effect of having participated in local clinics directed by Mr. Adolph S. Dickson who was present, and very active in the clinic.

A new plan of scheduling was found to be very effective: coffee and cookies were served at noon, with no interruption, and dinner was delayed until 2:45 P. M. instead of 1:00 P. M., which enabled us to continue the workshop to completion and overcame the effect of some delegates not returning after the dinner period.

= The closing, or after dinner, session was then confined to remarks from delegates, final instructions and elections of the officers.

Mr. M. H. Brittian of Washington, Georgia told how they got 300 new registered voters in their past registration program and plan to get 500 more registered voters this year. They worked for 3 months and are ready to start again. He explained how they appreciated the work of the State-wide Registration Committee. When registration first began they had a hard time finding out when the books would be open. He went to the judge, who did not know who the registrars were but promised to find out when books would open and would publicize it in the newspaper. Quite a few people were turned down. The F. B. I. made investigations and cards were sent to all people who had been disqualified telling them that they were qualified. After a while chief Registrar became friendly. Because Mr. Brittain stated he did not know thy the F. B. I. came, Mr. Calhoun explained that last year the District Chairman, Mr. Toombs McLendon, reported these irregularities, as well as, one requiring interpretation of the Constitution. The situation was called to the attention of Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, of SCLC who contacted Mr. Burt Marshall of the U. S. Department of Justice, in Washington.

Mr. Ray Ware Expressed the importance of seeing the University of Georgia, explaining how tax-payers' money is being spent for the expansion of the University. He urged us to encourage more people to go to the University. He also explained the importance of boycotts and registered voters for more jobs for Negroes.

DISTRICT ADULT OFFICERS

Mrs. Ruth Allen - Chairman
Mr. Ray Ware - Co-Chairman
Mr. Henry C. Brooks - Co-Chairman
Mrs. Mamie Terrell - Secretary
Mrs. Blanche Jones, Assist. Secretary
Mrs. Helen Neal - Assist. Secretary
Mr. M. H. Brittain - Treasurer
Mr. John Sanders - Chaplain

DISTRICT YOUTH OFFICERS

Miss Bettye Williams - Chairman
Miss Virginia Cofer - Vice Chairman
Miss Ruby Ware - Secretary
Miss Nina Green - Assist. Secretary
Miss Miriam Thomas - Reporter
Mr. Lawrence Hogan - Chaplain

COUNTY OFFICERS

Clarke - Pernament

Rev. R. B. Hawk - Chairman
Miss Ruby Nell Ware - Secretary
Mr. Marion Furr - Assistant Secretary

Richmond - Temporary

Mr. John Sanders - Chairman

Hall - Pernament

Mr. Maynard Brown - Chairman

Oglethorpe - Temporary

Mr. Hogan Smith - Chairman

Wilkes - Pernament

Mr. M. H. Brittain - Chairman

Morgan - Pernament

Mr. G. C. Williams

Mr. Calhoun announced that 1963 programs have already been established in Clarke, Richmond, Hall and Morgan Counties. The meeting adjourned with the singing, in a joined circle, of "We Will Overcome," and Benediction. We returned to Atlanta that afternoon.

J H Calhoun

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO. 3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign Steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site: County, City or Section Clarke County, Athens

Size of Negro Population 11,915

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 1,900

Potential Negro Registered Voters 6,189

Increase Goal 1,500

Period of Time -- Target Dates: From March 1, To June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Athens - Ward 1	District - Bush Branch
2	Middle River
3	Sandy Creek (
4	G. Motel
5	Princeton

Number of Volunteers Needed 285

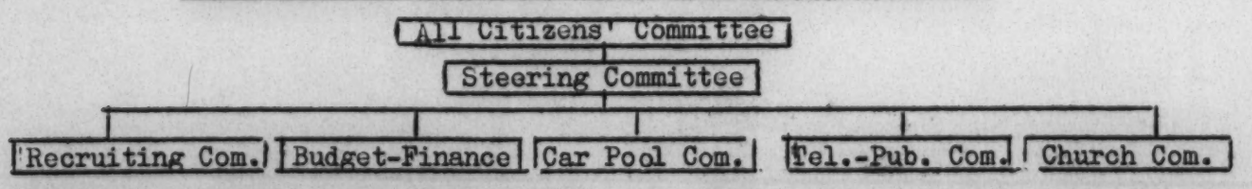
Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Clarke County Voters League
2 Clarke County P. T. A. Council
3 Mavis Civic Club
4 Ladies Auxiliary VFW
5 Calvaliers Club
6 Matron Club
7 Superlatives
8 Charmnettes
9 Fortnighters
10 Amvets
11 N. A. A. C. P. Youth Council
12 Joint
13 Prince Hall Mason
14 York Rite Masons
15 Elks
16 American Legion
17 Social Science Dept.
18 Delmentes
19 Churches
20

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Dates for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations Which Will Support Drive
VI Set Up Basic Committees (As Outlined in Organizational Chart)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN



STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO. 3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign Steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site: County, City or Section Wilkes County (Washington)

Size of Negro Population 5,619

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 500

Potential Negro Registered Voters 3,101

Increase Goal 500

Period of Time -- Target Dates: From March 1, To June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Tignell	Danburg - New Ford
Pepperhill	Trinity
Payle - Lyonsville	Washington - Baltimore
Pleasant Grove	Freedmon
Lexington Road	

Number of Volunteers Needed 35

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	11
2	12
3	13
4	14
5	15
6	16
7	17
8	18
9	19
10	20

SUMMARY

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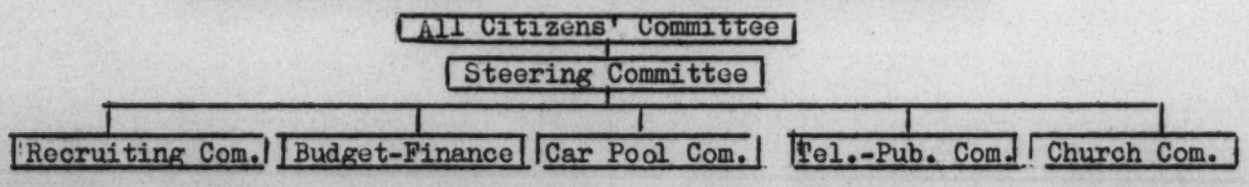

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Oglethorpe County, Lexington, Ga.

Size of Negro Population 3, 500

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 300

Potential Negro Registered Voters 1,847

Increase Goal 700

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March 1, to May 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Lexington, Ga.	Maxeys
Crawford	Philomath
New Hope	Acres Mill
Sandy Cross	Echols
Stephens	Watkins Grove

Number of Volunteers Needed 50

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	C. T. S. County Council	11	
2	P. T. A. Organization	12	
3	Bethehem Choir	13	
4	Pastor Aid (Fork Bethel)	14	
5	Bible Club (Bethlehem)	15	
6	Prince Grove Choir	16	
7		17	
8		18	
9		19	
10		20	

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Richmond, Augusta, Georgia

Size of Negro Population 47,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 8,500

Potential Negro Registered Voters 30,000

Increase Goal 11,500

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb. 11, to April 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Ward I	123 rd District
II	
III	
IV	
V - VI - VII - VIII	

Number of Volunteers Needed 248

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Citizen Voters League
2 Augusta Richmond Voters League
3 Augusta Branch N. A. A. C. P.
4 Augusta Counsel for Freedom
5 Richmond County P. T. A.
6 Teachers Association
7 Prince Hall Mason
8 York Rite Masons
9 Baptist Ministerial Counsel
10 Baptist Ministerial Fellowship
11 International Ministerial Association
12 Harris Chapel No. 15
13 V. F. W.
14 American Legion
15 A M Vet
16 Elks Lodge
17 Y. M. C. A.
18 Nurses Association
19 Beauticians
20 Brick Layer International Unit of Georgia No.2

SUMMARY

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Hall County (Gainesville)

Size of Negro Population 5,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 773

Potential Negro Registered Voters 2,000

Increase Goal 500

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb. 1, to March 31, 1963 - Dec. 31

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Gainesville	Flowery Branch
Lula	
Mt. Zion	
Timber Ridge	
Cross Plains (Candler)	

Number of Volunteers Needed 90

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Hall County Voters League	11	Veteran of Foreign Wars
2	Men's Progressive Club	12	St. John Baptist Church
3	South Side Chamber of Commerce	13	1 st Baptist Church
4	Prince Hall Masons	14	St. Paul Methodist Church
5	Tork Rite Masons	15	Antioch Baptist Church
6	Elks Club	16	Sander Chapel Baptist Church
7	Improved Order of Samaritans	17	Church of God
8	Home Missions #120	18	Bethel A. M. E. Church
9	American Legion	19	
10		20	~~Other Churches~~

SUMMARY

Meeting - Sunday, January 27, 1962 at 4:00 P. M.

I Secure Basic Information
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

FEBRUARY 18, 1963 - Attended organization meeting in East Point with Rev. Bennette, serving as principal speaker and emphasizing organization, individual participation as an obligation to secure benefits in employment, education and civic betterment. Mr. M. H. Herd, Co-Chairman, Mrs. Ida M. Dozier, Chairman and Mrs. Catherine Louis, Secretary, as temporary officers and the only ones present at the last meeting were successful in getting 65 people out after announcements and circulation of 2,000 hand bills. After Mr. Herd and Mrs. Louis said they could not serve as officers, pernament officers were elected. Mr. J. L. Jackson, Chairman, Mrs. Ida M. Dozier, Vice Chairman, Mr. Lovett, Secretary, Mrs. Betty Maddox, Assistant Secretary and Mrs. A. M. Walker treasurer. Mr. Calhoun who presided over the election, suggested that they have an installation meeting and serve refreshments. Suggested to Mr. Jackson that he contact Messrs. McLaren, Principal, South Fulton High School and Gilbert, Principal, Fairburn High School, as the former said his 18 year olds would be ready to register but would need transportation. Rev. S. M. Davie, Pastor led devotions and was very helpful, supported all suggestions, commented on speeches and pledged coorporation. The people were urged to get their individual pastor's support. 33 persons signed up as volunteers and a copy of the attached list will be sent to Chairman Jackson.

A large part of the day was spent preparing reports for the VEP January and February, conferences and telephone calls with Rev. Bennette, Rev. Abernathy and Vernon Mitchell of Columbus about funds for Muskogee County.

J. K. Calhoun

FEBRUARY 18, 1963 - Preparing monthly report, off and on between calls, conferences and trips.

Discussed with Vernon Mitchell problems of Muskogee County. 300 registered last week. As chairman of the 3rd Congressional District, he cited reports from Sumpter County, 14 registered, Charles Sherrod of SNNC spoke there last Wednesday. Mr. Evans chairman of Sumpter County Civic League, reported Mr. Sam Weston and others as being active. See Columbus news.

Called Americus; Sheriff Chappell (912) 924-3876 about speeding case in August, 1962 and cleared up procedure on August traffic conviction in Sumpter County by the State Patrol. He agreed to see me when I go to Americus. I think I can get his cooperation on voter-registration.

Conferred with Mrs. Ellis and Rev. Bennette on the program for the week. Arranged for circulating letters to leaders of the 2nd District for the Thomasville Clinic.

Surrendered drivers license for Sumter County speeding conviction; told to return for hearing Thursday. Called Miss Bettye Dunber, Governor Carl Sanders' secretary for help. She referred me to State Patrolman Porter Weaver, who advised me to call him after the hearing, as Sgt. Richardson who interviewed me, is a personal friend.

J. H. Calhoun

TO: REV. ANDREW YOUNG, DIRECTOR, VOTER REGISTRATION, S. C. L. C.

FROM: J. H. CALHOUN, GA. DIRECTOR AND CHAIRMAN, STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

SUBJECT: REPORTS - JANUARY 1, TO FEBRUARY 18, 1963

It is hoped that the attached reports will meet the requirements of the Voter Education Project. I have asked Rev. Fred Bennette and Mrs. Ocelia Ellis to submit separate reports. This will cause some overlapping, I am sure, but they have been prepared independently and one may bring out points and information omitted by the others.

We found it very difficult to furnish detailed information for January but the February section should be better. For your information, programs have been started in the following counties:

1. Muskogee (Columbus)
2. Sumter (Americus)
3. Troup (LaGrange)
4. Rockdale (Conyers)
5. Lowndes (Valdosta)
6. Ware (Waycross)
7. Hall (Gainesville)
8. Telfair (McRae - Jacksonville)
9. Clarke (Athens)
10. Morgan (Madison)

It is planned that programs will have been started in at least all counties charged to us by the VEP not later than March 1.

PRESS RELEASE - STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - FEBRUARY 19, 1963

Representatives from 7 counties of the 9th and 10th Congressional Districts attended the Citizenship Clinic in Athens, Georgia, February 16 in Hill Chapel Baptist Church, Rev. M. Tate, pastor. Sponsored by the Statewide Registration Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the workshop aroused enthusiasm by the participation of nearly 70 adult and youth delegates.

This Saturday, February 23, the series moves to Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Rev. William H. Borders, pastor. All citizens interested in registration are invited to attend. Registration will begin at 9:00 A. M. and a Memorial Service for the late Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs at 9:30. Movie strips: "Government is Your Business" and "Knock on Every Door," as well as, role-playing scenes on house-to-house canvassing will be used for demonstrations, with instructions on organizing for voter-registration. This clinic if for the 5th District comprising: Dekalb, Fulton and Rockdale Counties.

In Athens, 10th District officers were elected as follows: Mrs. Ruth Allen, Athens, Chairman, Ray Ware, Athens and Henry C. Brooks, Augusta, Vice-Chairmen, Mrs. Mamie Terrell, Athens, Secretary, Mrs. Blanche Jones, Athens, Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Helen Neal, Athens, Assistant Secretary, M. H. Brittian, Washington, Treasurer and John Sanders, Augusta, Chaplain. Youth officers elected were: Miss Bettye Williams, Augusta, Chairman, Miss Virginia Cofer, Athens, Vice-Chairman, Miss Ruby Ware, Athens, Secretary, Miss Nina Green, Augusta, Assistant Secretary, Miss Miriam Thomas, Reporter and Lawrence Hagan, Chaplain. Temporary county officers were selected to carry organizational procedures to their counties as follows: Clarke: R. B. Hawk, Richmond: John Sanders; Hall: Maynard Brown; Oglethorpe: Hogan Smith; Wilkes: M. H. Brittian; Morgan: G. C. Williams.

MARCH 2, 1963 - 2ND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CLINIC
THOMASVILLE, GEORGIA - CLIFFORD TEMPLE CME CHURCH

Checked out of Imperial Hotel at 8:15 A.M. and had difficulty finding a place to secure breakfast. Clinic opened at 9:45 A.M. with my leading Memorial Service for the late John Wesley Dobbs.

After some explanation of the program and Citizenship Schools, the picture: "Politics is Your Business" was shown and related to citizenship. Calhoun and Bennette did a role playing incident.

Misses Cynthia Rivers and Miss Chestina Mitchell of Thomasville, gave a role-playing demonstration on canvassing. Miss Helen Jackson and Truby Clayton from Bainbridge did a demonstration on ways of getting people to register, as well as, Miss Betty Everette and Lemuel Jackson of Early County. Mrs. Marie Dixon, of Bainbridge gave an interesting dialogue on reasons for registering. These were interpreted by Mr. Calhoun with the assistance of Mr. H. S. Dixon, Bainbridge.

The four county delegations present at the time for planning their respective voter-registration programs in accordance with Bulletin No. 3. (See copies attached) Colquitt, the fifth county represented at the clinic, arrived after this period. The representations were as follows: Colquitt (Moultrie); Decatur, (Bainbridge); Early (Blakeley); Thomas, (Thomasville); Tift (Tifton).

Coffee and cookies were served and the separate youth and adult assemblies were held. In the adult assembly the following points were discussed and questions answered:

1. Importance of bond elections and constitutional amendments.
2. A social action program for churches.
3. Methods of getting out the vote.
4. Door to door canvassing.

District officers were selected.

The youth discussed "A Program for Youth, held a "Pep Session" with good singing, led by Mrs. Marie Dixon of Bainbridge. They also selected youth officers. After selection of officers, Mr. Calhoun gave words of inspiration to newly elected youth officers, afterwhich each officer made statements. Song, "This Little Light of Mine," Benediction by Mr. Roosevelt Allen and narrator Mrs. Marie Dixon of Bainbridge, closed the youth meeting. Photos of both groups were taken at the end of this period.

In the reassembly the film strip "Knock on Every Door" was shown and discussed in the light of the importance of door-to-door canvassing. Mr. Calhoun used the entire group to demonstrate step no. 2 of the Manual as an instance of how to handle a difficult temporary chairman, who did not believe in coordination. The demonstration was preceded by a discussion on coordination.

In the final session the house was opened for questions and discussion. Youth were particularly vocal in this session on lack of equality in technical education, poor adult leadership and indifference of public officials. They were advised of their rights and how to pursue them.

J N Calhoun

3/2/63

In the Distridt elections the following resulted.

Youth Officers 2nd District

Chairman - Willie Stanley - Tift County
Vice-Chairman - Kenneth Roberts - Early County
Secretary - Chestina Mitchell - Thomas County
Assistant Secretary - Truby Clayton - Decatur County
Reporter - Helen Jackson - Decatur County
Chaplain - Roosevelt Allen - Thomas County

Adult Officers 2nd District

Chairman - Washington Virgil,- Thomas County
Vice-Chairman - O. J. Strong - Colquitt County
Secretary - Mrs. Majorie Davis - Thomas County
Assistant Secretary - Mrs. Viola Mosely - Early County
Treasurer - J. H. Roberson - Colquitt County
Youth Advisor - Mrs. Marie H. Dixon - Decatur County

The meeting closed with the joined singing of "We Shall Overcome" and Benediction by Rev. A. M. Threatt of Thomasville. Outstanding personalities were: Washington Virgil, Thomasville; Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Dixon, Bainbridge.

J. H. Calhoun

March 2, 1963 - Made trip from Thomasville, Georgia to Tallahassee, Fla. 4:30 P. M. with Rev. Bennettee for conference at committee headquarters called by Rev. Steele, Chairman and president of NAACP Chapter, with the following persons present:

Dr. James Hudson, Chairman
Rev. David B. Speed
Mr. James Worthy
Mr. R. J. Fennell
Mrs. Laura Mae Dixie
Rev. C. K. Steele, Sr.

Reverend F. David H. Brooks

A registration program, to begin immediately, was discussed, with the following results:

1. The registration committee is ready, with Dr. Hudson, Chairman
2. The steering committee will meet next week to:
   a. Plan a county-wide meeting for weel of March 18.
   b. Prepare an estimated budget and outline a Campaign for Leon County, Fla.
3. They will send a delegation to Savannah, March 16.
4. They will advise us of the budget and date of the meeting.
5. We will attend the meeting and present a program.

We left Tallahassee at 8:00 P. M. and arrived in Atlanta at 3:30 A. M. Sunday.

J. H. Calhoun

March 4, 1963 - Worked on report. Talked with Rev. Bennette concerning Columbus program. Vernon Mitchell had called to say that he had not agreed to work with the committee headed by Rev. Reynolds because of their inability or unwillingness to get things done. I informed him that we were responsible for establishment of the committee and therefore could not desert them. I also advised him that he should not have used the funds advanced by SCLC, $250.00, without clearing with the committee. That was why the check was made out to them. He consistently refused to work with the Muskogee County group but would work with other counties in the 3rd Congressional District. He plans a trip to Sumpter County, Tuesday March 4.

Discussed the Tallahassee trip and financing of county committee with Rev. Young. Made an effort to secure 10,000 Dollars for Freedom envelopes to Hosea Williams, Savannah for the April 27, 1963 District Wide rally. Sent Dr. Hudson, Tallahassee, report blanks.

Mrs. Ellis did not report for work but Rev. Young said she had tried to get him. The Virus infection is still troubling me.

J. H. Calhoun

March 5, 1963 - Talked with Rev. Bennette about Columbus and Atlanta program. Prepared news article for the Atlanta World. Sent out letters for 1st District Clinic, Savannah, March 16. Conferred with Messrs. Wiley Branton and Blackwell on Georgia Counties where most effective voter-registration may be done this year. Made several other recommendations:

1. That NAACP officials be impressed with the necessity for coordination in order to eliminate confusion among county leaders..
2. That extreme care should be exercised in making direct grants to counties, to be sure that the leadership is co-ordinated and representative before funds are released with proper controls.
3. That support be given to the work of District Chairmen of the Statewide Registration Committee.
4. Very few counties are ready for direct grants.

Mrs. Ellis reported to SCLC office, but apparently did no work except stapling and sealing letters for me. In response to my question she said she was sent for. I suggested to her that her work for the last clinic needed to be done.

Visited Dr. Hackney, received another shot and rested a while. Checked stencils and finished report.

J Malcham

March 6, 1963 - Still dizzy, arose at usual time; Miss Poole off in the A. M. because of trip to Thomasville Saturday. Went over the reports an the All-Citizens Registration Committee meeting, results and communication on Thomasville Clinic with Mrs. Ellis who mailed out letters to those who attended confused with Rev. Bennette on:

1. Georgia program as a result of conference with Messrs. Brannon and Blackwell Tuesday. He agreed, but indicated that S. C.L. C. is willing to allow any other agency to take over voter-registration except Albany committment rather than have a contest and misunderstanding. We agreed to reappraise the situation after the clinics.

2. Problems of S. C. L. C. office and field administration and agreed on an outline with some suggested personnell.

3. Results of All Citizens Registration Committee meeting Tuesday ningt, which I could not attend worked on V. E. P. report and contacted Hosea Williams in Savannah on moving Rally date to April 20. He then preferred May 11,18 or 25, which will have to be cleared with Dr. King.

March 7, 1963 - Made arrangements for 3 busses for South Fulton High School, March 14. Picked up Fulton Voters list at Courthouse.

Staff Conference with Dr. M. L. King, Jr. Revised duties of staff.

I President - Coordination

II Wyatt Tee Walker - Executive Assistant

III Rev. Andrew Young - Program Director
- A. Coordinatiom
- B. Citizenship Training - Administration
  - 1. Citizenship
  - 2. Field Staff

IV Mrs. Dorothy Cotton - Office Mgr. - Education Consultent
- A. Citizenship Schools
- B. Office Management

V Information and Telephone Clerical (12:00 - 1:00 Freeman)
- A. Construction and concrete on office hours, etc.
- B. Long distance calls - Request on signed slip
- C. Make as many of our local calls as possible
- D. Order all supplies - Written request - Postage

J. H. Calhoun

March 8, 1963 - Prepared financial report for Statewide Registration Committee. Arranged for transportation, 3 busses, for South Fulton High School 9:00 A. M. March 14. Conferred with Mr. Jesse Hill on Atlanta program, explaning to him the necessary use for using precinct leaders to establish the five community organization:

I Northeast - Old Fouth Ward, Edgewood, Reynoldstown
II South Side - Summerhill, Peoplestown, S. Atlanta, Etc.
III West Side - Terminal Station to Moseley Park
IV Northwest - Mozeley Park & West Lake to County Line - Perry Homes
V County - East Point, College Park, Fairburn, Palmetto, Roswell

Conferred with James Gardner on plans for organizing Precinct 3-K under West Side Office, Atlanta. Visited Fulton County Registrar, found that committee representatives there are not canvassing tax and tag lines; reported to Mr. Jesse Hill.

Had to retire at 4:00 P.M. to rest before leaving for Rome Clinic . Left Atlanta 6:30 P. M. for Rome, met with the following persons; all from Rome:

1. Rev. Clarence Tuggle, 6 Gibbons Street - 234-5782
2. Rev. E. D. Pinkard, 402 Branham Avenue, 232-5137
3. Rev. J. L. Vaughn, 330 Branham Avenue, 232-3170
4. Mr. Capus White, 19 Gibbons Street, 234-2155
5. Rev. John E. Franklin, 8 Washington Drive, 234-2854

We discussed the Clinic program outline and materials to be used.

J H Calhoun

March 9, 1963 - 7th Congressional District Clinic Thankful Baptist Church, Rome, Georgia. Arrived at Thankful Baptist Church at 8:45 A.M. People slow in appearing. Rev. Tuggle only person on hand. Rev. Bennette, Mrs. Ellis and Rev. O.L. Scott, Marion, Ala. arrived at 9:00 A.M. Because no persons were remaining after they registered, we began showing the film strips: "Government is Your Business" and Knock on Every Door" to try to interest and assemble them. Rev. Clarence Tuggle, pastor of Thankful Baptist Church, opened the devotional Service at 11:45 A.M. with the singing of: "Jesus Keep Me Near the Cross." Prayer was offered by Rev. Hinton, pastor of 1st Methodist Church, Rome. Prior to the opening conversations were being held with such Rome citizens as: Revs. Tuggle and Hinton, the young Wright brothers, who are leaders, with Rev. Hinton of the Sit-In Movement. The following developments were revealed:

1. The Sit-In Movement is making progress, there will be a meeting with white officials Monday at 10:00 A.M. to complete plans on desegregation of lunch counties, etc.
2. Rev. Hinton is working closely with young adults and students.
3. Libraries, trolleys and railroad stations are desegregated
4. Danger of activities being jeopardized by segregation payoffs to Negro leaders.

Mr. Calhoun was called upon for remarks and the Memorial Service was closed with the singing of "Count on Me."

"The actual session was opened with singing "Giveme that Old Time Religion, We Shall Not Be Moved. The first part of "Knock on Every Door" was shown again, and there were questions and discussion on the inspiration, technique and devotion of Grace Felton, the precinct worker. Role playing demonstrations on canvassing were given by Rev. Bennette and Mrs. Ellis; Misses Shirley Dodd, Mammie Dodd, Barbara James and Mrs. M. J. Woods of Cobb County.

The picture "Government is Your Business," was shown and interpreted in the light of individual responsibility. Rev. Tuggle outlined some of the developments in civil rights in Rome including 1750 registered voters in the county. Mrs. Essie Dinsmore, of Cobb County also reported on the increased activity in her county, 50 high school students were registered last year, helping to bring the total to nearly 2,000 for Cobb County. Rev. Hinton spoke on developments, indicating that he had received annoying calls during the past few days, but that integration of lunch counties and other facilities will be effected immediately.

Mrs. Wood reported that there are 849 Negro Voters in the 6th ward, to some 600 white and they plan to run a Negro.

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In the election of district officers the following were elected:

Chairman: Rev. Clarence Tuggle, Rome
Vice Chairman: Mrs. M. J. Woods, Marietta
Secretary: H. E. Canty, Cartersville
Asst. Sec.: Mrs. Essie Dinsmore, Marietta
Temporary Youth Chairman: Miss Mannie Dodd
Temporary County Chairman: H. E. Canty
Mrs. Imogene Saunders
Mrs. M. J. Woods

The meeting closed with joined circle singing of "We Shall Overcome.

J. H. Calhoun

March 11, 1963 - Began working on reports for Rome Clinic. Staff conference with Rev. Bennette, Rev. Young and Mrs. Ellis. We must have by April 1st:

1. Reports on all drives that are going and have them going in the 13 counties assigned by VEP.
2. The activities of these counties must be followed up.
3. Vouchers must be submitted on all money paid out.
4. Agreed on Thursday conference with Chattanooga leaders, funds advanced to committees.

Conferred later with Mrs. Ellis and Bennette on activities planned for Camilla, Chattanooga and Tallahasse, he reported funds sent to Greene, Ward and Muskogee Counties, as well as $25.00 to Rev. R. B. Hunter, Chattanooga for a trip to Atlanta, Thursday to discuss Hamilton County, Tenn. program. Dr. King and Rev. Abernathy received a request to visit Columbus to help registration committee.

Contacted Ray Ware, Athens about setting up county-wide meeting for completing organization for Clarke County. Called Rev. W. J. Reynolds, Columbus and set-up conferences tomorrow with Baptist and A. M. E. Ministers, as well as, Committee tomorrow night, sending out letters on Macon and ROme Clinic.

Conferred with Jesse Hill on Atlanta program, especially South Fulton. Mr. Hurd from East Point came by the discuss efforts to get purged names re-registered and possible trip to Savannah.

The Muskogee County problem is serious because the program is lagging. The committee refuses to accept Vernon Mitchell, yet it is doubtful that it will get the best results. Will make an effort to straighten out the matter tomorrow. The committee is made up of a few ministers and older leaders who do not encourage the help of young people.

J. W. Calhoun

March 12, 1963 Still ailing, I worked on reports and talked with Rev. Bennette and Mrs. Ellis concerning Savannah Clinic. Outlined plans for continuing registration program to begin at the close of the Citizenship Clinics on April 23:

1. Prepare a report which would present:

   a. Requested budgets of various counties.

   b. Recommendations as to allotment for each county which has participated in the program, either thru clinics, or other contacts. These allotments would be used only when considered feasible from the standpoint of organization and potential results.

   c. The budget should be based upon attainable goals at 25¢ per registration.

   d. The report would be supported with county by county figures on, total eligibles from 1960 U. S. Census, estimated registrations for 1960 from Margaret Shannon's report in Atlanta Journal Constitution, March 25, 1962, estimated additions in 1962 and 1963, shown separately and total Negro population from 1960 U. S. Census.

2. Recommend $20 - $25 per week expense for district chairmen travel, to be paid from required weekly report.

3. Concentration of staff on counties assigned by VEP.

4. Organization of a finance committee to raise funds.

5. Coordination with citizenship training program.

6. Work with all counties and districts regardless of organizational affiliations.

March 12, 1963 Delayed in trip to Columbus but arrived at First African Baptist Churchwhere Baptist Ministers Union was in session. Rev. W. J. Reynolds was giving current events at the end of which he emphasized voter-registration. Mr. Vernon Mitchell, Third District Chairman of the Statewide Registration Committee was also present and made a plea for cooperation fo the ministers because the courthouse coverage had been abandoned for lack of funds. Rev. T. W. Smith, pastor of First African suggested that I talk, but this was delayed.

After Rev. T. Blue introduced his revivalist from Mississippi, he spoke encourging participation in voter-registration. The minister from Mississippi also emphasized the importance of voting. In my talk I emphasized the following points:

1. Importance of ministerial leadership.

2. Results of the 1962 state and senatorial election.

3. Relationship and interest of S. C. L. C. and V. E. P. in voter- registration.

4. The church participation program.

5. Fund raising at special church rallies where the host church would receive one-half of the contributions.

The speech was well taken and summerized by the reviever, with stress on registration. Seven of the ministers present signed up to establish social action programs in their respective churches.

After the meeting, Rev. T. W. Smith, Mr. Mitchell and I had lunch together, discussing Mr. Mitchells participation in the Muskogee County program. Rev. Smith agreed to work with Mr. Mitchell, but doubted that the established committee would be able to secure the necessary organization and support.

After lunch, we repaired to Rev. Smith home and discussed fund raising which the ministers agreed to be responsible for in his own way to help Mitchell. The three of us discussed and outlined a suggested budget, as follows:

(See attached page)

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SUGGESTED BUDGET FOR MUSKOGEE COUNTY PROGRAM

	AMOUNTS TO BE RAISED LOCALLY	OTHER NEEDS	TOTALS
Materials and Supplies	$135.00		$135.00
Transportation	100.00	$400.00	500.00
Clerical Work	120.00		120.00
Courthouse Coverage		300.00	300.00
Refreshments	30.00		30.00
Telephoning	180.00		180.00
Telephone Rental	25.00		25.00
	$590.00		$1290.00
	110.00		110.00
	$700.00	$700.00	$1400.00
Already received from SCLC		350.00	350.00
	$700.00	$1050.00	$1750.00

MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES

Envelopes	1000	$ 9.00
Mimeograph Paper	30 rms.	60.00
Stencils	2 gr.	6.00
Carbon Paper	50 sheets	1.00
Poster Paper		1.00
Onion Skin Paper	1 box	2.75
Paper Clips	4 boxes	.40
Rubber bands	1 box	.75
Stamps	1000 - 5¢	50.00
		$130.90
Miscellaneous		4.10
		$135.00

Went to Columbus News office, called Atlanta, talked with Revs. Bennette, Abernathy and Young, as well as, Mrs. Ellis. Called Messrs. Wesley Thomas, Gordon Kitchens, A. J. McClung, urging their support. All of them expressed lack of confidence in the registration group. Atty. Albert Thompson came over for a two-hour conference, in which we went over and he approved the program as Mitchell and I were developing it. Talked for nearly an hour with Mr. G. F. Rivers, who agreed to attend the meeting and finally to support the program, I planned to submit tonight at the weekly meeting of the voter-registration group.

Meeting with the group which organized the Muskogee County Voter-Registration Board. The minutes were read acknowledging receipt of $100.00 from SCLC thru Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and indicating that it had been paid to the ladies working at the Courthouse, who were assigned to duty, two per week instead of 4 per week. A Board of Directors was named at the last meeting which took the form of a re-organization meeting, where a new constitution was adopted and several officers were changed, including the secretary, Mr. Henry Crimes and treasurer, Mr. James Hill, both of whom were present. Others attending the meeting were:

Mr. J. N. Key
Rev. E. D. Bryson
Mr. C. B. Marshall
Mr. Willie Low
Rev. Henry Grimer
Rev. & Mrs. Henry Crimes
Rev. W. J. Reynolds
Mr. Arthur A. Maddox
Mr. Sam Sapp
Mr. B. F. Priester
Mr. Paul Sims
Mr. Quincy E. Logan
Mr. A. J. McClung
Mr. G. F. Rivers, Sr.

Mr. Calhoun outlined a three-point program including:

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I Church Activity and Participation
II Grass Roots Organizations
III Budget

After some discussion by Rev. E. D. Bryson, G. F. Rivers, C. B. Marshall, A. J. McClung, Arthur Maddox, Sam Sapp, B. F. Priester and others, it was adopted. Mr. Calhoun also presented a suggested budget which would be considered at the Board meeting. President, W. J. Reynolds announced a meeting of the Board of Directors, Thursday at 12:00 noon. The program and budget were submitted in writing, Revs. Bryson and Key pledged support of their churches.

After the close of the meeting at 10:00 P. M. A. J. McClung, Vernon Mitchell and I had dinner at the Domino Lounge to discuss the plans. During the trip I found Mr. McClung the executive secretary of the 9th Street Branch, YMCA to be the most influential of the younger leaders. His owrk places him in a respectable position with the white "power structure," he is in favor of and supports the Civil Rights Program and has respect of the Negro community. He apparently has worked into the confidence of the so-called "wrecking crew of the Non-Partisan Voters League without becoming a part of it; they seem to fear yet they seek the support of his influence.

He was able to help me with Mr. Mitchell by showing him he should not fight or show anger at the "wrecking crew," but outthink and work around them to get to the grass roots. Having been very effective at tonights meeting, he promised to help Mitchell and Albert Thompson with that program. We agreed to have a meeting of five or six young people like Kitchens, Thompson, Mitchell, McClung and Jackson next Wednesday to plan strategy.

J. H. Calhoun

March 13, 1963 - Feeling exhausted from the trip to Columbus and activities of the previous day, I decided to remain in bed until 11:00 A. M., gave up the trip to Sumpter and Mitchell Counties and remained in Columbus for further contacts. Called Atlanta and talked with Revs. Bennette and Young about plans. Went to Mr. McClungs' office and suggested a conference with him, Mitchell, Thompson, Jackson and Kitchens. We arranged to go to lunch at Walgreen's, downtown, but only McClung and Mitchell got there. In the meantime, I had run into Rev. Reynolds, the chairman, who wanted to convince me that he would be able to produce. I assured him that I had insisted that we work thru him and that Mitchell had been wrong in spending the $250.00 the check for which had been made out to the committee and Mitchell had been advised to handle it thru the group. This was the factor that broke up relationships between Mitchell and the committee and resulted in the reorganization.

In the conference, we went over plans for the community organization and suggested this procedure:

1. Let the Board divide up the churches among themselves, one or two each, get names and addresses of social action committees and send to us.
2. Let Al Thompson ask for responsibility to work with community organizations.
3. Have a meeting with representatives of all organizations next Wednesday as Mitchell had suggested last night.

Called Rev. Smith and thanked him for his willingness to help Mitchell and raise funds thru churches. He does not favor splitting money with churches, because they would hardly raise more than $5.00 or $6.00. I suggested big rallies with outstanding speakers and he asked me to name some. I suggested Rev. Abernathy, Rev. Andrew Young, Rev. H. I. Bearden and M. L. King, Sr. He was impressed, especially with Rev. King.

= Called Mr. Albert Thompson, who agreed to plan for him, as vice-chairman, to ask for responsibility to work with community groups. Both he and Mr. McClung agreed to attend the Board Meeting Thursday.

Left Columbus at 3:15 P. M. and arrived in Atlanta at 5:45. Had conference with Mrs. Ellis and Rev. Bennette, who was leaving for a Madison, Ga. meeting. Worked on reports, contacted Jesse Hill about busses for South Fulton High School and went to bed, exhausted.

Have talked with Mr. McClaren, Principal of South Fulton High School several times about registration of 18 year olds, who suggested the following schedule:

9:15 - 11:30 South Fulton High School - 14th, 15th, 19th of March.

This matter was discussed on several occasions with Mr. Jesse Hill and finally on the night of March 13th he agreed to have three Transit Company busses available at 9:00 A. M. March 14th. In that conversation, he expressed excited conviction over how the masses of people are becoming aroused to the importance of voting and direct action. This phenomenon, about which I have become aware this year, is difficult to get over to the "established" leadership everywhere.

J. K. Calhoun

March 14, 1963 - Called Mr. Jesse Hill to remind him of having three busses at South Fulton High School this morning at 9:00 o'clock to bring 140 students to Fulton County Courthouse to register. Finished reports for Tuesday and Wednesday. Talked with Rev. Bennette about Morgan County meeting, Savannah Clinic, Macon Clinic, Rockdale County program and a proposed rally in Macon in June. Arranged work schedule for Miss Poole on materials for Columbus and reports. Prepared financial report for Rome Clinic.

Conferred with Father R. B. Hunter, and Rev. J. Paul Jones, Rev. Bennette and Rev. Young on Hamilton County (Chattanooga) program with the following results:

1. The best procedure is to revive the Metropolitan Voter-Registration Council of Hamilton County with the idea of projecting Rev. Jones as director.

2. Hold a meeting of the Council March 29 or 30.

3. Rev. Jones will take a group to Dorchester Academy next week.

Completed weekly reports on activities.

J. H. Calhoun

March 15, 1963 - Collected materials and made arrangements to go to Savannah. Left Atlanta at 1:40 P. M. alone, via Covington, Eatonton, Sparta, Sandersville, Wrightsville and Swainsboro, stopped in Sparta to see Mr. Marcellus Roberts, who operates a grocery on Main Street and is one of the leaders. He informed me that Hancock County is still not well organized, that several hundred Negro voters have been purged for failure to vote, but there are still over 1,000 on the list. The county is to vote on a $110,000.00 bond issue Wednesday, March 20 for a gymnasium for the Negro High School and the white citizens seem to favor it. He is willing to work with us on voter-registration and will try to send a delegation to Macon, March 23.

Stopped at Sandersville to see M. C. Smith, undertaker, but he was out; left word with Mrs. Smith that I would see him on my return Saturday night and urged that he send a delegation to Macon, March 23. Called Atlanta to have checks sent and article prepared for the Atlanta World.

Arrived in Savannah at the Crusade office about 8:00 P. M. and Miss Robert, the secretary helped me to locate Mr. Hosea Williams. Later I went over the Saturday program with him.

J. H. Calhoun

March 16, 1963 - 1st Congressional District Clinic - Savannah

Arrived at church at 9:00 A. M., Mr. Hosea Williams, Director, Southeast Crusade for Voters arrived at 9:15 A. M., registration began immediately. A group of four Florida A. & M. college students arrived from Tallahassee, Leon County, Florida, Mr. & Mrs. John McDue, Mr. Julius F. Hamilton and Mr. Ruben Rushen Kenan, Jr. with a letter from Dr. Hudson.

In a talk with Mr. Norwood of Tatnall County, it was revealed that he has been deputized by the Board of Registrars and carries the registration cards into the several districts, fills them out and gives the oath. The cards are then turned into the Registrar's office without the registrants having to go to the Courthouse. One weakness is that many of the persons cannot read and write and I'm not sure that this part is strictly in accordance with Georgia law. Mr. Norwood showed lists by districts that he had registered 119 persons this year. These reports were verified by Mr. Hosea Williams, who said that the registrars were elderly and somewhat incapacitated.

The Clinic officially opened at 10:00 A. M., with devotions, led by a young minister from Savannah. After devotions, greetings were extended by Mr. Hosea Williams and myself. He called for reports from the counties.

Liberty County - Mr. William Wortower, reported thay have good workers, need more educational training; he has registered 55 personally and an estimated total of 300. Mr. Williams reported that registration is not a problem in Liberty County, but that citizenship training is much needed in the 17 rural districts.

Emanuel - Mr. N. F. Williams reported four present and 2 other carloads on the way. No problem of 40% of Negroes registered. Difficult to get them to vote, but working thru schools; the most people are share-croppers who have difficulty with their landlords. Hope to get 75% registered this year.

Tatnall - Miss Pearlie Mae Baley reported 125 registered, 5 districts, six persons in each. Mr. Norwood is unofficial registrar for Negroes.

Wheeler - Rev. A. Goram reported that they are "on wheels, even if they are moving slowly. 30 registered since Citizenship School organized. As of last April 444 registered. County-wide Community Club organized; will pay $10.00 today. No trouble with ministers, churches used without charge, more NAACP members from 6 or 7 to 50 people now attend. People express appreciation for Citizenship Schools.

Ware - P. B. McCoy introduced Mrs. Willie Mae Richardson, who reported no problems, the program being a continuous project. The total registration is now 2,900, with about 200 this year. They brought a delegation of young people from Brantley County.

Brantley - Rev. L. Hicks, although a small county, completing registration committee since the Valdosta Clinic. Some who planned to come, sick.

Richmond - Rev. T. R. Morgan reported a remarkable job, 900 registered this year. Goal of 10,000 set. Mr. Dickson reported that at least 300 more registered, for a total of 1200.

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Recognizing the presence of Rev. Morgan and other ministers, Mr. Williams complimented them and urged that everyone persuade ministers to work with voter-registration. Mr. Morgan then announced that 4 young Negroes had been admitted to Augusta College, a previously all-white city supported institution.

Chatham - Mr. Hosea Williams, since November 3000 Negroes have registered, more Negroes in jobs than any other county. Integration in public facilities and public buildings. Earned respect of officials and they are afraid to offer money but realize they must deliver. Out of 45 persons offering for office, 37 supported by the Crusade elected. Now 14,000 Negroes registered voters.

The business session was opened and Mr. Williams announced requirements:

1. Must be organized - Turn in names of organization
2. Turn in names of elected officers
3. Pay $10.00 yearly membership fee
4. Turn in a brief summary of activities
5. Two representatives from each county on the Board

Mr. Williams claimed credit for having the best organized district in the South; will send a Negro Congressman to Washington or one that is so liberal that it will be the same.

Mrs. Mable Dawson led singing and explained the Citizenship School program:

1. Attend school for a week.
2. Return to county and explain the program.
3. Secure a free meeting place: church or civic building.
4. Talk in churches and other gatherings, breaking it down to the level of the people.
5. Start off with whatever number comes, even as little as 2 or 3, using calm method of getting others, some are ashamed. Keep trying and talking, reading and writing, then registering and voting. Do a lot of singing, teach writing, not printing; let them trace your writing, with tissue. Treat them as adults. Rode 8 persons in her car last night. Results count and the people are appreciative. She explained techniques of teaching arithmetic and other subjects.

Mrs. Sanders of Augusta spoke of a program for youth and the need for activities to attract young people. Mr. Williams described the methods used in setting up citizenship schools in Chatham County and the First District, teaching government as well as the other subjects. He emphasized the absolute necessity for organization and outlined the chart for Chatham County, using the patronage committee as an example of committee activity. It was organized by asking each civic organization to name a representative and prevail upon the Mayor to withdraw one appointment for the City Recreation Commission and replace it with the committee's choice. He also spoke of the work of the Interview Committee, which investigates the candidates and the political guidance committee, composed of one representative from each civic organization, which acts on data secured by the interview committee and recommends candidates.

Leon County, Florida (Tallahassee) - Mr. John Due, came to learn, so that they may go back and organize a district organization.

Mr. Calhoun spoke on the importance of citizenship, bringing out these points:

1. History of political action in Atlanta.
2. Its influence on the Civil Rights Progress.
3. Forbearance with old politicans who believe in segregation, so long as they get right now.
4. Get together, pray and work for registration.

Mr. Williams outlined the program of the Voter Education Project and its relationship to the Southeast Crusade for Voters. He also explained in detail the forms and instructions of the Voter Education Project.

Rev. P. A. Patterson, pastor of Butler Presbyterian Church, a long time civil rights worker, pledged support of the church and related some experiences in the direct action program of Chatham County, especially his riding a bus with W. W. Law, president of the NAACP, how the whites tried to "countenance" them down. This he showed as evidence of the kind of courage that is needed. He commended, Mr. Hosea Williams, Mr. J. H. Calhoun and Mrs. Mable Dawson. He closed his talk with a plea for getting understanding.

RECESS FOR LUNCH

The closing session was opened with singing led by Mrs. Davison, who also gave a short inspirational talk on loyalty and dedication to registration. Mr. DeLeach, of Emanuel, gave a report on an interview with a white man who asked that both forget who they are and answer the question, what about segregation.? Another raised the question as to what would happen if pigs, dogs, etc. who God created separately, were mixed. He replied that they were already mixed as we are already mixed and nothing can be done about it. He said futher, these mixed people are crying out for freedom and he wanted some of that "mixed" freedom.

Mr. Thomas Allen, director of Adult Citizenship Schools, Emanuel County, reported that the schools have helped the county in that many people who had never thought of registering, then wanted to register. Five schools now are operation, which program started with only 3 persons. One young lady opened the school. In another section the people asked that they not come in because they were afraid. In this Garfield area only 2 persons had registered. He carried two young people and got the ministers behind it and the influence of the school got into nearby Jenkins County.

Rev. A. Goram, director of Wheeler County Citizenship School, reported rapid progress. The program was well received and he secured four students for Dorchester. Quite a few joined the first night. Since schools were organized more people are willing to be active in the NAACP. Some critized, but armed with information from the Courthouse, where they were very hospitable, he was able to get good response from citizens and teachers.

Mr. Williams reported that in Liberty County the population is about equal, but more Negroes are registered than white. There are 17 communities with each having an organization and they voted about 19 out of 2300 in the last election.

The delegation from Tatnall county presented a skit against a background of satisfied citizens, who didn't want to upset their white people. The Civic Worker Prevails is the name of the skit, which portrayed a family group discussion, the older members of which had been advised by their white people not to register and vote, because they are good to them. "The children, however, threatened to go North." The mother called Rev. Clark her pastor, and invited him to dinner, then read a passage of scripture. Rev. and Mrs. Clark came over and he took the position that his job was saving souls, but Mrs. Clark showed him how he could

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help people to get jobs because the candidate for Mayor was part owner of the factory which would not hire Negroes. All finally agreed to attend the Citizenship school, which would help keep the children from going North. Mrs. Viola Ealey is a top teacher and helps the chairman, Mr. Norwood with citizenship schools and registration.

Rev. Norman of Augusta asked again about Citizenship Schools and Mr. Williams explained and gave the correlation with registration.

1. Each teacher must report on what has happened to each student after he had attended the school, in church, P. T. A. or Civic life.
2. Schedule of courses
   a. Citizenship first
   b. Scholastic subjects
   c. Form of government and how it functions at all levels

I was called upon to describe the program and relationship of the Statewide Registration Committee and outlined it as follows to show difference in functions from the Georgia Voters League.

1. Program and organization of the Georgia Voters League which set up the Statewide Registration Committee - Election of District Chairmen, March 23.
   a. Annual Meeting, October - Semi Annual Meeting March
   b. Officers and district chairmen
   c. Election in Macon - March 23 for District chairmen, who were not elected at October meeting.
2. Organization and program of the Statewide Registration Committee
   a. It was organized in 1957 because organizations will not contribute to political groups and certain persons, like government and public school teachers cannot or will not be active in a political organization.
   b. It is non-political and works only on registration.
   c. There are elected state-wide officers at the annual meeting (Macon Clinic, March 23) and district chairmen at the several clinics.
   d. Its program is to conduct citizenship clinics to inspire county delegations who attend and go back to organize or work with county-wider coordinated registration groups.
   e. Special emphasis is placed on youth activities.
   f. The officers and district chairmen are to follow-up those at the clinics as well as other counties.
   g. The committee is affiliated with SCLC

At a county leaders' conference after the clinic the May 5, 1962 for the M. L. King, Jr. Rally was accepted.

I had a conference with the Leon County (Tallahassee) Florida group and urged them to:

1. Organize a youth group in the city to work with the adult group. Mr. Due was aware of the fact that local leadership is essential.
2. Get Dr. Hudson to:
   a. Send in voter-registration plan.
   b. Transmit the proposed budget.
   c. Advise me as to the date of the county-wide meeting of leaders.

Upon leaving Savannah at 6:00 P. M. I returned via the same route and stopped in Sandersville. Mr. M. C. Smith the undertaker and leader, informed that the county had organized for registration, that they wanted me to come down and speak and that he would bring a group to Macon on March 23.

J. N. Calhoun

PERSONS ATTENDING 1ST DISTRICT CLINIC-SAVANNAH, GA.
MARCH 16, 1963
Mr. Hosea Williams - Chairman

NAME	ADDRESS	COUNTY	CITY
Mr. Walter Sanford	Route 3	Emanuel	Twin City
Mrs. Dorothy M. Bales	510 # 33rd Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. Clarence Edward	417 W. 41st Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. James Middleton	262 Foral Street	Chatham	Savannah
Miss Willie M. Howard	1645 Luckie Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Rosa Sanders	1337 Florance St.	Richmond	Augusta
Rev. J. F. Mann	P. O. Box 392	McIntosh	Crescent
Miss Alberda Allen	930 Barn St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Joepha Sanders	1337 Florance St.	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Angela Danspy	1130 Maxwell St.	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Harritte Sanders	1337 Florance St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. M. Brasel	930 Barn St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Adolph S. Dickson	223 Stiener Ave.	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Ervin Smith	1557 Holley Street	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Patricia Becton	1442 Poplar St.	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Anna Crawford	1437 Hunter Street	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Juanita Green	1239 Hurlene Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Moroline King	Route 1	Wheeler	Glendwood
Mrs. Dollie M. Williams	P. O. Box 192	Wheeler	Alamo, Ga.
Mrs. Mary Troupe	Route 1	Wheeler	Alamo
Rev. A. Goram	P. O. Box 422	Wheeler	Alamo
Mrs. Rebecca Jenkins	405 E. Perry Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Gwendolyn Roberts	824 W. 50th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. Hosea Williams	416 West Park Avenue	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Carolyn Roberts	416 W. Park Avenue	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Helene Brown	2704 Steven Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Cassie Pierce	712 W. Avenue	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Charlotte Dawson	610 W. 61st Street	Chatham	Savannah
Miss Myria Harris	1352 Ninth Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Lawrance Hogan	1319 Florence Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Robert Warton	1311 Guinett Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Jeanett Greory	110 E. Taylor Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Beverly Berry	1275 German St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Clara Barnes	1411 Forest Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Elizabeth Coleman	1353 Florence Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. John Sanders	1337 Florence St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Evelyn Haythe	1616 McColley	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Inez Mack	1021 Blackwell Street	Ware	Waycross
Miss Ruth Mack-	1021 Blackwell St.	Ware	Waycross
Mr. P. B. McCoy	1021 Blackwell St.	Ware	Waycross
Miss W. M. Richardson	P. O. Box 579	Ware	Waycross
Mrs. Maggie William	Route 1, Box 91	Liberty	McIntosh
Miss Christine Crocket	514 Sibley Street	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Wynetha Lockhart	1035 Harrinson Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Oscar Deloach	Route 1, Box 214	Emanuel	Swainesboro
Mr. John Due	Box 565-Florida A&M University	Leon	Tallahassee, Fla.
Mrs. Patricia Due	Box 565-Florida A&M University	Leon	Tallahassee, Fla.
Mr. Rubin Kenon	703 No. Church St.	Columbia	Lake City, Fla.
Mrs. Melvina Pughsley	411 South Street	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mr. Robert Gammage	803 Cherry Street	Dougherty	Albany
Miss Delores Thompson	616 W. 39th Street	Chatham	Savannah

PERSONS ATTENDING CLINIC 2

NAME	ADDRESS	COUNTY	CITY
Mrs. Eunic Ealey	Route 1	Tattnall	Collins
Mr. Julius Hamilton	228 Matthewson Place	Fulton	Atlanta
Mr. Hosea Ealey	Route 1, Box 8	Tattnall County	Collins
Mr. Robert L. Baker	P. O. Box 342	Long-	Ludowici
Mrs. Claudie Williams	1021 W. Bater Street	Chatham	Savannah
Miss Ouise Cambridge		Brantley	Waynesville
Miss Lillia Hall	Route 4, Box 424	Chatham	Savannah
Miss Lillie R. Veal	P. O. Box 5	Brantley	Waynesville
Miss Johnnie M. Johnson	Route 1, Box 10	Brantley	Waynesville
Mrs. Patricia Griffin	1555 Maple Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Mamie Leverett	1426 Florance St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Sarah Walter	1311 Guinett Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Daisy P. Jones	17 Edinburgh	Chatham	Savannah
Miss Hartense Green	312 Yamcraw Village	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. Marion Thomas	1651 Lucky St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Elizabeth Tutt	1684 McCawley	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Carvin Brawner	2019 Style Ave.	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Betty Williams	1443 Derritt St.	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Ardell Lunnon	114 Richard Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Adle Black	636 W. 48th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. Thomas E. Allen	Route 3 Box 2758	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mr. Joe Mac Kenzie	Route 4	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mr. James Johnson	207 E. Gumdloy St.	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mr. James Roper	Route 1, Newington	Screven	Sylvania
Mr. William Wilchar	309 Race Track	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mrs. Mary Wilchar	309 Race Track	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mrs. Amanda Samson	Route 3, Box 279	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mr. Gisero Brown	715 N. Green Street	Swainsboro, Ga.	(Emanuel*)
Mrs. Mary Slater	910 Gunlog Street	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Mr. Dave Wheeler	1532 Mill Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Willie Barnes	1411 Forest Street	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Mary Simon	1330 German Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mrs. Charlotte Dawson	610 W. 61st Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Mable Dawson	608 W. 59th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. William Walthoun	Route 1, Box 307	Liberty	McIntosh
Mr. Will Hudson	522 W. 35th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. Bernard Thomas	1051 Oak Street	Ware	Waycross
Mr. M. C. Chisholm	913 E. 38th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Rev. J. E. Ross	913 Daniel Street	Ware	Waycross
Mr. George Roberson	929 W. 37th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Ida Mack	935 Fellwood Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mr. N. F. Williams	P. O. Box 248	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Miss Elane Morgan	1219 Floyd Street	Richmond	Augusta
Miss Patricia A. Morgan	1219 Floyd Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Joe W. Bynes	Route 1, Box 206	Emanuel	Swainsboro
Rev. L. R. Morgan	1219 Floyd Street	Richmond	Augusta
Mr. Frank Willis	Route 1, Box 26	Tattnall	Collins
Mr. Larry Clark	P. O. Box 428	Tattnall	Reidsville
Miss Carolyn Members	617 W. 39th Street	Chatham	Savannah
Mrs. Viola Willis	Route 1, Box 26	Tattnall	Collins
Miss Perlena Paugh	Route 1, Box 25	Tattnall	Collins
Miss Bertha Wilkson	P. O. Box 44	Tattnall	Collins
Miss Inez Ealey	Route 1, Box 8	Tattnall	Collins

March 17, 1963 - Arrived in Atlanta at 12:15 A. M. from Savannah. Worked on narrative reports and appraisal of Southeast Crusade for Voters.

Mr. Hosea Williams is an exceptional, energetic and dedicated leader. He works untiringly for political action and has developed quite a program combining citizenship training and voter registration. Although the clinic attendance was small, it is apparent that most of the counties of the 1st Congressional District are organized and conducting the joint program.

In addition to the work of Mr. Williams, these factors appear to make for success:

1. The spirit of dedication he has inspired among the leadership, adult, as well as youth.

2. Large attendance at Dorchester Academy has given them a number of trained workers.

3. The leadership given by Chatham County in bringing about coordinated political action.

4. Support of ministers and churches.

5. Interrelation of Citizenship Education with voter-registration, which has inspired citizens to become interested who would hardly have done so otherwise.

6. An early start and frequent training sessions, in the counties as well as district wide from county to county. The program was initiated in November.

The 1st District Clinic was highly informative, the county delegations showed the result of intensified training, the results indicated the importance of voluntary leadership with some funds available for expenses only and the delegations present from other counties were highly impressed. Threatening weather apparently discouraged some expected delegations from attending. The Tatnall County demonstration was very impressive and we have urged the delegation to come to Macon March 23 and repeat it. There was not time for movie strips.

The following observations are considered relevant:

1. The issuance of so much material at one time raises a question as to whether it will be read.

2. There is need for help from more expressive leaders who can gain the confidence of Mr. Williams that they can relieve him from having to do all of the talking.

3. Audience participation in appraising the role-playing demonstrations would help.

4. There is some question as to the advisability of combining political participation with registration in the same organization: The Crusade

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for Voters. This is why the Statewide Registration Committee was organized by the Georgia Voters League. Whereas the leadership is largely the same, having them to work as separate groups, eliminates criticism and tends to attract people who don't want to be political to be active in registration.

It may be that the political guidance group, since it is composed of all organizations, might keep its activities separate and thereby permit the Crusades to work in registration and getting out the vote. This is suggested because the political guidance group, against a well-organized background, does not actually require a separate grass roots organization to carry out its recommendations on candidates. This would also require and provide a technique for keeping the expenditure of funds for registration separate from those of the political activity.

Because of the progress that is being made, however, I would follow the usual policy of letting the district and county leadership determine what is best for their respective areas.

It must be said, however, that the Southeast Crusade for Voters is the most effective political action group in the state. It is unfortunate that NAACP has withdrawn its support as indicated by Mr. Williams. The breach should be overcome and certainly the state leadership would be willing to use its influence to resolve the difference. Mr. Williams urged the 1st District delegations to attend the Macon Clinic, as well as, the semi-annual meeting of the Georgia Voters League. This is another reason I consider the Clinic highly successful, not only as a training session but as a much needed step toward coordinated statewide leadership.

A long telephone conversation with Mr. Warren R. Cochrane, of Atlanta today emphasized this as a must; he is very favorably inclined toward Hosea Williams, as well as, Ray Ware of Athens. He also will attend the Macon sessions if his YMCA Membership Campaign is going well.

J W Calhoun

March 18, 1963 - Continued - Conferred with Rev. Bennette on problems of 1st District and the program for this week. Talked with Mrs. Ellis concerning her work. Prepared reports of finances from Savannah Clinic.

Traveled to Macon with Rev. Bennette to confer with William Randall. The discussion resulted in the following understanding:

1. The Bibb County Coordinating Committee had misunderstood the relationship with SCLC to the extent that they felt it would be impossible or improper to accept funds from the SCLC and get a direct grant from the Voter Education Project. This misunderstanding was cleared with the information that a direct grant from any organization would not interfere with relations of the SCLC or the Statewide Registration Committee which is affiliated with SCLC.

2. SCLC will continue to work with Bibb County furnishing such staff help and financial support as may be possible. The $200.00 check will be returned if possible.

3. The Committee will work in full support of the 6th District Citizenship Clinic, secure press coverage and a photographer.

4. All misunderstanding was cleared as to the use of Steward Chapel AME Church and furnishing dinner for the clinic. Had a telephone conversation with Rev. W. L. Brown, the pastor.

5. The M. L. King rally should be in July or October because of Macon City Primary in June.

6. Rev. Bennette will return Wednesday for the "kick off" of the registration of high school students and the Pleasant Hill section with the use of 4 busses. News and televison coverage will be given.

7. There will be a mass meeting Tuesday night in Pleasant Hill in line with their unique program of a mass meeting followed by a concentrated door-to-door canvass, area by area. We left Macon at 7:00 P. M.

J. N. Calhoun

March 19, 1963 - Contacted Mr. Jesse Hill in regard to tonight's meeting of the All-Citizens Registration Committee - Advised him of Macon and 1st. District techniques. Made a call to Mr. A. J. McClung in Columbus, Ga. who advised that at Thursday's meeting:

1. Dr. Robert Wright - 802 - 4th Avenue and Atty. Albert Thompson, were named as Co-Chairmen of Community Organization.

2. The budget was approved and referred to a sub-committee for trasmittal to SCLC.

3. There is still objection from the Board, especially Rev. Reynolds and Mr. G. F. Rivers, to Mr. Vernon Mitchell's having any responsibility. I reminded Mr. McClung that I had announced at Tuesday night's meeting that Mr. Mitchell is 3rd District Chairman of the Statewide Registration Committee and would help in any was he could. Therefore, Mr. Mitchell should be urged to work in the background under Attorney Thompson and Dr. Wright in community organization.

4. I suggested that he remind Mr. Mitchell to get Rev. T. W. Smith to follow up his promise to raise funds for voter-registration among the churches.

5. Mr. McClung is to call me tomorrow morning as to the day and time of the meeting with leaders that was set for tomorrow.

Called Dr. Hudson in Tallahassee about plans for Leon County. He said that Mr. Hunter, coordinator of registration, had been out of the city, but he would get him to work out the registration plan, the budget and date for the meeting.

Worked in the office on reports for last week and detailed activities.

Attended meeting of the All-Citizens Registration Committee and heard reports on reviewing registrants on purge lists. Mr. Jesse Hill, co-chairman, had secured the list of the 3,500 or more by streets. These lists are being cut and distributed to workers and precinct leaders. Only 10 more days remain to complete this work and it is not thoroughly organized. There is still activity at the courthouse, and with the high school registrations, more than 1000 new names have been added. When called upon, I explained the reason why city elections are not counted in preventing purges. Also I explained the registration techniques of Bibb County, Chatham and the 1st Congressional District, especially the feature of combining citizenship training with registration, visual aids and role-playing demonstrations.

J. H. Calhoun

March 20, 1963 - Dispatched Rev. Bennette to Macon to observe "kick off." Prepared materials for Macon Clinic. Called Vernon Mitchell, Columbus and A. J. McClung. In the conversation with Mr. McClung, he had been able to get his group together and have me a report by Thursday morning. Mitchell is going ahead on his own in Muskogee County under his 1962 Committee headed by Mr. James Reynolds, Columbus, Ga. whom I have never met. Mr. Mitchell's position is:

1. The Muskogee County Voter-Education Board is ineffective because of the mistrust of the leadership and its failure over the past to produce results.

2. Mitchell's organization is responsible for securing more than 3,000 registered voters last year.

3. More than 500 registered voters were secured this year thru courthouse coverage and other activities under Mr. Mitchell.

4. Since the "break" last month between Mr. Mitchell and leadership of the Board, who have refused to work with him, practically nothing has been done, even the Courthouse has been left uncovered.

5. Mitchell is not willing to work with that leadership.

6. He will not be able to attend the Macon Clinic March 23 because that is the date scheduled for a meeting of his organization to revive its activities beginning Monday, March 25. He did agree, however, to get some representatives to attend since the Board says they will have 4 adults and 1 youth present.

My observations confirm Mr. Mitchell's statements, but since we established the group which organized the Board under Rev. Reynolds we are placed in an unfortunate position by Mr. Mitchell's refusal to cooperate with Mr. McClung's suggestion. Mr. Mitchell outlined his plans as follows:

1. Revive his organization's activities beginning Monday.

2. Work one week and submit a report on:
   a. Names and addresses of committees and workers.
   b. Number of persons registered.
   c. Amount of money raised locally.

Mr. Mitchell was informed that it would be difficult to work with this idea in conflict with the established committee, as weak as it is. He insisted on his position, however and it was agreed that we would "play it by ear, and work out something if his plans are successful. In the meantime, we would have to see what response came from the other group. Since Rev. Smith has promised to help Mr. Mitchell to raise funds, I agreed to call him as I had already promised Mr. McClung.

I called Rev. T. W. Smith, who said he intended to live up his promise to raise funds. He does not have much confidence in the Board either.

I was interviewed by a United Nations group from the Philipines and Czechoslovakia about registration and voting in Georgia at the SCLC office.

J. N. Calhoun

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Talked with Mr. Jesse Hill on the posibility of using paid workers to contact the remaining persons on the purge list. He was advised to contact Mrs. Ellis to secure some young people and pay them 20 to 25¢ per head, securing telephone numbers so they can be checked. Had Mrs. Ellis to send letters to all who attended the Savannah Clinic.

Attended meeting of the All-Citizens Committee on Better City Planning. Among other things I stressed the importance of registration and the need for weekly mass meetings for citizenship education on such matters as the coming Atlanta - Fulton County Bond issue. I explained the mass meeting techniques used in such places as Savannah, Macon and Albany and the effectiveness of community signing, as well as inspirational speeches. The committee was impressed and authorized the steering committee to proceed at once, after all speakers agreed with the importance of reaching the masses in this way.

J W Calhoun

March 21, 1963 - There was no report from Mr. McClung of Columbus, but a written report was received from Rev. Reynolds and Mr. Paul Sims the new treasurer. They sent vouchers for $150.00 apparently all made out and signed by the same person for four workers and asked for $50.00 above the $100.00 sent by Rev. Abernathy to match the extra $50.00 they raised as we had promised to match them dollar for dollar. In the first place, the $100.00 was sent for courthouse coverage for two weeks as they had asked. There was nothing to show the extra work, inasmuch as there has been no courthouse coverage for the past two weeks as far as we can learn.

Rev. Bennette and I discussed the matter, then sent them another set of vouchers, asking that they be signed by the individuals who worked. We also enclosed a report blank, since they failed to submit the budget as requested. They were also asked to give a list of contributors.

Attempted to call Mr. William Carroll in Camilla to return Mr. Vernon Mitchell's call both at Talladega and Columbus. All were unsuccessful.

Worked on detailed reports of activities and prepared more materials for the Macon meeting. Continued preparing budget estimates for counties where we expect to work next month.

J. H. Calhoun

March 22, 1963 - Left Atlanta at 5:45 P. M. and arrived in Macon at 7:35, after registering for lodging at the SkyLine Motel, Rev. Bennette, Mrs. Edwina Smith, Mis. Ellis, Miss Emily Poole and I went to Steward Chapel A. M. E. Church for a pre-clinic session with 5 adults and 15 youth. The adults were late and the youth were cold, even with attempt at singing. We diverted interest to a discussion of politics and government. The students, all from Ballard Hudson High, became very much interested and debated such questions as the two-party system and its effects on Georgia, the 1960 presidential campaign and the M. L. King, Jr. incident, the 1962 gubernatorial campaign and the value of a large electorate, as well as, "block voting."

The "program for youth" as outlined in the Clinic Manual was read by the students, in sections and discussed. Although only two youth had indicated they could attend the clinic in the beginning, at the end of the discussions, six of them agreed to form a committee to present the program for youth to the youth assembly on Saturday.

We went over a voter-registration plan for Bibb County with the adults, who agreed to help in the County plans Saturday. After the session, Rev. Bennette and I ate dinner with the staff and local volunteers discussed Clinic Plans and the nominating committee.

J. H. Calhoun

6TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CLINIC - MACON, GEORGIA

March 23, 1963

Arriving at the Steward Chapel A. M.E. Church at 8:45 A.M., registration began at 9:00 A.M. and the Clinic began at 9:25 A.M. with devotions being led by Mr. H. S. Dixon of Bainbridge and Rev. Moore of Valdosta.

Mrs. Marie Dixon of Bainbridge, Ga. who led singing of "Give Me That Old Time Religion." Mrs. Ocelia C. Ellis gave an explanation of the program for the day. Mrs. Edwina Smith, Secretary to Rev. Andrew Young, outlined the citizenship training program, giving the background and history of the project, as well as, its development and relationship to community action. Brochures on the citizenship schools were distributed and questions were answered.

Rev. Bennette presented the movie: "Government is Your Business " and a a pointed question and answer period brought out the important implications of the picture, in which youth participated freely.

A Nominating Committee was appointed: William P. Randall, Macon Chairman.

1st	District -	Thomas Allen
2nd	"	A. R. Hubbard
3rd	"	W. T. Regin
4th	"	Archie Ross
5th	"	James Gardner
6th	"	Atty. T. M. Jackson
7th	"	
8th	"	P. B. McCoy
9th	"	
10th	"	Eli Jackson

Macon Clinic - March 23 -

Mrs. Edwina Smith made an excellent contribution in explaining the relationship of Citizenship Schools to registration. Brochures on Citizenship schools were distributed.

The assemblage was then divided into counties to discuss their respective local campaigns. Those delegations which had not attended previous clinics, prepared registration plans using Bulletin No. 3. Blanks for budget requests, reports and instructions were distributed. Upon reassembly the picture: "Knock on Every Door" was shown. In the discussion period which followed, it was interesting to note how the youth delegation grasped the implications of "Grace Felton's" inspiration, courage, determination and persistence, the growing confidence and determination of her son and daughter-in-law in following up her service to the voters in her precinct, as well as, the effects upon the persons canvassed the results obtained in getting out the vote.

In the adult session, emphasis was placed upon the use of the Citizenship Manual, Bond Elections, constitutional Amendments, organization and canvassing and getting out the vote. Mrs. Smith, as secretary to Rev. Andrew Young, led a spirited discussion of the Church Participation Program, as well as, suggested sermons on registration. The 6th District delegations met and elected officers.

The Youth Session was given over to "A Program for Youth," a "pep session" and a hotly contested election, presided over by Mr. Benjamin Clark of Savannah. Mrs. Ocelia Ellis and Mrs. Smith worked with the youth as advisors.

In the reassembly as the Annual Meeting of the Committee, the reports were received by districts as follows:

DIST.	COUNTY	Organized Or to Be ORGANIZED	Estimated 1963 REGISTRATION
I	Emanuel	Yes	300
	Burke	Yes	50
	Chatham	Yes	3,000
II	Early	Two Weeks	0
	Decatur	3/25/63	20
III	Muscogee	Yes	600
	Dooly	NO	0
	Houston	Yes	34-40
IV	Lamar	Yes	15
	Butts	3/25/63	27
	Pike	Yes	35
V	Fulton	Yes	1,000
VI	Jones	Yes	40
	Bibb	Yes	700
	Jefferson	Yes	20
VIII	Telfair	Yes	15
	Lowndes	Yes	200
	Ware	Yes	150-200
	Cook	Yes	17

Macon Clinic - March 23 - 3

DIST.	COUNTY	Organized Or to Be ORGANIZED	Estimated 1963 REGISTRATION
VIII	Clinch	Yes	15
	Glynn	Yes	100
X	Morgan	Yes	40

The nominating committee made its report and photographs were taken. The list of Adult and Youth state officers, as well as, the Sixth District officers is attached hereto.

= The Clinic closed with the Benediction by Rev. Bennette, who had made a tape recording of the entire proceedings.

March 24, 1963 On a trip to Greenville, South Catolina to visit my sick mother I was able to work on reoprts, especially the budget for counties where we propose to work this year and to appraise the Macon Clinic.

I am convinced that group spiritual singing is the key to arousing and interesting people, where mass action is sought. This was first demonstrated to me in Savannah at a mass meeting where I spoke. Later on a visit to McIntosh and Dorchester Academy, I saw how Mrs Dorthy Cotton was able to stir her people to secure spontaneous action, as well as participation. Certainly the Albany mass meeting, which I attended nearly every week while working on the Dowel project during August and September, 1962, is a prime example of this phenomena. The significant drawback was that it was not organized, except for special demonstrations. Futhermore, most of the established leadership was too far removed or failed to partisipate with this mass action.

It is therefore recommended to spiritual singing, inspirational sermons or addresses and citizenship training be combined with the voter-registration program.

The 6th Congressional District Clinic was by far the largest we have held. Youth delegates outnumbered adults and showed all interest by participation that we have not experienced before.

March 25, 1963 - Made an unsuccessful effort to contact Dr. James Hudson in Tallahassee. Had a short conference with Mrs. Ellis and Rev. Bennette. Mr. Jesse Hill contacted me about the Atlanta program, outlining his efforts to distribute the purge list among voluntary workers. He reported that an estimated 60% of those being purged had passed or moved out of the city. He expected some 1200 to 1500 of them to be reinstated out of the 3,500 challenged. He referred to efforts of the Democrats in organizing clubs thruout the city, suggesting that Republicans do likewise. I did not understand the signifiance of this at the time, but told him the Republicans started such a program immediately after the General Election in November, 1962 but had suspended it in order that it not become confused with voter-registration.

Continued working on report on budgets of counties for concentration. Prepared press releases for Atlanta World, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Inquirer.

J H Calhoun

March 26, 1963 - Worked on reports. Held a staff conference with Mrs. Ellis and Rev. Bennette on results of the Macon Clinic and plans for the immediate future, instructing Mrs. Ellis on preparation of financial report, minutes and preparation of lists of state and county officers for distribution. The plans are, subject to approval of Rev. Young:

1. Call a conference, April 6, in Atlanta of all state officers, district chairmen and some county leaders. - Suggestion of Rev. Bennette.

   a. To outline the program of organizing in some 70 counties as recommended by me to Rev. Young.
   b. Luncheon at the Hilton Inn, with Dr. King and other administrative staff members in attendance.
   c. Prepare a budget for counties and travel expense of district chairmen for 10 weeks.

2. Each district chairman is to:

   a. Follow-up registration plans as outlined at the Clinic. (Bulletin No. 3)

   b. Contact the remainder of the 70 counties not representated at clinics to work out similar registration plans and initiate drives where not started.
   c. Secure a report from each county on the prepared form as he goes and submit it to the state chairman where not otherwise secured.

3. Submit weekly reports on activities.

4. The state director and field staff will arrange visits to clinics and work with district chairmen, as well as, county committees.

5. Budgets will be allotted as nearly in conformity with requests as possible.

Contacted Mr. Samuel A. Hunter, in Tallahassee, Fla. in regard to April 5 meeting asking if possible it be changed to Thursday, April 4, and if they could pay expense of Mr. William Randall, from Macon, as speaker. We had received a letter, enclosing a proposed budget as had been requested and recommending a meeting for April 5. Mr. Hunter called back, agreeing to the suggestions and indicated that this would be a leadership meeting to organize a drive from April 10 to June 1.

J. H. Calhoun

March 27, 1963 - Prepared letter and arrangements for proposed April 6 conference. Conferred with Rev. Bennette, Mrs. Ellis and Mrs. Cotton on use of Mrs. Ellis in the office, plans for the April 6 meeting and trips to Chattanooga, Athens and Tallahassee.

Worked on monthly reports and budget summary. Contacted Mr. William Randall, of Macon in regard to Tallahassee trip and Macon program. He agreed to make the trip. Talked by telephone with Messrs. Branton and Blackwell of VEP, concerning Columbus situation, giving them my appraisal. We agreed that Blackwell and I will try to meet in Columbus Tuesday, April 2.

Discussed Atlanta program with Mr. Jesse Hill, informing him how Democrat leaders, especially Mr. W. H. Aiken, Mrs. Lottie Watkins and Mrs. Johnnie Yancey, with the help of Senator Leroy Johnson had used a meeting, called under the name of the All-Citizens Registration Committee, to sponsor the Democrat Party. Apparently Mr. Hill was aware of this because in our Monday's conversation he had advised me that the Democrats were organizing clubs with the aid of Cope and suggested that Republicans should also be organizing; his interest being a two-party system.

Mr. C. A. Scott, having suggested the publication of the purge list as a newspaper ad. at a cost of some $400.00, I attempted to reach Mr. Jesse Hill again, but was unsuccessful.

Rev. Bennette tried unsuccessfully to talk with Rev. Young in Greenwood, Miss. concerning April 6 program. Miss Mackey informed me that materials for the 1st District rally are now available.

J. H. Calhoun

March 28, 1963 - Conferred with Rev. Bennette and Mrs. Ellis concerning activities and the proposed April 6 conference; arranged an agenda for the meeting.

Mr. Gulliver of the Atlanta Constitution called me for some information concerning voter-registration in Georgia. He proposes to do a feature or a series on the subject, with the idea of contacting county leaders for specific information. I gave him such figures as I had, suggested how he might secure others and sent him copies of my summary reports for 1962, showing estimated increases in Negro registration for certain counties.

Worked on monthly report. Talked over telephone with Mr. Jesse Hill about Mr. Scott's suggestion on publishing the purge list. We agreed that while it is a good idea, it is too late and too expensive at $400.00 or more.

J. N. Calhoun

March 29, 1963 - Completed materials for April 6 conference letter, conferring with Mrs. Ellis and Rev. Bennette. Called Ray Ware in Athens about Clarke County program, who said they had enlisted a number of workers, but that I should contact Rev. Hawk, the chairman. He expressed himself as being opposed to the tacties of of division being practiced by some Democrat leaders, which would seriously affect statewide registration. He said he would continue to work with us, as well as, them, for harmony's sake. Worked on reports.

Left for Chattanooga, Tenn. at 5:30 P. M., arriving there at 8:30 P. M. conferred for one hour with members of the steering committee of the Metropolitan Voter-Registration Council, with whom we worked last year: Father Robert B. Hunter, Dr. Major Jones, Mr. Martin and Dr. Bynes. Father Hunter had already recommended Rev. John Paul Jones as the director, but Dr. Major Jones and Mr. Martin had some reservations as to his ability to attract the top leadership in the community, since he had been there only three years and although he had been successful with his church, as well as, the Holsum Bakery employment program, he had not projected himself before the whole community. All agreed that he should have a strong steering committee headed by a man like Prof. C. D. Robinson. We agreed to contact Mr. Robinson at 10:30 P. M. along with Rev. C. T. Vivian.

In the later conference with Father Hunter, Rev. Vivian and Mr. Robinson, the same sentiments were expressed and although Mr. Robinson did not agree at that time to serve as chairman he said he would work with such a program. It was also agreed that a meeting would be held April 16, after the April 9 Run-Off Election for City Police and Fire Commissioner and I would return.

Mr. Robinson's willingness to cooperate was somewhat surprising in view of his favortism to NAACP and Cope last year, which handicapped the program. I left report blanks and Bulletin No. 3 with Father Hunter for execution and submission to SCLC. Prospects are good for an April-June drive as suggested by the group, with a goal of 3,000 new voters.

Mr. Raleigh Bryans of the Atlanta Journal called me about the bond issue and I informed him about what Gulliver of the Atlanta Journal is doing. He said he would probably do the same thing and asked for similar materials.

Talked with Rev. Wyatt T. Walker about making a professional movie with Negro actors and some visual aids on registration for fund raising rallies. Still waiting to hear from Rev. Young on April 6 conference.

J. N. Calhoun

March 30, 1963 - Returned to Atlanta from Chattanooga at 11:45 A. M. Learned from Rev. Bennette that Rev. Young at first had approved but later held up the proposed conference for April 6. He announced that Dr. King is calling a top staff conference for Tuesday, April 2 to discuss the Georgia program.

Talked with Livingston B. Wallace of Augusta at the Butler Street YMCA. He informed me that the Richmond County program is going forward and that he had stressed the voter-registration program at the statewide Democrat conference which was in session.

Rev. Tuggle of Rome came into the office and promised to have a meeting set up as soon as possible for a workers clinic where we could show one or two of the film strips.

J. H. Calhoun

March 31, 1963 - Worked on reports during a trip to Greenville, S.C. to visit my mother. In a discussion with my nephew, Air Force Lt. Victor Wright, who was formerly stationed at Albany, Ga., where he and his wife, Irene were once active in voter-registration, this became apparent to me:

The SNCC voter-registration program is designed for areas of conflict, where any number of staff workers might go in, work with a few volunteers to "break the ice." Nowhere have I known this to result in a mass registration. The VEP has assigned several of these counties in Georgia to that organization. This is an essential program and vital to full citizenship participation because most of such counties are heavily populated with Negroes, sometimes in the majority.

The program of the Georgia Statewide Registration Committee, which is being supported by SCLC, especially the Citizenship Clinics, has been successful in mass registration by inspiring county leadership in more than 70 counties where co-operation of public officials has been secured.

Whereas we would not avoid conflict and would work closely with any leadership that can be found in such counties, as was case in Randolph County several years ago, the limited time and money we have been able to apply, is used up with organizing and inspiring voluntary adult and youth leadership in counties where Negro registration is not contested. The 5,000 or more Citizenship Manuals in the hands of these leaders all over the state give them information that is pertenant to their efforts.

Futhermore, we have found that co-ordinated programs, organized with local voluntary leadership and workers is effective, though not as spectacular. As Prof. C. D. Robinson brought out in the Chattanooga conference last Friday night: successful voter-registration requires everybody's help. There are not sufficient funds available to pay enough workers for mass registration.

Our experience has shown, since 1957 when we were organized on a non-partisan non-political basis:

1. A few paid workers hinders organization of volunteers.
2. All available organizations: national, state and local must be used.
3. No one organization should attempt to claim the credit; only total results count.
4. A state-wide registration group forms the basis for statewide political action, since the same leadership is used.

We do not claim originality for the idea, it was copied from the North Carolina Political Action program, even the workshops. The projection of the Citizenship Clinic Manual, resulted from contacts and visits with John Brooks, of Richmond, Va., NAACP's Voter-Education director. Now we are injecting the citizenship education techniques and visual aids to improve the program, which will be carried into the counties. If we are able to secure funds for travel expense of district chairmen and field workers, plus some funds for counties, I believe the 100,000 goal can be reached in 1963.

We appreciate the support and financial assistance of SCLC, VEP, NAACP, as well as, other organizations and individuals. Without them the Georgia Negro registration lists could not have been increased from 146,000 to more than 200,000. We do not claim credit for all that has been done and therefore feel free to work with all willing counties and leaders who will cooperate in this important work even if they are financed and supported by other organizations.

On behalf of the Committee I might say, however, that we intend to function as an organization indefinitely, with or without affiliations, except among the counties and their leadership who brought the organization into being. The value of communications thru correspondence state and district meetings, exchange of ideas, fellowship, youth participation and coordinated, non-partisan, non political action, are inestimable in the fight for full citizenship. Georgia's Negro grass-roots leaders know each other, they have worked together for the common welfare and we call upon all who seek the same goals to cooperate.

Already this year our county leaders have reported over 7,000 registered voters. The program is just starting; we can and will succeed. With the assistance of Rev. Fred C. Bennette and Mrs. Ocelia C. Ellis, under direction of Rev. Andrew Young, I am willing to accept the responsibility.

J. H. Gallman

A REPORT - STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR CONTACTED COUNTIES WITH BEST POTENTIALS FOR REGISTRATION IN 1963

Submitted by J. H. Calhoun, Chairman, Statewide Registration Committee and Ga. Director, Registration, SCLC - April 1, 1963

CONG. DIST.	COUNTY AND COUNTY SEAT	SUGGESTED BUDGET FOR 8-WEEK PROGRAMS: LOCAL SOURCES	OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL NEEDED	RECOMMENDED FOR: COUNTY	DISTRICT	EST. REG. GOALS	NEGRO POPULATION: 18 YRS. OR OVER	1960 CENSUS	ESTIMATED REGISTRATION: FOR 1963	ADD 1961-2	EST. 1960	TOTAL
II	Colquitt-Moultrie				$125.00		500	4,081	8,223			1,329	1,329
	Decatur-Bainbridge				250.00		1,000	5,515	10,493	20	36	1,016	1,072
	Dougherty-Albany				250.00		1,000	16,163	25,998	300	2,000	2,858	5,150
	Early-Blakely				75.00		300	3,277	6,822			214	214
	Mitchell-Camilla				125.00		500	4,971	10,021		575	375	950
	Thomas-Thomasville				250.00		1,000	7,644	14,202	200		1,579	1,779
	Tift-Tifton				300.00		1,250	3,513	7,007			1,113	1,113
	Worth-Sylvester				75.00		300	3,776	8,040			296	296
	District Chairman - Travel					$200.00							
III	Crisp-Cordele				250.00		1,000	3,968	7,621		150	805	955
	Dodge-Eastman				75.00		300	2,328	4,585			2,362	2,362
	Dooly-Vienna				150.00		600	2,866	6,027			722	722
	Houston-Perry				125.00		500	4,228	8,815	35	200	413	648
	Macon-Oglethorpe				125.00		500	4,077	8,299		330	211	541
	Muskogee-Columbus	$700	$1,050	$1,750	1,050.00		4,000	22,549	38,455	600	3,640	3,729	7,969
	Peach-Fort Valley				250.00		1,000	4,562	8,130		146	679	825
	Randolph-Cuthbert				125.00		500	3,663	6,887		32	422	454
	Sumter-Americus				125.00		500	6,710	13,026	25	100	501	626
	District Chairman - Travel					200.00							
IV	Butts-Jackson				75.00		300	2,089	4,183	27		1,582	1,609
	Carroll-Carrolton				125.00		500	3,595	6,994			797	797
	Clayton-Jonesboro				50.00		200	2,456	4,770			552	552
	Coweta-Newnan				250.00		1,000	5,579	10,470			1,535	1,535
	Henry-McDonough				125.00		500	3,539	7,506	50	250	2,057	2,307
	Lamar-Barnesville				100.00		400	2,118	4,049	15		838	853
	Meriweather-Greenville				125.00		500	4,990	9,836			950	950
	Newton-Covington				75.00		300	2,098	7,256			901	901
	Pike-Zebulon				75.00		300	1,952	3,510	35		496	531
	Spalding-Griffin	95	205	300	250.00		1,000	5,252	9,977		150	1,161	1,311
	Troup-LaGrange				500.00		2,000	8,577	15,771	50		1,732	1,782
	Upson-Thomaston				125.00		500	3,615	6,683			455	455
	District Chairman - Travel					200.00							

CONG. DIST.	COUNTY AND COUNTY SEAT	SUGGESTED BUDGET 8-WEEK PROGRAM: LOCAL SOURCES	OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL NEEDED	RECOMMENDED FOR: COUNTY	DISTRICT	EST. REG. GOALS	NEGRO POPULATION: 18 YRS. OR OVER	1960 CENSUS	ESTIMATED REGISTRATION: FOR 1963	ADD 1961-2	EST. 1960	TOTAL
V	DeKalb-Decatur						1,000	12,407	22,410		2,000	2,153	4,153
	Fulton-Atlanta						25,000	117,049	193,403	1,200	12,000	35,834	46,834*
	Rockdale-Conyers				$200.00	$100.00	400	1,512	2,889	15	75	668	730
VI	Baldwin-Milledgeville				250.00		1,000	9,235	13,416			2,618	2,618
	Bibb-Macon	$1,950	$6,550	$8,500	200.00		10,000	26,812	47,173	700	6,000	5,829	11,589
	Crawford-Knoxville				75.00		300	1,611	3,364			155	155
	Hancock-Sparta				125.00		500	3,576	7,461		100	1,396	1,496
	Jasper-Monticello				125.00		500	1,705	3,303		100	804	904
	Jefferson-Louisville	105		105	125.00		500	4,980	9,982	20	350	283	653
	Johnson-Wrightsville				125.00		500	2,675	1,261			285	285
	Jones-Gray				125.00		500	4,267	2,195		6	891	897
	Lowens-Dublin				250.00		1,000	6,284	12,030	40		2,188	2,228
	Washington-Sandersville				200.00		800	5,451	10,801	100		1,740	1,840
	Wilkerson-Irvinton				125.00	200.00	500	2,279	4,460			411	411
VII	Bartow-Cartersville				125.00		500	2,393	4,284			312	312
	Cobb-Marietta				250.00		1,000	4,561	8,078	50		1,808	1,858
	Douglas-Douglasville				50.00		200	1,268	2,498			916	916
	Floyd-Rome				250.00		1,000	5,149	9,938	50	225	1,655	1,930
	Gordon-Calhoun				50.00		200	669	1,209		41	321	362
	Whitfield-Dalton	100		100	50.00	100.00	200	1,085	1,917			898	898
VIII	Appling-Baxley				50.00		200	1,401	3,048			1,359	1,359
	Berrien-Nashville				50.00		150	964	1,843			532	532
	Brantley-Nahunta				25.00		100	384	773			300	300
	Clinch-Homerville				75.00		300	1,256	2,486	50	300	326	676
	Cook-Adel	?	?	?	50.00		200	1,755	486	17	17	600	634
	Glynn-Brunswick	135	100	235			4,400	9,162	11,648			2,133	2,133
	Lowndes-Valdosta				250.00		1,000	8,459	15,975	200	100	2,747	3,047
	Telfair-McRae-Jacksonville				250.00		1,000	2,077	4,001	15		169	184
	Ware-Waycross	350	350	700	250.00	200.00	1,000	4,763	8,481	200	300	2,391	2,891
IX	Hall-Gainesville				125.00		500	2,789	5,391	150	175	733	1,058
	Gwinnett-Lawrenceville				75.00		300	1,841	3,506			1,050	1,050
	Barrow-Winder				75.00	100.00	300	1,332	2,562			312	312

STATEWIDE - SCLC April 1, 1963 - page three

CONG. DIST.	COUNTY AND COUNTY SEAT	SUGGESTED BUDGET FOR 8-WEEK PROGRAM: LOCAL SOURCES	OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL NEEDED	RECOMMENDED FOR: COUNTY	DISTRICT	EST. REG. GOALS	NEGRO POPULATION: 18 YEAR OR OVER	1960 CENSUS	ESTIMATED REGISTRATION: FOR 1963	ADD 1961-2	EST. 1960	TOTAL
X	Clarke-Athens				400.00		1,500	6,740	11,615	200	150	1,451	1,801
	Greene-Greensboro	15o		150	25.00		100	2,998	5,878		300	2,710	3,010
	Morgan-Madison	150		150	125.00		500	2,469	4,920	40		892	932
	Oglethorpe-Lexington				150.00		600	1,709	3,556			199	199
	Richmond-Augusta						11,500	4,785	43,118	1700	3500	5,610	10,810
	Taliaferro-Crawfordsville				25.00		100	1,073	2,097			836	836
	Wilkes-Washington				125.00	200.00	500	3,101	5,619			276	276
	TOTAL	3,735	8,255	11,990	$10,650.00	1500.00	66,875	443,823	782,811	6104	33348	117,471	153368

APRIL, 1963 REPORT

ON

VOTER REGISTRATION ACTIVITIES

J. H. CALHOUN

Chairman, Statewide Registration Committee

Georgia Director, Voter-Registration, Southern
Christian Leadership Conference

March 1, 1963 - Left Atlanta at 2:45 P. M. with Mrs. Ocelia Ellis and Miss Emily Poole and arrived in Thomasville at 8:30 P. M. going directly to the Educational Building of Clifford Temple CME Church, where Mr. Washington Virgil, his teen-age son and six other adults had gathered for the pre-clinic session. The program and Calendar was explained to them, a voter-registration program for Thomas County was outlined and Mrs. Ellis did a role-playing demonstration with Miss Poole as an example.

Rev. Bennette arrived later and came to the hotel, where each of us had a separate room.

I consider this clinic in Thomasville significant because we had tried for several years to interest the leaders in the co-ordinated program. Rev. Mullins, an Atlantan, pastoring in Thomasville, apparently was able, after our interview on February 8, 1963 in Atlanta, to convince the leadership that SCLC and the Committee wanted to help on a non-partisan basis and there would be no political implications or committments. We were therefore well received.

J. N. Calhoun

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

OUTLINE - 1963 CITIZENSHIP CLINICS - DATES AND LOCATIONS, VALDOSTA, JAN. 26; COLUMBUS, FEB. 2; LaGRANGE, FEB. 9; ATLANTA, FEB. 23; ATHENS, FEB. 23; THOMASVILLE, MAR. 2; ROME, MAR. 9; SAVANNAH, MAR 16; MACON, MAR. 23

BULLETIN NO. 1 - PROGRAM - REGISTRATION (INSTRUCTIONS)

9:00 A. M. - 9:30 A. M. - Registration
9:30 A. M. - 9:45 A. M. - Devotions - John Wesley Dobbs Memorial Service
9:45 A. M. -10:45 A. M. - Citizenship Training for Registration - Demonstration
10:45 A. M. -11:45 A. M. - Organization for Registration - (Bulletin No. 2)
11:45 A. M. -12:15 P. M. - Youth and Adults by Counties - Planning a Voter Registration Campaign (Bulletin No. 3)
12:15 P. M. - 1:00 P. M. - Adults - Registration (Bulletin No. 1) - Demonstrations
Youth - A Program for Youth (Page 28)
1:00 P. M. - 2:00 P. M. - Photograph-Dinner-Caucuses for Nominatine Officers
2:00 P. M. - 3:30 P. M. - Adult Assembly-Church Participation (Page 24)
Bond Elections-Constitutional Amendments
Get out the vote (Pages 29-30)
Reports, Questions and Discussion
Election of District Adult Officers
Youth Assembly-Registration Procedures "Pep Session"
Election of District Youth Officers
3:30 P. M. - 4:00 P. M. - Joint Assembly-Reports - Confirmation of Elections
4:00 P. M. - Adjournment - Benediction

The object of these Clinics is to train leadership, especially youth, in community organization for registration and voting. The formal discussions are to be confined to the outlines in Bulletins Nos. 1 and 2 and pages noted for the Clinic Manual. Time permits only brief technical questions until the discussion session. Make notes of and hold other questions and comments for that session.

I. Importance of Registration and Voting (Pages 19-23)

A. There is power in the ballot. It gives us the power to put people into office who will see that everyone has his rights.
B. The right man in office will serve all citizens; vote for him.
C. The wrong man should be voted out at the first opportunity.

II. Who may register - Anyone 18 years of age or over, living in Georgia 12 months and in the county six months (Page 23).

III. Where to register - At City Hall, Courthouse, and in Fulton County, at any City Hall except the one in Atlanta.

IV. How to register - Give the Registrar your name, address and family information; read and write a paragraph of the Constitution. If you cannot read, ask for 30 questions to study; attend a citizenship school. (Pages 19-23)

V. When to register - Whenever the books are open - Find out when they close for each election, from the City or County Registrar. (Pages 19-23)

VI. Vote as you please, but vote. Learn about the candidates from those who know, then make up your mind. Help to get out the vote. (Pages 29-30)

VII. MAKE EVERY ELECTION IMPORTANT! Set up a Calendar of Elections. Contact the City Clerk, County Ordinary and County Registrar for dates of: primaries, bond elections, special, city, county, state and national elections. There's a General Election after every primary. CAMPAIGN EVERY TIME!

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
CITIZENSHIP CLINIC DISCUSSION ON GOOD CITIZENSHIP
BULLETIN NO. 2 - TEXT - CITIZENSHIP CLINIC MANUAL

IN THE UNITED STATES, "A CITIZEN IS A PERSON WHO HAS THE PRIVILEGE OF VOTING AND EXERCISES THIS RIGHT OR PRIVILEGE." Webster, according to this definition, is saying that a person is not a citizen until he registers and votes.

I. Duties of all Americans (Pages 1-3):

A. To Register and Vote in every election.

B. To obey all laws of his city, state and country.

C. To protect his home and those of others:

1. Cleanliness in the home is a protection against disease and ill health. The yard and sidewalks should be kept clean and attractive. You and I know so many of our people have dirty yards. This is a first step toward good citizenship.

a. Certainly the inside of the home should be clean and comfortable. Clean up, paint up: Spring Cleaning - Clean Up Week.

b. Any good citizen will seek the best for his children. Join and work with the PTA; work in Sunday School and Church.

2. Service to one's country is a prime duty - Modern warfare requires advance training of young men and women, special service from their elders. Enlist in Civilian Defense - Serve well if drafted.

D. Community Goals - Better roads, streets, sidewalks, schools, hospitals clinics, playgrounds, street lights, traffic, police protection, etc.

1. Find out who is the responsible local official and seek his aid.

2. Organize and send committees, not individuals, to him for action.

GETTING PEOPLE TO REGISTER - A GOOD CITIZEN'S OBLIGATION (Pages 5-14) (25-27)

I. Work with your local Voter-Registration Committee, or help to organize one. Steps in Organizing (Pages 5-14).

II. Each person should have every one in his family eighteen years of age and over, to register and vote.

III. You should help to get everyone in your block to register and vote.

IV. Always recheck to see if the people have registered or voted.

V. Youth under eighteen can go from house to house to do this. (Pages 25-27)

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO. 3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign Steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site: County, City or Section _____

Size of Negro Population _____

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) _____

Potential Negro Registered Voters _____

Increase Goal _____

Period of Time -- Target Dates: From _____ To _____

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Number of Volunteers Needed _____

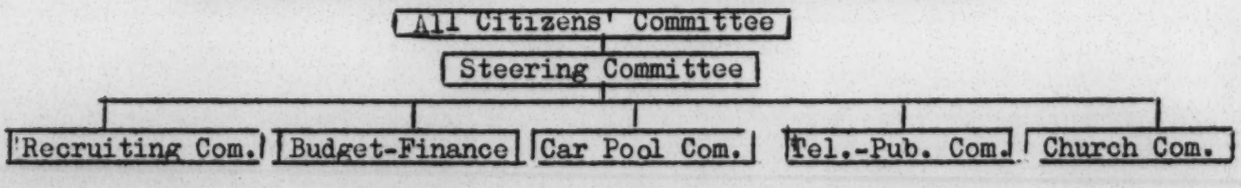
Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 _____ 11 _____
2 _____ 12 _____
3 _____ 13 _____
4 _____ 14 _____
5 _____ 15 _____
6 _____ 16 _____
7 _____ 17 _____
8 _____ 18 _____
9 _____ 19 _____
10 _____ 20 _____

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Dates for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations Which Will Support Drive
VI Set Up Basic Committees (As Outlined in Organizational Chart)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN



STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SUGGESTED DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR 1963 CITIZENSHIP CLINICS

9:00 A. M. - 9:30 A. M. - Registration

9:30 A. M. - 9:45 A. M. - Devotions - John Wesley Dobbs Memorial Service
- A. Song
- B. Remarks
- C. Prayer
- D. Song

9:45 A. M. -10:45 A. M. - Citizenship Training for Voter-Registration
- A. Monthly Schools at Dorchester Academy
- B. Local Citizenship Schools
- C. Demonstration - Citizenship Training for Voter-Registration

10:45 A. M. -11:45 A. M. - Organization for Registration - Bulletin No. 2
- A. Duties of all Americans (Pages 1-3)
- B. Getting People to Register - (Pages 5-14) (25-27)
- C. Seven Steps in Organizing
- D. Activating the Program

11:45 A. M. -12:15 P. M. - Youth and Adults - Assembled by Counties- Planning a Voter-Registration Campaign - Bulletin No. 3

12:15 P. M. - 1:00 P. M. - Adult Assembly
- A. Discussion Outline - Bulletin No. 1
- B. References to Pages noted, in the manual
- C. Demonstrations - Role-Playing in Teaching Block Canvassing

12:15 P. M. - 1:00 P. M. - Youth Assembly
- A. Registration Procedures - Bulletin No. 1
- B. "Pep Session"

1:00 P. M. - 2:00 P. M. - Recess - A. Photograph
- B. Dinner
- C. Caucuses for Nominating Officers

2:00 P. M. - 3:30 P. M. - Adult Assembly
- A. Church Participation - Church Contest
- B. Bond Elections - Constitutional Amendments
- C. How to Get Out the Vote
- D. Questions and Discussions
- E. Election of Officers - Chairman
  - Vice-Chairman
  - Secretary
  - Assistant Secretary
  - Youth Advisor

2:00 P. M. - 3:30 P. M. - Youth Assembly

- A. Registration and Voting Procedures
  1. Demonstrations - Role Playing in Block Canvassing
  2. Seven Steps in Organizing
  3. Bond Elections
  4. Constitutional Amendments
  5. How to Get Out the Vote
- B. Election of Officers - Chairman
  - Vice-Chairman
  - Secretary
  - Assistant Secretary

3:30 P. M. - 4:00 P. M. - Adult and Youth Reassembly
- A. Reports
- B. Confirmation of Elections

4:00 P. M. Adjournment - Mizpah

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

DATES AND SUGGESTED MEETING PLACES FOR 1963 DISTRICT CITIZENSHIP CLINICS

DATES

Saturday, January 26 - Valdosta or Waycross - 8th District

Saturday, February 2 - Columbus or Americus - 3rd District

Saturday, February 9 - La Grange or Newnan - 4th District

Saturday, February 16 - Athens or Augusta - 9th & 10th District

Saturday, February 23 - Atlanta - 5th ~~and 9th~~ Districts

Saturday, March 2 - Thomasville ~~(To be announced)~~ - 2nd District

Saturday, March 9 - Rome or Cedartown - 7th District

Saturday, March 16 - Savannah - (District-Wide Rally) - 1st District

Saturday, March 23 - Macon - 6th District - (Georgia Voters League Semi-Annual Meeting)

SUGGESTED MEETING PLACES OR CITIES

District I - Savannah, Swainsboro, McIntosh

District II - Albany, Thomasville, Bainbridge

District III - Columbus, Fort Valley, Americus

District IV - Griffin, LaGrange, Newnan

District V - Atlanta, Decatur

District VI - Macon Only - March 23

District VII - Rome, Mariett, Cedartown

District VIII - Waycross, Valdosta, Brunswick

District IX - Gainsville

District X - Athens, Augusta

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President

WYATT TEE WALKER
Executive Director

ATTY. I. M. AUGUSTINE
General Counsel

VOTER REGISTRATION FIELD STAFF

J. H. CALHOUN
Georgia State Director

HERBERT COULTON
Virginia & Carolinas

JAMES BEVEL
Mississippi

FRED BENNETT
Georgia Assistant Director

HARRY BLAKE
Louisiana & E. Texas

BERNARD S. LEE
Student Liaison Organizer

J. H. O'DELL
Regional Consultant

(Miss) ANNELL PONDER
Secretary

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL PROGRAM

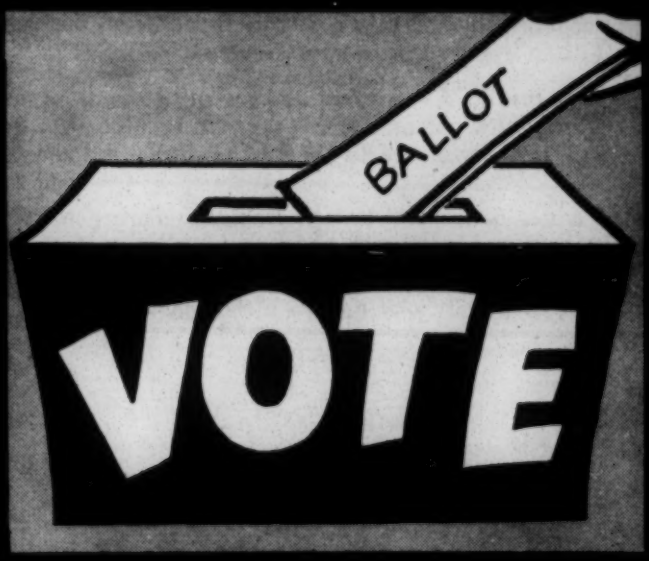
(Mrs.) DOROTHY F. COTTON
Director of Education

ANDREW J. YOUNG
Administrator

(Mrs.) SEPTIMA P. CLARK
Supervisor, Teacher Training

SCLC

CRUSADE FOR THE



TO DOUBLE THE
NEGRO VOTE
IN THE SOUTH

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

". . . to secure these rights to ourselves and our posterity . . ."

THE *NEGRO VOTER* IN THE SOUTH

THE FACTS

(1) Over 5 million Negroes of voting age live in the South.

(2) **Only 25% of adult Negroes vote compared with 60% white adults.**

(3) Purges of voters **lists,** "slowdowns" by registrars, opening the registration office only one or two days a month and at hours that are not helpful for working people; and

(4) Open intimidation by some plantation bosses and many local officials, all play a part in discouraging the Negro Citizen from becoming a registered voter.

As a result, "Government by consent of the governed," upon which our nation was founded in 1776, is a goal still to be made a reality in most of the South today.

Most of the present crop of Southern Senators and Congressmen will oppose and fillibuster all legislation designed to protect the voting rights of citizens of this region.

YOU CAN CHANGE THIS SITUATION

Despite these obstacles Negro citizens are struggling daily to double the number of voters and to obtain representation in government.

Even the most die-hard segregationist in public office can be made to respect voting power. Furthermore, we know there are many liberal white citizens in the South who count on the Negro votes to increase enough for liberal voices to be heard in the government.

The whole nation will benefit from an enlarged Negro vote in the South. This area of our country CAN elect men and women of good will and a sense of justice to Congress and to local state legislatures.

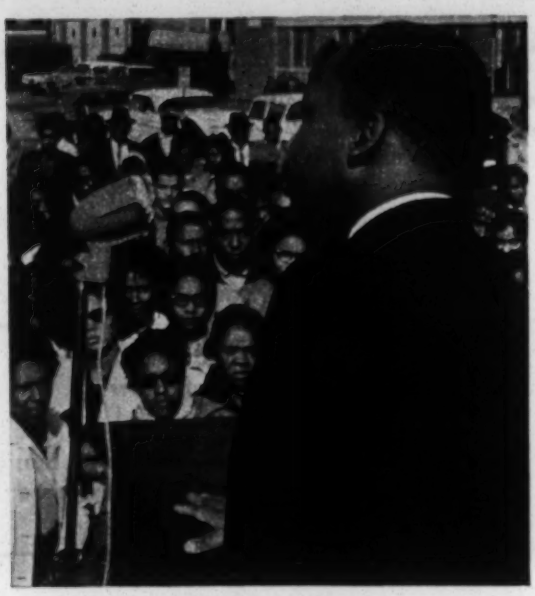
Let all who believe in Freedom and Human Dignity join in this great **Crusade For The Ballot Now!!**

Young people in Macon, Georgia in line at the County Courthouse to become new registered voters. With S. C. L. C. help, Negroes in Macon doubled their voting power in a ninety-day campaign during 1962.

All over the South, people at the grass-roots level are joining the CRUSADE FOR THE BALLOT.

CRUSADE FOR THE BALLOT

TO DOUBLE THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President, S. C. L. C.

HOW

✓ To educate and stimulate Negroes to exercise the vote.

✓ To help them obtain the right to vote where in practice it does not exist.

ORGANIZE

✓ SCLC will help your community to organize registration schools, workshops for local leaders, public meetings on voter registration and provide material when requested.

IN UNITY THERE IS STRENGTH

✓ **No narrow partisan interest must be allowed to divide us. In reaching a cross section of the Negro community, the Crusade will move across party lines.**

✓ It is for the good of the local community that all civic, church, fraternal and other organizations cooperate in this effort.

NONVIOLENCE

✓ The Freedom Movement in the Deep South is a non-violent revolution, giving birth to a new day of progress and human dignity for all Americans, for generations to come.

REGISTER AND VOTE

✓ Remember if you are already registered you must **vote** in elections in order to keep your name listed on the registration books.

All elections are important for gaining needed improvements in the community and speeding the day of full freedom.

"The goal of the Freedom Movement in the South can be summed up in 3 words:
All, Here, and Now

We want **all** of our rights as citizens
(not just some rights);
We want them **here**, in the Deep South, and
We want them **now**---"

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

When you have finished reading this, please pass it on to a member of the family, a neighbor or a friend.

Additional copies may be secured upon request from one of the addresses listed below:

For further information write the local organization:

OR

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
VOTER REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT
332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Telephone 524-1378

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President

WYATT TEE WALKER
Executive Director

ATTY. I. M. AUGUSTINE
General Counsel

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Mississippi

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Student Liaison Organizer

J. H. O'DELL
Regional Consultant

(Miss) ANNELL PONDER
Secretary

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL PROGRAM

(Mrs.) DOROTHY F. COTTON
Director of Education

ANDREW J. YOUNG
Administrator

(Mrs.) SEPTIMA P. CLARK
Supervisor, Teacher Training

THIS IS SCLC

Birth of SCLC

On January 10, 1957, more than 100 Southern leaders gathered in Atlanta, Georgia, to share and discuss their mutual problems of the Southern struggle. By unanimous agreement, the body voted to form a permanent organization that would serve as a coordinating agency for local protest centers that were utilizing the technique and philosophy of nonviolence in creative protest. Two months later, close on the heels of the successful Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott, SCLC came into being, in New Orleans, Louisiana. Martin Luther King, Jr., was elected president.

Structure of SCLC

Affiliate organizations all across the South make up the body of the Conference. The making and execution of basic policy is the responsibility of the Executive Board, geographically representative of the entire South. Of the thirty-three board members, twenty-four are elected by the Conference and nine by the Board. Every affiliate may have from one to five voting delegates at any deliberative session of the Conference, depending upon the type of financial affiliation. The annual meeting of the Conference is held in the early fall and the Executive Board meets in the Spring. Policy decisions are handled by an Administrative Committee between meetings of the Conference and the Board. SCLC maintains a modest but versatile staff at its home office in Atlanta, Georgia.

Membership in SCLC

SCLC is not a membership organization *per se*. As indicated, affiliate groups and organizations constitute the actual membership. In turn, individuals belong to the affiliates (churches, civic organizations, fraternal groups, etc.). The minimum affiliate fee is $25.00 per annum entitling the group represented to one voting delegate in all deliberative sessions. An affiliate may have as many as five (5) voting delegates ($125.00), but regardless of amount given, this is maximum number of delegates allowed. Affiliation requires an application in writing to national office that indicates general structure and purposes of group seeking affiliation. All affiliates are confirmed by the Executive Board or Administrative Committee. Upon confirmation, affiliate certificates and suitable credentials are forwarded to member organization indicating

SCLC's services are immediately available. The SCLC Newsletter and other printed material relevant to the social struggle are forwarded to the membership of the affiliate group periodically.

SCLC—A Nonsectarian Agency

From its inception, SCLC has been nonsectarian in character. Conference supporters are people of all faiths, religions and creeds. The word 'Christian' in SCLC's name is natural and unique to the social structure of the Negro community in the South. The Negro church is his only forum, owned, operated and controlled by him; it affords the broadest opportunity for social intercourse; it is generally the headquarters of the Negro's struggle for full citizenship; the pastor has been the community leader and champion of the Negro's civil liberties. Most of the protest centers in the South are clergy-led, thus accounting for the high incidence of ministers who make up the leadership of the Conference. Laymen too, play a significant role, several serving on the Board and holding top offices. SCLC welcomes the good wishes and support of any person or group of persons who have as their ultimate goal actualizing democracy in America through peaceful and nonviolent means.

Aims and Purposes of SCLC

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has the basic aim of achieving full citizenship rights, equality, and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of American life. SCLC is a service agency to facilitate coordinated action of local community groups within the frame of their indigenous organizations and natural leadership. SCLC activity revolves around two main focal points: the use of nonviolent philosophy as a means of creative protest; and securing the right of the ballot for every citizen.

Philosophy of SCLC

The basic tenents of Hebraic-Christian tradition coupled with the Ghandian concept of *satyagraha* — truth force — is at the heart of SCLC's philosophy. Christian nonviolence actively resists evil in any form. It never seeks to humiliate the opponent, only to win him. Suffering is accepted without retaliation. Internal violence of the spirit is as much to be rejected as external physical violence. At the center of nonviolence is redemptive love. Creatively

used, the philosophy of nonviolence can restore the broken community in America. SCLC is convinced that nonviolence is the most potent force available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom and dignity.

SCLC and Nonviolent Mass Direct Action

SCLC believes that the American dilemma in race relations can best and most quickly be resolved through the action of thousands of people, committed to the philosophy of nonviolence, who will physically identify themselves in a just and moral struggle. It is not enough to be intellectually dissatisfied with an evil system. The true nonviolent resister presents his physical body as an instrument to defeat the system. Through nonviolent mass direct action, the evil system is creatively dramatized in order that the conscience of the community may grapple with the rightness or wrongness of the issue at hand.

SCLC and Leadership Training

In its bold new program, SCLC has undertaken one of the difficult tasks so vital to the present-day struggle in the South. The Leadership Training Program is directed at the organization of communities at the 'grass-roots' level. It is believed that the great success of the Negro community's struggle for full citizenship will be determined by the training of this second-line leadership. Leadership Training embraces the work of the Citizenship Schools and the Correspondence Institute. Both include in their course of studies such subjects as: *Registration and Voting; Social Protest; Understanding Politics; Use of the Boycott; How to Picket; The Nature of Prejudice,* etc.

SCLC's Citizenship Schools

The Citizenship School is the direct result of one phase of the Leadership Training Program. Interested persons, who have a general knowledge of reading and writing, are trained intensively in the skills of adult education using subject matter relevant to the social struggle. They return to their individual communities as instructors and set up a Citizenship School that the 'grass-roots' people may be trained for full participation in civic life. Periodically, the instructors return to the training center for refresher courses to keep them abreast of significant changes and to further develop their skills.

SCLC and Voter-Registration

The right of the ballot is basic to the exercise of full citizenship rights. All across the South, subtle and flagrant obstacles confront the Negro when he seeks to register and vote. Poll taxes, long form questionnaires, harassment, economic reprisal, and sometimes death, meet those who dare to seek this exercise of the ballot. In areas where there is little or no attempt to block the voting attempts of the Negro, apathy generally is deeply etched upon the habits of the community. SCLC with its specialized staff works on both fronts: aiding local communities through every means available to secure the right to vote (e.g. filing complaints with the Civil Rights Commission) and arousing interest through voter-registration workshops to point up the importance of the ballot. Periodically, SCLC, upon invitation conducts a voter-registration drive to enhance a community's opportunity to free itself from economic and political servitude. SCLC believes that the most important step the Negro can take is that short walk to the voting booth.

SCLC and Civil Disobedience

SCLC sees civil disobedience as a natural consequence of nonviolence when the resister is confronted by unjust and immoral laws. This does not imply that SCLC advocates either anarchy or lawlessness. The Conference firmly believes that all people have a moral responsibility to obey laws that are just. It recognizes, however, that there also are unjust laws. From a purely moral point of view, an unjust law is one that is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe, or, as the religionist would say, out of harmony with the Law of God. More concretely, an unjust law is one in which the minority is compelled to observe a code which is not binding on the majority. An unjust law is one in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making because they were denied the right to vote. In the face of such obvious inequality, where difference is made legal, the nonviolent resister has no alternative but to disobey the unjust law. In disobeying such a law, he does so peacefully, openly and nonviolently. Most important, he *willingly* accepts the penalty for breaking the law. This distinguishes SCLC's position on civil disobedience from the 'uncivil disobedience' of the racist opposition in the South. In the face of laws they consider unjust, they seek to defy,

evade, and circumvent the law, BUT they are *unwilling* to accept the penalty for breaking the law. The end result of their defiance is anarchy and disrespect for the law. SCLC, on the other hand, believes that civil disobedience involves the highest respect for the law. He who openly disobeys a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty is giving evidence that he so respects the law that he belongs in jail until it is changed.

Source of SCLC's Funds

SCLC's budget is supported by mass rallies, individual and organizational pledges, direct mailing fund appeals, and affiliate fees. Some portion of the budget is realized through the personal appearances of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other members of the Conference. Under its bold new program, SCLC launches in 1961 its 'Dollars For Freedom' campaign which is again directed at the 'grass roots' population of America. More recently, special fund-raising projects in the form of benefits featuring outstanding artists of show business, have added to the financial support needed to carry on the work throughout the South.

SCLC and the Sit-ins

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference views the Sit-In Movement of southern college students as the most important development in the southern struggle. The Conference's record evidences that at every opportunity, it has done everything within its power and resources to aid and abet the students in developing their skills in nonviolent protest. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the coordinating organization of the student movement, was born as a result of a conference called by SCLC at Raleigh, North Carolina, in the spring of 1960 at the height of the Sit-Ins. It continues to serve in an advisory capacity through its professional staff and its president, Martin Luther King, Jr., symbol of the students' nonviolent mass attack on segregation. Some of the most significant victories in the Sit-In Movement of southern college students have come as a result of the leadership and guidance of SCLC affiliates, e.g., Nashville Christian Leadership Council, Nashville, Tenn., Petersburg Improvement Association, Petersburg, Va., etc.

SCLC and Segregation

SCLC is firmly opposed to segregation in any form that it takes and pledges itself to work unrelentingly to rid every vestige of its scars from our nation through nonviolent means. Segregation is an evil and its presence in our nation has blighted our larger destiny as a leader in world affairs. Segregation does as much harm to the *segregator* as it does to the *segregated*. The *segregated* develops a false sense of inferiority and the *segregator* develops a false sense of superiority, both contrary to the American ideal of democracy. America must rid herself of segregation not alone because it is politically expedient, but because it is morally right!

SCLC and Constructive Program

SCLC's basic program fosters nonviolent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation—inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship. Thus, the Conference works on two fronts. On the one hand, it resists continuously the system of segregation which is the basic cause of lagging standards; on the other hand, it works constructively to improve the standards themselves. There MUST be a balance between attacking the causes and healing the effects of segregation.

SCLC and the Beloved Community

The ultimate aim of SCLC is to foster and create the 'beloved community' in America where brotherhood is a reality. It rejects any doctrine of black supremacy for this merely substitutes one kind of tyranny for another. The Conference does not foster moving the Negro from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage for this would thereby subvert justice. SCLC works for integration. Our ultimate goal is genuine intergroup and interpersonal living — *integration*. Only through nonviolence can reconciliation and the creation of the beloved community be effected. The international focus on America and her internal problems against the dread prospect of a hot war, demand our seeking this end.

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Atlanta, Ga.

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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

*Clergy

SCLC

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Director*

What Makes A First Class Citizen?

Ability to read and write.

Understanding of the responsibilities of voting, taking part in community affairs.

Elementary knowledge of local, state, and federal government.

Knowledge of the rights and privileges of the individual before the law.

Understanding of politics and how it works.

Knowledge of the Constitution of the United States and how it works.

All over the country there are adults who are not registered to vote, and who generally do not participate in their civic affairs. These persons are not full citizens. Many of them have not had an opportunity to learn what is required of first class citizens. These people need Citizenship training.

M. L. King Jr.

Teacher Training Class in Session

Citizenship Education Program

The Purpose Of The Citizenship School

The Citizenship Schools are for adults. Their immediate program is teaching reading and writing. They help students to pass literacy tests for voting. But they also give an all-around education in community development which includes housing, recreation, health, and improved home life. Specific subjects include filing income tax forms, understanding of tax-supported resources such as water testing for wells, aid to handicapped children, public health facilities, how government is run, social security, etc.

The Citizenship Schools give people help that is not available through any other private or public program at the present time.

They are open to all people of a community who face problems related to first class citizenship and want to do something about them.

☆ ☆ ☆

Citizenship Schools & Voter Registration

Persons not registered to vote fall into three classes (1) Those too lazy, (2) Those who need brief instruction in a registration clinic, and (3) Those who need general instruction and encouragement.

The Citizenship School is specifically designed to work with group 3. No voter registration plan is complete without a program for those who need help in the fundamentals of citizenship.

How Do We Prepare For First-Class Citizenship ? ?

Each church and community organization should have a CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL to train its members to be good citizens.

Civic and social organizations may sponsor schools for those who have not had a chance to take this training.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will train persons from your church or civic organization to become teachers for your community. These teachers will help to prepare everyone in your community to be a first class citizen.

SCLC will provide:

—the cost of travel to Training Center
—tuition
—training
—supervision and materials

You will provide:

—a place for schools to meet (church, community bldg., etc.)
—a community coordinator for schools in your area
—qualified persons to be trained as teachers
—continued support of the local schools

Please submit applications to:

Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton
SCLC Citizenship Education Program
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone 524-1370

"Our Training Center"

Dorchester Center, McIntosh, Georgia

Whom Do You Send For Training?

Persons who are respected by members of their community and are acceptable to them as teachers.

Persons who are willing to give time in organizing classes, getting pupils, and making other practical arrangements.

Persons who are willing to give two nights a week for 12 weeks to teach a class in basic citizenship.

Persons who are at least 21 years old; though younger persons may be trained if they have the time and the interest.

Persons with practical skills who could be taught to teach (beauticians, tradesmen, farmers, seamstresses, etc.).

Retired school teachers, railroad and postal workers, self employed persons, etc.

Experienced Sunday School teachers.

Persons who read well aloud and who write legibly on a blackboard.

APPLICATION FOR TEACHER TRAINING

Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia

Name_____ Date_____

Address_____ Married_____ Single_____

_____ Telephone_____

Occupation_____ Registered Voter: Yes ☐ No ☐

Other Jobs Held_____

Volunteer Leadership Experience_____

Sponsoring Organization_____

By_____ Title_____

What Makes A First Class Citizen?

Ability to read and write.

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All over the country there are adults who are not registered to vote, and who generally do not participate in their civic affairs. These persons are not full citizens. Many of them have not had an opportunity to learn what is required of first class citizens. These people need Citizenship training.

M. L. King Jr.

S. C. L. C.

SUGGESTED STEPS FOR A BLOCK PARTY

I HAVE A MEETING AT YOUR HOME WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

II BE SURE YOU HAVE ENOUGH INVITATIONS TO COVER ALL ADULTS LIVING ON YOUR SIDE OF THE STREET FROM ONE CORNER TO THE NEXT. OUR LOCAL OFFICE OR COMMITTEE WILL BE GLAD TO GIVE YOU ADDITIONAL INVITATIONS.

III DELIVER THE INVITATIONS AND IF POSSIBLE FOLLOW-UP WITH A PHONE CALL, BUT DON'T MAKE THE OCCASION SOUND DULL. IT'S A NEIGHBORHOOD GET-TOGETHER.

AT THE MEETING: YOU MAY WANT TO SERVE COFFEE AND DOUGHNUTS

1. BEGIN ON TIME. HAVE VOTER REGISTRATION MATERIAL ON HAND.
2. PRESENT SPEAKER.
3. SPEAKER TELLS THE DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION AND POLL TAX; IMPORTANCE OF VOTING; WHO IS ELIGIBLE AND WHERE TO GET REGISTERED.
4. DISCUSS COMMUNITY PROBLEMS AND WELFARE.
5. TELL WHY YOUR BLOCK SHOULD HAVE 100% VOTERS.
6. PLAN A MEETING FOR THE NEXT WEEK TO GIVE HELP AND AID TO NEIGHBORS WHO NEED HELP TO QUALIFY. PLAN TRIPS TO REGISTRAR'S OFFICE.
7. HAVE SOMEONE CONTACT PERSONS WHO DID NOT SHOW UP AT THE MEETING.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Glynn (Brunswick, Ga.)

Size of Negro Population 14,500

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 3,100

Potential Negro Registered Voters 7,500

Increase Goal 4,400

Period of Time -- Target Dates From April 63 to May 64

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Brunswick	St. Simon Island
North East	Needwood and Brodfield
East	Sterling
West	Penich & Everett
Southside	Brookman Bruch swamp

Number of Volunteers Needed

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Voters League	11	
2	NAACP	12	
3		13	
4		14	
5		15	
6		16	
7		17	
8		18	
9		19	
10		20	

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Date for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
VI Set up Basic Committees (As outlined in Organizational Chart)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Houston County (Perry)

Size of Negro Population 7,500

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 950

Potential Negro Registered Voters 4,000

Increase Goal 2,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From January to Dec. 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Perry	20	Bonaire	2	Klondike	2
Warner Robert, Ga.	20	Elko	4	Clinchfield	2
Alberta, Ga.	4	Grovania	2		
Centerville	2	Henderson	4		
Kathleen, Ga.	2	Haynesville	2		

Number of Volunteers Needed 66

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Churches	11	Eastern Star
2	Georgia Voter League	12	Good Samaritan
3	Citizen Democratic Club	13	P. T. A.
4	Home Demonstration Club	14	Progume Lodge
5	Ritz Club	15	
6	Twi-light reading & Saving	16	
7	American Legion	17	
8	Caladrin Club	18	
9	Blassett Club	19	
10	York Rite Mason	20	

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STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Dooly County (Vienna)

Size of Negro Population 6,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 1,400

Potential Negro Registered Voters 2,000

Increase Goal 2,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March 25 to June 30, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Dooly High Community	3	Union Della, Ga.	3
Vienna	5	Drayton, Ga.	2
Lilly, Ga.	2	Tippetville	1
Byronville	3	Fineley, Ga.	1
Pinchurest, Ga.	2		

Number of Volunteers Needed 21

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Churches	11	
2	Saving Clubs	12	
3	Eastern Star	13	
4	Lodges	14	
5	Mason	15	
6	P. T. A.	16	
7		17	
8		18	
9		19	
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STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Floyd County, Ga. (Rome)

Size of Negro Population 9,938

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 2,300

Potential Negro Registered Voters 5,949

Increase Goal 1,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March 15 to June 15, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

North Rome	25	Shannon	10	Cave Springs	10
South Rome	25	Armuche	2	Six Miles	1
East Rome	25	Corsa	2		
West Rome	25	Texas Valley	1		
Lindale	15				

Number of Volunteers Needed 141

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Rome Civic Club	11	Eastern Star	Churches - Baptist
2	NAACP	12	York Rite Masons	Methodists
3	Rome Minister Alliance-7 Cong. Dist.	13	Elks	A. M. E.
4	Mothers	14	Daughter Elks (2)	C. M. E.
5	P. T. A. (5)	15	American Legion	A. M. E. Zion
6	Rome Council on Human Relations	16	Army Reserve	Apostolic Faith
7	Tri H Y	17	Pandora	Triumph Holines
8	Hi-Y	18	Gold in Leaf	Fire Baptized Holines
9	Student Council	19	Boosters Club	Church of Christ
10	Prince Halls Mason (2)	20	Garden Club	Peneteastol
				Church of God
				Presbyterian

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STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO. 3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Bibb County, Ga. (Macon)

Size of Negro Population 49,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 12,000

Potential Negro Registered Voters 25,000

Increase Goal 10,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March 20 to June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Tindall Hgts.

Bellevue

Unconille

Number of Volunteers Needed

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Bibb County Coordinating
2 NAACP
3 Ministerial Alliance
4 Elks Lodge
5
6
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11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20

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STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Decatur (Bainbridge)

Size of Negro Population 13,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 8,000

Potential Negro Registered Voters 6,000

Increase Goal 1,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March 1, 1963 to June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Pear Orchid	5	Pepper Hill	3
Rich's Sub-division	3	Free-Will Sub.	5
Bishop's Bottom	5	Battle Hodges	20
Crest-View	3	Planter Street	10
Hungry Level	10		

Number of Volunteers Needed 63

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Cavalier Club	11	Methodist A. M. E.
2	Oak City Mason	12	Holiness
3	Oak City Club 255	13	
4	Pride of Bairbridge	14	
5	Youth Group	15	
6	Elks	16	
7	American Legion	17	
8	Boy Scout	18	
9	Girl Scout	19	
10	Baptist	20	

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Date for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
VI Set up Basic Committees (As outlined in Organizational Chart)

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Early (Blakely)

Size of Negro Population 6,822

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 700

Potential Negro Registered Voters 3,277

Increase Goal 1,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Mar 3, 1963 to June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Blakely (Northside)

South Side

Damascus

Hilton

Number of Volunteers Needed

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Church
2 Masonic
3 Independent
4
5 Home Industrial
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
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IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Carroll County (Carrolton)

Size of Negro Population 7,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 700

Potential Negro Registered Voters 3,500

Increase Goal 500

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb. 15, to June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Carrollton	Roopville
Villa Rica	Whitesburg
Temple	Sand Hill
Clem	Bowden
Bowden Junction	

Number of Volunteers Needed 80

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	P? T? A.	11	Pleasant Grove Baptist Church
2	Young Champs	12	Union Grove Methodist
3	Penny Saving Club	13	Other Churches - Baptist & AME
4	Other Community Clubs	14	
5		15	
6		16	
7		17	
8		18	
9		19	
10		20	

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
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V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Thomas County (Thomasville)

Size of Negro Population 14,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 2,000

Potential Negro Registered Voters 7,500

Increase Goal 1,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March 1 to June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Fletcherville	30	New Union	15	Metcalf	10
Dewey City	20	Boston	15	Pave	5
Top Warden	10	Meigs	15	Outside Thomasville	10
Dekelis Quarters	15	Ochlochnee	10	Collidge	10
Arizona	5	Barwick	5		

Number of Volunteers Needed 175

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 Thomas County Business &Civic League
2 Progressive Club
3 American Legion
4 Elks
5 Prince Hall Masons
6 Eastern Star
7 Scottish Rite Masons
8 Eastern Star (SR)
9 Girl Scouts
10 Boy Scouts
11 Y. M. C. A.
12 Ministerial Alliance
13 Baptist Churches
14 C. M. E. Churches
15 A. M. E. Churches
16 Presbyterian Churches
17 Episcopalian Churches
18
19
20

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
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IV Outline Boundaries of Concentration Areas
V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Tift County (Tifton) Ga.

Size of Negro Population 10,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 1,200

Potential Negro Registered Voters 5,000

Increase Goal 1,800

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Mar. 15 to June 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Phillipsburg	30	Chule	4	Still Quarters	3	Eldorade	4
Unionberg	26			Stokes Quarters	6	Omega	10
Unionville				Campbell Hill	6	Ty Ty	4
Collins Quarters	2			Sugar Hill	4	Brighton	2
Tift's Quarters	3			Brooksfield	4	Hardin	2

Number of Volunteers Needed 106

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1 American Legion
2 Civic Club
3 Interdenomational Council
4 Youth Council
5 Zeta Phi Beta
6 Socialite Workers
7 Magnolia Lodge - Masons
8 Christian Aid
9 P. T. A. (3)
10 Baptist Churches
11 A. M. E. Churches
12 C. M. E. Churches
13 Church of God in Christ
14 St. John Holiness
15 I Hope Apostolic Church
16
17
18
19
20

SUMMARY

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Muskogee County (Columbus)

Size of Negro Population 45,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 6,800

Potential Negro Registered Voters 15,000

Increase Goal 4,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Jan. 8 to May 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

1st Precinct	6	11th Precinct	4	Genia	5
2nd "	10	Carver Hts.	20	Cataula	4
3rd "	10	Wynton	10	Midland	5
4th "	10	Warren Williams	4		
5th "	15	Kendrick Survey	10	River Road	5
6th "	22	Willis Plaza-Washington Hts.	20		
7th "	15				
8th "	6	East Urban	4		
9th "	4	Springfield Hts.	4		
10th "		Ucatoi	5		

Number of Volunteers Needed 188

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Muskogee County Reg. Council	11	Elks Lodge
2	Non-Partisan Voters League	12	Daughter Elks
3	NAACP	13	Eastern Star
4	Columbus Youth Committee	14	Baptist Churches
5	Prince Hall Masons (6)	15	AME Churches
6	York Rite Masons	16	Methodist Churches
7	American Legion	17	CME Churches
8	Fraternities and Sororities	18	Presbyterian Churches
9	Beauticians	19	7th Day Adventists
10	Womens Professional	20	Episcopal Church

Catholic-St. Benedict
Church of God
Church of God
in Christ
Columbus-Phenix City Choral Unit

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

1963

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Troup County (LaGrange)

Size of Negro Population 15,771

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 1,200

Potential Negro Registered Voters 8,000

Increase Goal 2,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From Feb. 10, to April 1, 1963

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

LaGrange - Thomastown	Hogansville - Antioch
Bell Line - Dunson Mill	West Point - Rosemount
The Villege - Harlem Hts.	Lees' Crossing - Mounville
East Side	Wares Cross Road - Mt Zion
West End	Commonville - New Harmoney

Number of Volunteers Needed 91

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Social Clubs	11	Churches
2	~~Troup County Voters League~~	12	
3	LaGrange Ministers Alliance	13	
4	York Rite Masons	14	
5	Eastern Star	15	
6	Herone of Jerico	16	
7	P. T. A.	17	
8		18	
9		19	
10		20	

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Bartow County - (Carterville)

Size of Negro Population 5,000

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 2,500

Potential Negro Registered Voters 1,800

Increase Goal 1,800

Period of Time -- Target Dates From March to June

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Adairsville, Ga.	2	Pine Grove (Area)	2
Kingston	4	Rydall (Area)	2
Sugar Valley Road	2	Mission (Area)	1
Stiles Borbugh	2	Cassville, Ga.	2
Emuson, Ga.	2	Machanicville,	3
		Summ Hill (Area)	4 Richmond 3
		West Side (Area)	2

Number of Volunteers Needed 31

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	Churches 17	11	Boy Scouts
2	Bartow County Voters League	12	American Legion
3	Eastern Stars Chapters	13	
4	Masons	14	
5	Lesevants Organization	15	
6	YOA - Young People Organization	16	
7	Ritz Club	17	
8	NAACP	18	
9	P. T. A. Association	19	
10	Schools	20	

SUMMARY

H. E. Canty, Chairman of Bartow County Voter League

I Secure Basic Information
II Set Registration Goals
III Set Target Date for Beginning and for Ending Registration Drive
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V Set Number of Volunteers Needed and List Organizations which Will Support Drive.
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - BULLETIN NO.3
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
(For Campaign steering Committee or First Meeting of "a Few Interested Persons")

Site - County, City or Section Cobb County (Marietta)

Size of Negro Population 10,588

Number of Registered Voters (Approximate) 2,588

Potential Negro Registered Voters 4,560

Increase Goal 5,000

Period of Time -- Target Dates From April 1 to August 1

Boundaries of Concentration Area (Outline Streets or Designate Rural Areas)

Cobb County Marietta	Ward 5 and 6 and 3 Elizabeth
Smyrna Georgia	St. John Vin & Rose G. Hill
Austell Georgia	Mablton Extention
Acworth, Kennsaw	White Circle
Power Spring	Macedonia

Number of Volunteers Needed 200

Organizations to Participate: (Churches, Voters Leagues, Youth Groups, etc.)

1	One Hundred	11	Cole Street
2	20	12	Turner & Marietta Chapel
3	20	13	Pine & Right Street
4	20	14	Pleasant Grove
5		15	N A A C P
6		16	Union Methods
7		17	Mt. Calvery
8		18	King Chapel
9		19	Liberty Hill
10		20	Voters League, Women Civic Club, Men Co-operative Club, Mason

SUMMARY

I Secure Basic Information
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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART FOR VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

ALL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Recruiting Com. | Budget-Finance | Car Pool Com. | Tel.-Pub.Com. | Church Comm.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED PROGRAM - VII CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CLINIC

I District Officers (Adult and Youth) - Duties

A. Keep in contact with counties represented at Clinic
   1. Influence them to organize coordinated programs
   2. Give necessary information and assistance
   3. Ask counties to pay travel expense when visits are necessary

B. Make monthly reports on registration activities of counties
   1. Names and addresses of county chairmen
   2. Names of county-wide co-ordinated committees for voter-registration
   3. Summary of activities and results

C. Contact chairmen not represented at the Rome Clinic - Same as above

II County Leaders - Duties

A. Organize or perfect organizations, where already established, of co -ordinated programs, by following plan made at the Rome Clinic for the county
   1. Call together representatives of all interested organizations, churches, clubs, etc. (This is essential for a good organisatio zation)
   2. Follow, as nearly as possible, the 7steps in the Clinic Manual
   3. Develop the program along lines shown in the Clinic Manual

B. Help youth to organize and co-operate with the program on registration

III Names and addresses of District and County Chairmen (Pernament and Temporary)

A. District Adult Officers
   1. Rev. Clarence Tuggle, Chairman - 6 Gibbons St. - Rome
   2. Mrs. M. J. Woods, Vice Chairman - 304 Shephard St. - Marietta
   3. Mr. Henry A. Canty, Secretary - 306 N. Bartow St. - Carterville
   4. Mrs. Essie Dinsmore, Asst. Sec. - Route 5 - Marietta

B. District Youth Officers - Contact the Following Persons:
   1. Mrs. M. J. Woods - 304 Shephard St. - Marietts
   2. Miss Barbara Jones - 636 Pine St., Marietta
   3. Miss Shirley Dodd - 106 James St., Marietta
   4. Miss Mammie Dodd - 106 James St., Marietta

C. Floyd County Officers - Persons Attending Clinic
   1. Rev. Clarence Ruggle, Chairman - 6 Gibbons St. - Rome
   2. Rev. E. G. Hinto, 701 East First St. - Rome
   3. Rev. J. W. Howard, 30 Gibbons St. - Rome
   4. Mrs. L. K. Houser, 121 Jackson St. - Rome
   5. Mr. Grwely White, 10 Gibbons St. - Rome
   6. Mr. James G. Wright, 1004 East 1st St. - Rome
   7. Mrs. Mary Pone, 43 Jackson St. - Rome
   8. Mrs. Estella Ligging, 8 Gibbons St. - Rome
   9. Mrs. Ida M. Smith, 15 Gibbons St. - Rome
   10. Mrs. Laura Nelson, 332 Ross St. - Rome
   11. Mrs. Lula Tuggle, 6 Gibbons St. - Rome

12. Mrs. Magaret Ganneway, 116 S. Hank St. - Rome
13. Mrs. Betty Whitaker, 163 Reservior St., - Rome
14. Mr. Romeo Brand, 14 Gordon Ave., Apt C. - Rome
15. Mrs. Earnestin Brand, 14 Gordon Ave., Apt. C - Rome
16. Mrs. Imogene Saunder, 7 Gibbons St. - Rome
17. Mrs. Maby Fain, 327 Ross St., Rome
18. Rev. J. L. Vaughn, 330 Branham Ave. - Rome
19. Mr. J. L. Vaughn, Jr., 330 Branham Ave. - Rome
20. Mr. Andrew King, 917 West 1st St. - Rome
21. Mrs. Amenda Poindexter, 10 B. Gibbons - Rome
22. Mr. William L. Wright, 1004 East First St. - Rome
23. Miss Mary Neal, 41 Gibbons St. - Rome

D. Cobb County Officers - Persons Attending Clinic
1. Mrs. M. J. Woods, Chairman - 304 Shephard St. - Marietta
2. Mrs. Essie Dinsmore, Route 5 - Marietta
3. Miss Barbara Jones, 636 Pine St. - Marietta
4. Miss Shirley Dodd, 106 James St. - Marietta
5. Miss Mammie Dodd, 106 James St. - Marietta
6. Miss Sarah Hill, 108 James St. - Marietta

E. Bartow County - Person Attending Clinic
1. Mr. Henry A. Canty, 306 N. Bartow St. - Carterville

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

ADULT AND YOUTH OFFICERS - DISTRICT CHAIRMEN

J. H. Calhoun, Chairman - 243 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Atlanta
Rev. J. F. Mann, Vice-Chairman - 2027 Lee Street - Brunswich
Mrs. Ocelia C. Ellis, Secretary - 1014 Margerat Place, N.W. - Atlanta
Q. V. Williamson, Asst. Secretary - 855 Hunter Street, N.W. - Atlanta
C. R. Yates, Treasurer - 228 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Atlanta
T. M. Jackson, Youth Advisor - 120 College Street - Macon

DISTRICT CHAIRMEN

I Hosea William, 416 West Park Avenue - Savannah
II Washington Virgil, 1301 South Street - Thomasville
III Vernon Mitchell, 500½ 9th Avenue - Columbus
IV Crogman Mullins, 506 Spring Street - Carrollton
V Dr. C. Clayton Powell, 864½ Hunter Street, S.W. - Atlanta
VI Rev. Van J. Malone, 1422 Chestnut Street - Macon
VII Rev. Clarence Tuggle, 6 Gibbons Street - Rome
VIII Rev. W. H. Hall, 415 South Ashley Street - Valdosta
X Mrs. Ruth Allen, 1683 South Millage Street - Athens

YOUTH OFFICERS

Benjamin Van Clark, Chairman - 416 West Park Avenue - Savannah
Mary Munford, Vice-Chairman - Route 1, Riverside Drive - Macon
Jeanette Gregory, Secretary - 110 East Taylor Street - Augusta
Shirley Randell, Asst. Secretary - 1794 5th Avenue - Macon
Deloris Corbett, Chaplain - 604 South Street - Valdosta

6TH DISTRICT OFFICERS

Rev. Van J. Malone, Chairman - 1422 Chestnut Street - Macon
Rev. A. F. Cummings, Vice-Chairman - Route 1 - Dublin
Mrs. Winnie Johnson, Secretary - 260 Forrest Avenue - Macon
Mrs. Louise R. Lockett, Asst. Secretary - 1514 5th Avenue - Macon

YOUTH PERMANENT AND TEMPORATY CHAIRMAN

I Benjamin Van Clark - 416 West Park Avenue - Savannah
II Willie Lewis Stanley - 403 Gordon Road - Tifton
III
IV Grace Hill - 104 Reeved Street - LaGrange
V Levi Gray - 745 Hightower Road - Atlanta
VI Mary Munford - Route 1, Riverside Drive - Macon
VII Barbara Jones - 636 Pine Street - Marietta
VIII Donnie Boone - c/o John H. Black, 1302 Burgess Ave. - Nashville
IX
X Bettye Williams - 1443 Dewitts Street - Augusta

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

A SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAM - 2ND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CLINIC

I. District Officers (Adult and Youth) - Duties

A. Keep in contact with counties represented at Clinic
1. Influence them to organize coordinated programs
2. Give necessary information and assistance
3. Ask counties to pay travel expense when visits are necessary

B. Make monthly reports on registration activities of counties
1. Names and addresses of county chairmen
2. Names of county-wide co-ordinated committees for voter-registration
3. Summary of activities and results

C. Contact counties not represented at the ~~Athens~~ THOMASVILLE Clinic - Same as Above

II. County Leaders - Duties

A. Organize or perfect organizations, where already established, of co-ordinated programs, by following plan made for the county at the Clinic.
1. Call together representatives of those organizations, churches, clubs, etc. listed, as well as others that might be interested. (This is essential for a good organization. Look up addresses and send letters to presidents, pastors, or chairmen of each. We will get out letters for you upon request.)
2. Follow, as nearly as possible, the 7 steps in the Clinic Manual
3. Develop the program along lines shown in the Clinic Manual

B. Immediately, prepare a budget, indicating estimated itemized cost of program, how much you can raise and how much more will be needed. Send copy to us.

C. Help youth to organize and co-operate with the program on registration

III. Names and addresses of District and County Chairmen (Permanent & Temporary)

A. District Youth Officers
1. Mr. Willie Lewis Stanley - 403 Gordon Road - Tifton - Chairman
2. Mr. Kenneth Roberts - Route 1 Box 207, Damascus - Vice Chairman
3. Miss Chestina Mitchell - 313 Persimmon - Thomasville - Secretary
4. Mr. Truby Clayton - 814 Henen St. - Bainbridge - Assist. Secretary
5. Miss Helen Jackson - 415 Perry St. - Bainbridge - Reporter
6. Mr. Roosevelt Allen - Route 1 Box 77E - Boston - Chaplain

B. District Adult Officers
1. Mr. Washington Virgil - 1301 South Street - Thomasville - Chairman
2. Mr. O. J. Strong, 201 5th Ave., NW - Moultrie - Vice Chairman
3. Mrs. Majorie Davis - 216 Fearm St. - Thomasville - Secretary
4. Mrs. Viola Mosely - Route 5 - Blakeley - Assistant Secretary
5. Mr. J. H. Roberson - 506 1st. Ave, NW - Moultrie - Treasurer
6. Mrs. Marie H. Dixon - 1307 Planter St.- Bainbridge -Youth Advisor

C. Thomas County (Persons Attending Clinic)- Officers
1. Mr. Washington Virgil, Chairman - 1301 South St. - Thomasville
2. Mrs. M. A. Davis - 216 Fearm St. - Thomasville
3. Mr. Roosevelt Allen - Route 1 Box 77E - Boston
4. Miss Chestina Mitchell - 313 Persimmon St. - Thomasville
5. Mr. Leo Wilson - Route 1 Box 366 - Thomasville

6. Mr. Frank Martin - 218 Walcott - Thomasville
7. Mr. Joseph Smith - 716 Lester St. - Thomasville
8. Mrs. Cynthia Rivers - 115 Hampton St. - Thomasville
9. Mr. Lamar Thomas - 1011 Magnolia St. - Thomasville
10. Rev. A. M. Threatt - 719 No. Broad Ave. - Thomasville
11. Mr. Washington R. Virgil - 1301 South St. - Thomasville
12. Mr. I. L. Mullins - 606 North Madison - Thomasville
13. Rev. V. A. Hammonds - 801 Fletcher St. - Thomasville
14. Mr. Joe Watkins - 701 Fletcher St - Thomasville
15. Rev. L. A. Royland - 1001 No. Madison - Thomasville
16. Mr. Grant Revels - 821 Magnolia - Thomasville

D. Early County - Persons attending Clinic

1. Mrs. Viola Mosely - Route 5 - Blakeley
2. Mr. C. C. Mosely - Route 5 - Blakeley
3. Mr. Lemuel Jackson - Route 1 Box #H.W.Y. East 200- Damascus
4. Mr. Walter Bush - Route 1 Box 202 - Damascus
5. Miss Bettye Everette - Route 5 - Blakeley
6. Miss Juanita McDaniel - Route 5 - Blakeley
7. Miss Marian Everette - General Delivery - Blakeley
8. Miss Aldenia Thompson - Route 1 Box 51 - Damascus
9. Mr. David Roberts - Route 1 Box 98 - Damascus
10. Mr. Kenneth Roberts - Route 1 Box 207 - Damascus

E. Decatur County - Persons Attending Clinic

1. Mrs. Marie H. Dixon - 1307 Planter St. - Bainbridge
2. Mr. H. S. Dixon - 1307 Planter St. - Bainbridge
3. Miss Helen Jackson - 415 Perry St. - Bainbridge
4. Mr. Truby Clayton - 814 Henen St. - Bainbridge
5. Miss Freda Poteat - 1307 Planter St. - Bainbridge

F. Tift County - Persons Attending Clinic

1. Rev. L. Rockwell - 2710 South Ridge Ave. - Tifton
2. Mr. Willie Lewis Stanley - 403 Gordon Road - Tifton
3. Mr. Anthony Rockwell - 2710 South Ridge Ave. - Tifton
4. Mr. Walter Dykes - 1509 South Central - Tifton
5. Mr. Cauanaugh Pertilla - P. O. Box 280 - Tifton
6. Mr. Jeremiah White - Deese Homes Apt. 4 - Tifton

G. Colquitt County - Persons Attending Clinic

1. Mr. John H. Roberson - 506 First Ave., NW - Moultrie
2. Mr. Oliver J. Strong - 201 Fifth Ave., NW - Moultrie

Edward S. Hollander
CORE Field Secretary

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch St. - P.O. Box 2896
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February 26, 1964

REPORT ON CANTON, MADISON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

Canton is the county seat of Madison County, located about 20 miles north of Jackson in west central Mississippi. The county population is 32,904, of which 9,262 are white and 23,637 are Negro (72%). Canton is the county's largest town, with a population of 9,707, of which 6,220 are Negro.

Madison County, by anyone's standards, is poor.

FAMILY INCOME (1960)

	Madison Co.	Canton	Rural Madison Co.
All Families	6,719	2,239	4,480
Under $1,000	2,242	457	1,785
$1,000-1,999	1,296	436	860
$2,000-2,999	782	314	468
$3,000-3,999	607	273	334
$4,000-4,999	441	147	294
$5,000-5,999	365	137	228
$6,000-6,999	303	149	154
$7,000-7,999	226	114	112
$8,000-8,999	115	33	82
$9,000-9,999	90	50	40
$10,000 and over	252	129	123
Median income	$1,862	$2,721	$1,529

It can be seen above that more than one-third of all families in Madison County have incomes below $1,000 a year.

1961 INFANT MORTALITY RATE (per 1,000 births)

	Total	White	Non-white
Madison County	42.4	29.9	43.4
Mississippi	37.8	23.5	50.0
United States	25.3	22.4	40.7

The following statistics on housing conditions give an idea of the situation, but they cannot describe the actual conditions under which many of the poor live.

	Canton	Madison County
All housing units	2,717	7,945
Deteriorating	644	2,262
with all plumbing	225	443
lacking only hot water	65	104
lacking other plumbing	354	1,715
Dilapidated	611	3,172

Housing Conditions, continued	Canton	Madison County
Water Supply		
hot and cold water (piped inside)	1,606	3,172
only cold water (piped inside)	942	1,142
no piped water	18	3,175
Toilet Facilities		
flush toilet, exclusive use	109	3,176
flush toilet, shared	393	420
other facilities, or none	219	3,809
Other plumbing		
bathtub, shower--exclusive	1,704	3,306
bathtub or shower, shared	44	64
no bathtub or shower	969	4,573

Civil rights staff workers have been in Canton since June, 1963. Those currently there are:

James Collier, SNCC field worker, Negro, 28, from Jackson, Mississippi
Alma Bosley, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 21, from Plaquemine, La.
C. O. Chinn, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 42, from Canton, Mississippi
Theodis Hewitt, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 25, from Canton, Miss.
Joe Lee Watts, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 20, from Canton, Miss.
Richard Jewett, CORE Task Force worker, white, 30, from New York City
Carole Merritt, SNCC field worker, Negro, 23, from Cincinnati, Ohio
Claude Weaver, SNCC field worker, Negro 20, from Atlanta, Georgia
Lenora Thurmond, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 20, from Lexington, Miss.
Andrew Lee Green, SNCC field worker, Negro, 29, from Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mattheo Suarez, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 26, from New Orleans, La.
George Raymond, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 21, from New Orleans, La.

Temporarily in Canton:
Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE Field Secretary, Negro, 32, from High Point, N.C.
Jerome Smith, CORE Field Secretary, Negro, 24, from New Orleans, La.

David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary (Negro, 23, Jackson, Miss.) is in overall charge of Canton. He is also the Assistant Program Director for the Council of Federated Organizations.

All the staff permanently in Canton work for subsistence and a "salary" of about $10 a week. The staff works under the direction of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). COFO is a confederation of civil rights organizations in Mississippi; it includes CORE, SNCC, NAACP, SCLC and some local groups. Nearly all civil rights work done in Mississippi is done under the COFO banner, though under its organization the separate groups do not lose their identity. Projects are, for the most part, jointly staffed, planned and financed.

The main aims of the staff in Canton are to get Negroes to register to vote and to establish a community center to provide various services

such as a library (there are no library facilities for Negroes in the County except for those in the Negro schools), a reading hour for small children, typing and reading classes, etc. The community center has not been established because a suitable building cannot be found. There is a center in Meridian which is functioning well. Currently the staff is also working on a selective buying campaign which is in its eighth week.

In the early 1950's a group of about 300 Negroes marched to the courthouse in Canton and demanded to be registered. A few (believed to be about 40) were successful. In the 13 years since then only 200-250 Negroes have been able to register. In the last eight months, since the staff has been in Canton, Negroes have made over 1,000 attempts to register. Only about 30 have been successful. Over 300 signed affidavits complaining of discrimination have been filed with the Justice Department in Washington.

On January 6, 1964, a selective buying campaign was started against 21 stores and 3 products (Mosby's Milk, Barq's Drinks and Hart's Bread, which are also being boycotted statewide). The staff in Canton estimates that the campaign is about 90% effective among Negroes. One local merchant has been so hard hit that in the third week of the boycott he attended a mass meeting of the Negro community and asked forgiveness and the return of their patronage.

Harassment, intimidation and violence are not new in Canton. On July 24, 1963, a local white gas station attendant, Price Lewis, shot five teenagers, who had been involved in civil rights activity, with a shotgun on Peace St. in Canton. Fortunately, none was injured seriously. Lewis was charged with the unlawful discharge of a firearm within city limits and fined $500. He is now free. During the Democratic primaries last August, whites rode around in the rural areas threatening the few registered Negroes that if they showed up at the polls they would be killed.

Since January, however, intimidation and violence have increased. Faced with both a selective buying campaign and increased voter registration activity, the white community has retaliated in a variety of ways.

The Freedom House in Canton (the building in which the staff lives) has been raided twice by police who searched it. George Raymond, CORE Task Force worker, was told by Constable Herbie Evans that every time the Justice Department comes to Canton it will cost the Negro community $5,000. In January, Raymond was pistol-whipped by Evans. After the beating, Raymond was charged withintimidating an officer and resisting arrest. He was never tried and is out on $70 bail.

Mass meetings are usually held twice a week in Canton. Police are always present taking license numbers, taking people's names and addresses, taking photographs of those who attend, stopping cars and asking for drivers' licenses, listening to the proceedings from outside with electronic listening devices, following people after they leave, etc.

Local Negroes are losing their jobs and being arrested for violations which would normally not be punished. Specific information is hard to get because in Most cases these incidents are not reported to the staff

because, taken individually, the events aren't seen as part of the general pattern.

On January 21 the Board of Mayor and Aldermen passed a city ordinance making it an offense to distribute leaflets, handbills, or circulars on city streets and sidewalks without permission from the Mayor and Chief of Police. The law specifies that a written request for permission accompanied by a copy of the leaflet must be submitted. It provides penalties of not less than $10 nor more than $100 and jail terms of up to 30 days. To enforce this law and deal with civil rights workers in other ways both the city and county increased thie police forces the week the law was passed.

On January 22 George Washington, a local Negro grocery store owner and property holder, was arrested for "burning trash without a permit" on the sidewalk in front of his store as he had done for a number of years. Washington is in his middle fifties and has lived in Canton since 1935. He was released from jail on $250 bail and on Monday, February 3, was fined $100 (which he paid) and given a 30-day jail sentence suspended pending "good behavior." Also on February 3, his store was shot into by a passing car during the evening, when it was closed. Washington had two gasoline pumps in front of his store, but they were taken out on January 29 by the Pan Am Company (reported to be an affiliate of Amoco). Also, all meat deliveries to his store were cut off that week. He is now getting meat secretly.

On January 23-24 nearly all the staff (all but 3 at the time) and some local people were arrested. Except for C.O. Chinn and Theodis Hewitt, all were arrested for distributing leaflets without a permit. Except for the juveniles, this charge was dropped and others added while they were in jail.

Those arrested:

Pete Hewitt, 17) Milton Esco, 17) Levi Jackson, 15)	Released after 2 days without bail because they are juveniles. Juvenile court hearing February 5. Released on good behavior and told that if they took part in civil rights activity they would be sent to the Oakland Training School.
Bobbi Robinson, 15	Charges against her were dropped because she and her parents signed a statement for the sheriff that Carole Merritt gave her leaflets to distribute, which provided the basis for the contributing to the delinquency of a minor charge against Carole.

The following defendants were tried Monday, February 3, in Canton city court (Mayor's Court) and found guilty by Justice of the Peace L. S. Matthews (who is also Mayor).

James Collier	Altering the inside of a building without a permit. Sentenced: $100 and 15 days in city jail. Released Feb. 22 on $500 appeal bond supplied by the National Council of Churches.

C. O. Chinn Theodis Hewitt	Intimidating Easter Branch; $500 and six months in county prison for both of them. Chinn released about Feb. 6 on $500 appeal bond privately raised. Hewitt released Feb. 21, $500 appeal bond raised by the National Council of Churches.
Carole Merritt	Contributing to the delinquency of a minor and publishing libel, for each count $500 and 6 months. Released February 21 on $1000 appeal bond raised by the National Council of Churches.
Joe Lee Watts, 20	Interfering with a business and publishing libel; Each count $500 and 6 months; released February 10 on $1,000 appeal bond, privately raised.
Richard Jewett) Patricia Meyers, 18) Martha Jones, 21) William Veal, 18) Sylvester Lee) Palmer, 20)	Publishing libel and disturbing the peace; for each count $500 and 6 months. Patricia Meyers released on $1,000 appeal bond, privately raised, about Feb. 5. The other 4 released on $1,000 appeal bond each, on Feb. 21, raised by the NCC.
Alma Bosley	Contributing to the delinquency of a minor, publishing libel, disturbing the peace; $500 and six months on each count; released Feb. 21 on $1500 appeal bond raised by the NCC.

With the exception of Collier, who was in the city jail because he had violated a city ordinance, all the others were in the Madison County jail. During their stay, some were moved to the Jackson jail for six days for an unknown reason.

On Monday, January 27, George Raymond was told to get out of town by plainclothes policeman John Chance. He did not leave. On Wednesday, January 29, about 11:30 p.m., Raymond was driving from Canton to Jackson following a community meeting in the Pleasant Green Church. He was stopped by the state highway patrol on Highway 51 just outside Canton. He was taken behind the patrol car and found Constable Herbie Evans waiting there. Evans challenged Raymond to a fist fight and removed his badge, gun and watch and verbally taunted him to fight. When Raymond remained passive, Evans kicked him several times, knocking him against the back of the patrol car. Evans then let him go. The passengers in Raymond's car could not see the incident; the only possible witness was a highway patrolman who turned his back during the incident.

On February 3, 1964, two local Negro teenagers were beaten by police, some in uniform, some not, after they left a voter registration meeting on Monday, Feb. 3. The police stopped them in front of their truck outside the church, asked for identification, searched them, drew a gun and told them they were under arrest. Willie Galloway, Jr. was taken behind the jail and hit in the head and stomach by officers and Constable Herbie Evans. They asked him a number of questions about his (Galloway's) father and mentioned that they knew that his father had tried to register recently. The beating, with their fists, was mixed with the questioning.

They told Galloway that it would not be good for him if they saw him at any more meetings. They told him to tell his father, a carpenter, that if he went to work the next day, the men on whose property he was working would have an undertaker carry him off the property. They told him not to tell anyone what happened and that if he did, he had better catch the next train for St. Louis. The other young man, Arthur Harris, was taken inside the police station and questioned about what went on at the meetings, what various speakers said. Combined with the questioning they hit him on the head with a rubber siphon hose, broke a nightstick over his head, cut some hair off the top of his head with a razor, fired a bullet near his feet and held a pistol loaded with blanks up to his head and then fired a blank close to his body (he has powder burns on his coat). They told him not to tell anyone what happened or they would put a weight around his neck and drop him in the river. They also told him that if he came into Canton (he lives in the rural area), he had better be home by 9 o'clock. They were not actually arrested, apparently.

On February 7, Claude Weaver and Ed Hollander were arrested for allegedly "intimidating by threats of force and violence" a woman named Charlean Smith and her child. The threats were supposed to have been to keep her from accepting a job at the C & C Store #2, one of the stores on the selective patronage list. Neither Weaver nor Hollander had ever met or heard of Charlean Smith prior to their arrest. They were found guilty on February 10 and sentenced to $500 and six months. Both were released February 21 on $500 appeal bond each, raised by the National Council of Churches. They had been in the Madison County jail.

On February 15, Henry Lee Chinn, 21 (son of CORE Task Force worker, C.O. Chinn) was arrested for speeding and not having his driver's license with him. Plainclothes policeman John Chance and another policeman questioned him about civil rights activity, the whereabouts of his father and beat him on and off for over half an hour. They hit him in the face, head and stomach with open hands, fists and a nightstick. He was confined in a cell briefly afterwards, then released.

On February 23, Richard Jewett was arrested, just two days after he had gotten out of jail, on a charge of reckless driving. He was released later that day after paying a $36 fine.

In January state senator Ed Henry and representative P. L. Hughes, both from Madison County, introduced bills to make it illegal to promote selective buying campaigns (boycotts are already illegal) by the use of leaflets and other means. One of the bills has passed the state senate.

On February 25, the state legislature passed and the governor signed a bill providing for "mutual assistance pacts." The bill provides for cities to loan each other police and equipment to deal with any problems. Though the plan had been in the hopper, it seems to have been rushed through with Canton in mind. Madison County Sheriff Jack S. Cauthen has told newsmen that every city, large and small, is standing by to help Canton.

No one knows what will happen in Canton on Friday, February 28, Freedom Day. Negroes are going to attempt to walk to the courthouse, stand in line and register. Norman Thomas and about 15 ministers from various denominations, under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, will be present as observers. These ministers will be from such places as New York, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Hays and Wichita, Kansas; Chicago, Chapel Hill, N.C. and Westfield, N.J.

Local officials likely to be involved: Sheriff--Jack S. Cauthen, Police Chief--Dan C. Thompson, Assistant Chief--W. R. Cook, Registrar--Foote Campbell, Mayor--L. S. Matthews, Deputy Sheriff--Billy Noble (former sheriff and very powerful), City Attorney, Robert Goza.

WB

March 9, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: John Due

Re: FIELD TRIP TO ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA, MARCH 4, 1964

I accompanied Randolph Blackwell to Orangeburg to attend a statewide meeting of our contacts from all the congressional districts of South Carolina. My purpose on this field trip was to observe the function of a field representative, to learn the role of VEP and its manner of operation and to assist Mr. Blackwell.

Upon arriving at the Trinity Methodist Church where the meeting was held, it was obvious to me that prior planning had gone into the preparation of the meeting. We arrived when the contacts or representatives were taking a coffee break with doughnuts prepared by the wives and women of the group in Orangeburg. Our contacts therefore, were able to independently begin the meeting in a structured manner without our presence. In my opinion, this was good because this shows that our contacts are developing a statewide community sense which is necessary if VEP is to have a permanent effect in South Carolina.

All of us then went to the meeting room after the coffee break and sat around a table - I, deliberately refraining from sitting next to Blackwell, but on the other side of the table. Dr. C. H. Thomas sat directly across from Blackwell. The seating arrangement was NOT an accident nor totally deliberate, but more or less spontaneous resulting from values implicit in the group sitting. Neither RTB or the South Carolina people desired VEP to be standing and looking down upon them from a position of authority and power. Rather, the South Carolina contacts invited us to sit as equals with mutual interests. Nevertheless, VEP's separate identity was retained wherein Dr. Thomas sat opposite to Blackwell, showing that Dr. Thomas was representing South Carolina as a group, and Blackwell representing VEP as a group. This was necessary in order that it not be forgotten by anyone that VEP and South Carolina contacts do have special interests.

RTB, in his preliminary remarks, indicated the interests of VEP in South Carolina, which is to bring all communities TOGETHER, to give them information of what other national organizations are doing in South Carolina; that VEP requests that each congressional district

plan a voter's project and a budget, and give the budget to Dr. Thomas. RTB then stated that South Carolina is moving ahead of the other southern states in forming a permanent structure.

Some of the districts are well organized from a county base whereas others are not, as evident from the latter not having their budgets already prepared. District 6 was not represented, (Dr. Beck, the leader or contact was not present), but RTB already had prior information that their budget is $6,000.

Mr. Fleming, our contact in District 1, was also not present, but there was a Rev. McCollum present at the meeting through whom RTB could make requests. The other representatives were present, but without prepared budgets. Only Dr. Thomas and Mr. McPherson of Orangeburg could present detailed programs for voter registration, planning from the county level, precinct committees, area captains for rural areas, block captains, and street captains - all complete with names and addresses of persons filling all of these capacities. (See RTB report and files).

It was apparent that the South Carolina contacts were not able at that time to give a complete history of Negro registration and the problems of present resistance to us. It seems that no one anticipates actual resistance to Negro registration except in Fairfield County and the mill towns of Cherokee County and Lancaster County, but the problem there may actually be due to ignorance and the attitude of subjection rather than a clear and present danger of overt violence. It appears that the last case of overt violence to Negro registration was in 1947 due to the Klu Klux Klan in Kershaw County. It was therefore determined that we of VEP send each contact in each congressional district a questionaire, that each contact have a mass meeting in their respective congressional districts this coming Sunday, March 8, 1964, at which time the questionnaires should be completed.

It is evident from this meeting for the statewide project there will be "strong districts" and "weak districts," that within the district there will be "strong counties" and "weak counties," and that there will be "strong Negro leadership on a district basis but that in the same district, there will be a strong Negro leader from the same county as the other Negro leader of the district, but there will be no cooperative effort or mutual effort. Nevertheless RTB tells me that splits and bickering in Negro leadership is much less in South Carolina than in other states. If this is to remain the case in South Carolina, it is necessary that VEP quickly involve itself in South Carolina as a force of centralization of authority in order to encourage mutual effort on a cooperative basis.

John Due

JD:js

From Friday Evening, February 28 (Freedom Day)
Thru Sunday, March 8, 1964
Field Report

March 9, 1964
Edward S. Hollander
CORE Field Secretary
Box 2986
Jackson, Mississippi

CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

On the evening of Freedom Day (Friday, February 28) Milton Esco, 17, of Canton, was arrested outside the Freedom House at 7:15 PM. By being around the Freedom House he had, apparently, violated a juvenile court order directing him not to be involved in civil rights activities. Esco had been arrested on January 23 for violating an ordinance hastily passed by the city on January 21 requiring a permit to distribute leaflets. Unlike his first arrest when he was not held in jail, this time he was kept in the county jail all week until his juvenile court hearing on Friday, March 6. The staff in Canton thinks he is out but no one has gotten the details of what happened at the hearing. Also, no one has yet verified reports that he was roughed up in jail the night he was arrested.

On the evening of Freedom Day there was a mass meeting of over 200 at Asbury Methodist Church on Cameron Street.

On Saturday, February 29, about 50 people stood in line at the courthouse to register; only two were admitted to take the test. On Saturdays the courthouse closes at noon. During the afternoon a police car cruised through the Negro areas (don't know about the white areas) announcing over a loudspeaker that Canton Mayor L. Stanley Matthews had called a 10 PM curfew for all citizens and that anyone on the streets after that time would be picked up for questioning. During the week leading up to Freedom Day the state legislature passed a bill, among others that seemed related to the Canton situation, authorizing municipalities to restrict the movement of any and all citizens to protect the public safety. It is not known whether the Mayor was acting under the new statute. The curfew has continued through the present (Sunday, March 8, this being written March 9). On Friday, March 6, George Raymond, CORE Task Force worker, called the police station and was told that the curfew was on indefinitely. In its first nine days there are no known arrests for violations.

On Sunday, March 1, between 7:30 and 8:00 PM a young man phoned the Freedom House and said in a slow, almost sing-song voice, "in about an hour we're going to throw a bomb up there." Lenora Thurmond, CORE Task Force worker, who took the call acknowledged the message with something like "Oh yeah" and the caller hung up.

On Monday, March 2, the students at Rogers Junior-Senior High School staged a boycott. Monday's attendance figures for Canton Negro schools, as given by D. M. Allen, Superintendent of Canton Public Schools, were: 2,625 absent and 915 present. At the Rogers school 1,396 were absent and 316 present, these figures obtained by James Anderson, a student there, who called the school. The students, who organized the boycott almost completely by themselves, gave 13 reasons for it.

1. Books in poor repair and not enough of them
2. Not enough chemicals and equipment for the chemistry laboratory
3. Typewriters in poor condition and not enough of them
4. Home economics laboratory poorly equipped
5. No physical education for high school students

6. No foreign languages taught
7. Insufficient first aid equipment
8. Insufficient library
9. Inadequate shop facilities
10. Overcrowded and broken buses
11. Overcrowded classes
12. Building in poor repair
13. No lockers for students

During the boycott about 115 students participated in a Freedom School held at the Pleasant Green Holiness Church. In the morning they discussed nonviolence, what was wrong with their school and why they were participating in the boycott. After lunch they organized themselves, set up committees and discussed plans for the future. Nothing has come of their request to meet with a representative of the Board of Education on Friday, March 6.

On Tuesday, March 3, all the students who were absent were given letters to take home to their parents, addressed to "Negro School Patrons of the Canton Schools," it was signed by parents to explain why their children were absent on Monday. Students unable to provide excused absences would receive zeroes for their work, the letter admonished.

On Monday, March 2, Sheriff Jack S. Cauthen stopped James Collier, SNCC field worker, two white ministers and two other field workers from canvassing in the sawmill quarters. With the Sheriff were about a dozen other men, mostly in pickup trucks, one of whom claimed to be the owner of the land who said he wouldn't let the canvassers on his property. Sheriff Cauthen also told Collier that he "had heard all about" him and that up to now he had been protecting him but now that Collier was playing with dynamite (apparently canvassing with white ministers in Negro areas) he would have to leave town. Cauthen told Collier that something would have happened to him long ago were it not for the protection he had received.

Tuesday about 10 AM the Sheriff stopped Collier as he was going up the steps to the courthouse grounds, leading some people to register. Cauthen told Collier that apparently he hadn't gotten the message the previous day but that he had really meant it. He gave Collier 30 seconds to get off the steps and told him not to come back again. Later in the day Collier talked with city attorney Robert Goza about the possible lifting of the curfew. After that Cauthen told Collier that if it were lifted, he'd see that it was put back on, adding something to the effect that he thought Collier might try something like that.

On Tuesday evening about 7:30 PM Collier was stopped by about 6 white men in two pickup trucks (one red, one blue and white) while he was walking on Hickory Street with Joe Lee Watts, Marcellus Byrd and Henry Lee Chinn. They told him that there were people in the community who would rather kill him that Medgar Evers.

On Tuesday a Negro teacher, Tom Summers was arrested for driving with a revoked license (which is true). He paid his fine and was released on Wednesday.

On Tuesday night there was a mass meeting in the Pleasant Green Church of about 80 people.

At about noon on Monday, March 2, George Raymond was arrested for driving a faulty car (bad brakes). Raymond says that the owner of the car is a mechanic and that he says there was nothing wrong with the brakes. He was released from the city jail on Tuesday, about 12:30 PM after paying a $16 fine and $2 jail costs. In the jail Sheriff Jack Cauthen told Raymond to shave his beard off or he would do it for him. George did it himself.

On Tuesday, March 3, about noon the owner of the car and Matt Suarez, CORE Task Force worker, went to pick up the car which was in the custody of Campbell's Wrecker Service. They went first to his house where the car was parked, but Campbell (Charles E.) was having lunch and told them to go to his place of business. They went there about 1:30 and paid $30. They went back to Campbell's house, got the car keys from his wife and got into the car which was still outside his house. They discovered that the brakes had been removed and that a hole had been punched in the muffler. They had driven about two blocks when stopped by police and given a ticket for improper brakes. Suarez explained that they had turned the motor off before the police had come close enough to have heard the faulty muffler.

On Monday night there was a mass meeting of about 140 people at the Pleasant Green Church.

On Wednesday morning, March 4, at least several hundred students were turned away from Rogers High School because they didn't have their absence excuse slips for Monday. It is also reported that on Wednesday morning James Jones, Jr., principal of Rogers, made a complaint to police as a result of a discussion he had with Scott Smith (identified below).

About 10:30 Wednesday morning nearly the entire city and county police forces raided the Freedom House. Most waited outside while Sheriff Cauthen, Deputy Billy Noble and five or six Canton police came inside. Asked for a warrant, the police said they didn't need one as they walked into the building. They sent the local adults and children who were there at the time home and arrested everyone else for "investigation," a total of 12.

James Collier, SNCC field worker, Negro, 28, from Jackson, Miss.
George Raymond, CORE Task Force, Negro, 21, from New Orleans
Matthew Suarez, CORE Task Force, Negro, 26, from New Orleans
C. O. Chinn, CORE Task Force, Negro, 42, from Canton
Joe Lee Watts, CORE Task Force, Negro, 20, from Canton
Theodis Hewitt, CORE Task Force, Negro, 25, from Canton
Richard Jewett, CORE Task Force, white, 30, from New York City
Andrew Lee Green, SNCC field worker, Negro, 29, from Hattiesburg, Miss.
Marcellus Byrd, Canton volunteer, Negro, c. 21
John Newman, white, 20, from Kalamazoo, Mich., with the National Conference of Methodist Youth Fellowship
Stanford Brown, volunteer from Chicago, Negro, 20 (back in Chi. now)
Scott B. Smith, Jr., volunteer from Chicago, Negro, 29
arrested 5 minutes after the others, at Plsnt. Green Church.

Lenora Thurmond was not at the Freedom House at the time. The rest of the staff were either in the rural areas or outside the county at the time of the arrests.

In the county jail everyone was questioned about whether they had been on school property that morning. They also received lectures on the error of their ways (that the students should be in school, that the higher the school's average daily attendance, the larger their budget, etc.). They were told that they could be charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor, aiding and abetting disorderly conduct, and disturbing the peace.

Also at about 10:30 AM Rev. Frank Gibson of Cincinnati was asked to come to the Sheriff's office for questioning which he did.

Between 4 and 5:30 PM all but wo were released. C. O. Chinn was held for disturbing the peace and carrying a concealed weapon and Scott Smith for disturbing the peace. They appeared before Justice of the Peace Milton H. Sandidge on Thursday, March 5. No staff attended and they haven't checked to find out just what happened at the trial. What they think is that Smith was sentenced to $500 and 6 months and that Chinn, for some reason, wasn't tried. Chinn's bond is reportedly $1,000, Smith's, $500, both required to be property or surety bond.

On Wednesday night, March 4, there was a mass meeting at the Pleasant Green Church of about 100 people.

Property was secured in Canton for Chinn's and Smith's bond. James Collier went to the sheriff's office on Friday, March 6, to get the two out. The deputy in the sheriff's office was filling out the papers when Billy Noble came in and asked Collier if he were a lawyer. When Collier said no, Noble told Collier to get out, that they wouldn't give him the time of day. George Raymond went down and was told that he would have to get a lawyer's seal on the papers. On Saturday George went again and this time Noble told him, "You have our registrar in Jackson, we have these niggers in jail. Come back Monday."

On Wednesday afternoon, March 4, three boys were arrested in the town of Madison, Madison County. They are Floyd Bouldin, 19, trespassing and resisting arrest; Ernest Bouldin, 16, trespassing and resisting arrest; and Arthur Lee Bouldin, 18, trespassing, resisting arrest and carrying a concealed weapon. The story which came to us third hand is this. The three, plus a brother Samuel (who was driving) and a sister Benny Lou, were driving in Madison. They pulled out onto a street behind a highway patrol car and in front of the car of Constable Bruno Holley. All three cars happened to stop at a store a little way down the road. Constable Holley gave the Bouldins a hard time, claiming they had pulled out too close in front of him. The highway patrolmen left without saying anything, indicating that they hadn't done anything wrong. The Bouldins and Holley then went to their respective homes, but the Bouldins decided to go to Holley's house and apologize to him (one of them had mowed his lawn and knew him to some degree). When Holley saw them walking toward his house he must have thought he was being attacked for he came out of his house and fired a pistol to the side of them. He had another man hold a rifle on them while he handcuffed the three brothers. Benny Lou and maybe Samuel watched this from their car. The three were taken to the county jail in Canton. Their father was at the sheriff's office arranging to post bond when someone there said that he had been

seen on Freedom Day trying to register and they wouldn't let his sons out. The brothers were tried on Friday but no one knows the results yet.

On Thursday, March 5, the US Justice Department filed a suit in US District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi charging Madison County registrar L. F. Campbell with discrimination and asking the Court to issue a preliminary injunction against him and the State of Mississippi, named as a codefendant in the suit. A closed hearing was held Saturday, March 7, in Judge Harold Cox's office. He has asked for briefs to be submitted by Tuesday, March 10. His decision is expected Wednesday.

On Friday night, March 6, about 9 PM Andrew Lee Green was arrested in Sharon, Madison County. He was arrested while sitting in the Pleasant Green Church by Billy Noble at the request of Forrest County (Hattiesburg) Sheriff. The charges against him were speeding, driving without a license (which is true) and an unpaid traffic ticket. He was taken to Hattiesburg on Saturday morning and was being held for $40 or 40 days. The staff in Canton sent money to get him out but they don't know if he is out.

There are not very accurate records of the people going to the courthouse. The staff is trying to improve on this. The best available for last week are:

	Went to Courthouse	Took Test
Monday, March 2	15	5
Tuesday, March 3	12	9
Wednesday, March 4	5	3
Thursday, March 5	11	10
Friday, March 6	12	8
Saturday, March 7	unknown as the staff was in Jackson, hoping to be present (with some Madison Co. locals) at the hearing of the Justice Department's suit	

During the week the following incidents were reported to the staff; none has been really checked on.

1. Lank Williams (40, a truck driver) and his family live and work on a plantation owned by Joe Smith and Billy Leadbelly, northeast of Sharon in Madison County. He has lived in Madison County all his life. On February 27 Smith told all his employees that anyone who went to try to register on Friday (Freedom Day) would be fired and would have to leave their homes on the plantation. Lank Williams' two sons had already decided they would go and they did. On the afternoon of the 28th Leadbelly told Lank that he had seen his sons at the courthouse and that they (the sons) would have to get off the place. They did immediately and a week later Lank and his wife (no information about any other members of the family) moved off to keep the family together.

2. Lilly Mae Murphy worked in a clothing store in "downtown" Canton. Her boss told her that if she tried to register she would be fired. She tried to register on Freedom Day and was fired.

3. It is reported that on Friday, February 28, the "boss" of the county maintenance department order space cleared in the large truck shed, saying it was for demonstrators if the jails didn't have enough room. He told his employees that if they tried to register they would be fired. Apparently addressing his employees, he told all of them who were "with me" to come over to the side of the shed where he was standing. It is reported that less than half of the 50-75 employees went over, but as far as is known none tried to register.

The staff has heard that the gasoline pumps of a man named Otto Williams have been taken out, but there are no details at all on this.

Miscellaneous notes:

The front springs on Dave Dennis' car were apparently stolen in Canton. They were discovered missing after the car returned from several days there.

The Madison County Movement (Negro) put out the first issue of a mimeographed newsletter, the Madison County Citizen on Sunday, March 8.

The ministers left on Saturday, February 29, but another group came on Monday, March 2. All of them had left by Thursday morning, March 5.

D

WB
RTB

March 9, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: John Due

Re: FIELD TRIP TO MACON, GEORGIA, MARCH 6, 1964

Dr. Intended
VG.

I accompanied Barbara Whitaker to attend a NAACP meeting of the 5th Region (South-East Conference) which included the states of VEP interest, except Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana. My purpose was to observe a function of a social researcher in VEP, and to assist Mrs. Whitaker.

Upon arrival, we found directions to the First Baptist Church where the convention was held, at the corner of Forsyth and Bell Streets. The church is located in the midst of a Negro business neighborhood, including a couple of shops obviously owned and managed by whites, but serving Negroes as a purpose of business. In the same area, there was a white barber shop apparently serving whites only as I saw no evidence of any Negroes waiting there to get a haircut.

We entered the basement of the church to get registered ($3.50), and saw Mr. Patton who informed us that his workshop in voter registration was to begin in two hours. I saw Mr. Robert Saunders, NAACP Field Secretary in Florida, who I know personally. After an exchange of greetings, he asked whether my wife (Patricia Due-voter registration worker in Leon and Gaston counties), was there at the convention. I said no, informing him that I was with VEP now. He spoke of his effort in Florida in voter registration and the need of statewide coordination, to which I agreed. He then told me to get in touch with Patricia and have her to write and call him because he would like to put her on his payroll. I probably registered surprise (she being on his payroll is not necessary for statewide coordination), but I said I would and asked and did receive his card. I then was going to introduce him to Barbara Whitaker, but he was called by a woman I later found to be Mrs. Rubh Hurley. Barbara and I then eventually went to lunch.

Upon our return to the church, we spoke again with Mr. Patton and the city of Tallahassee was brought up. He said something about his not knowing whether he is going to Tallahassee or not (March 4, when he was in the VEP office, I invited him to come to Tallahassee from a motive of just being a Floridian supported by a vague notion that he might be able to help the campaign there - but he said at that time he wouldn't invest time and money in Tallahassee unless Dr. Hudson reported what he is doing down there.) At the church, I asked whether

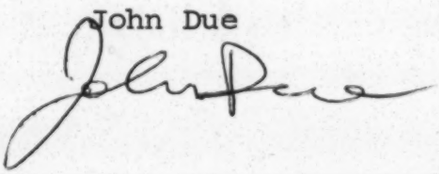
they had reported to him and he said yes, that the NAACP or Dr. Hudson's group have already begun. Barbara asked him whether they were cooperating with the other group down there (CORE) and Mr. Patton said no, that they told him that they were not going to work with "children." Barbara then surprised Mr. Patton by telling him Patricia is my wife. Barbara suggested that he wait until VEP studies Tallahassee before he makes a decision which did not seem to be taken seriously. There is a possibility that in Leon County, there will be two separate campaigns: VEP and NAACP.

The workshop began about an hour late, and was presided over by Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the Memphis NAACP, rather than a Mrs. Mercedes Wright as indicated in the program. She indicated the program was to be composed of segments, one involving statements by speakers, the other segment to be dealing with a demonstration. She discussed the need of education, along with actual registration, as to issues, persons involved as candidates, structure of political power in thecommunity, and the potential Negro vote. Some speakers, including Jesse Turner of the Memphis branch, NAACP and Charles McClain, North Carolina NAACP field secretary, discussed the techniques of registration and developed the concept of parallel committees to find qualified Negro candidates to run for office. Problems which this may cause in a Negro community were then discussed. For example, if one portion of the community supports a Negro, the other part of the community may become angry and sit on their hands.

Miss Helen Hayes, assistant to Mr. Patton, was in charge of the Demonstration segment. She pointed up the steps which are necessary to registration, beginning with 1) the first house meetings wherein at least a president, treasurer, and a secretary should be elected, then 2) organization, one central place or office, with a phone, and the several committees, including at least a car pool or transportation committee, publicity committee, canvassing committee, financial committee, and a telephone committee. The third step is organizing is citizenship Sundays between 3 and 5 at all the churches in the community, with local dynamic speakers, with furnished canned speeches or sermons, if necessary. The fourth step is to map the area to be canvassed and to darken the areas which are Negro. The fifth step is to get precinct committees, area captains, block workers and street workers, give them their assignments, and get to work with questionnaires and that at each residence, the names of the residents, the names of those of voting age, whether or not such a person is registered, and if not when such person is available to be registered. Of the Publicity Committee, it was said that anhonor roll should be placed in each church with the names of the members who are eligible to register with a gold star for the ones registered. Of the Transportation Committee, it was discussed the importance of having a central place or central phone and the unique idea used in Atlanta of the use of church busses which had routes and bus stops and time schedules.

Miss Hayes then divided all those in the church into canvassing groups and a publicity group. Barbara Whitaker participated in a canvassing group, and I participated in a publicity group. At this point, the program broke down. Miss Hayes failed to instruct anyone about Georgia law with the result, one canvasser telling one person one is too young to register if one is not 21 years old. Also, there was a failure to instruct a canvasser or a worker on the approach and manner one should have, such as introducing oneself. After about two hours of work, everyone returned to church and the group leaders made their reports, and at 6 p. m., the workshop was over, and Barbara and I returned to Atlanta.

John Due



JD:js

1017 Lynch Street
Jackson,Mississippi
March 10,1964

ATTENTION COFO STAFF

INPORTANT STAFF MEETING:

Dear Staff:

The entire COFO Staff has scheduled a meeting at the Pearl Street A.M.E. chruch, on Friday,March 13th beginning at 6:P.M.The meeting will extend through the following Saturday March 14th.

Staff are to attempt in each community they work to have people to prepare food for the staff meeting.

Staff is also expected to attend the COFO meeting this Sunday at the Masonic Temple,March 15th beginning at 11:0'clock a.m.

We would like for each staff member to recuit as many people as possible to attend the COFO meeting on Sunday.Also emphasis the need for them to bring food and arganize the people in their community to prepare food to bring to the COFO Meeting.

We want each staff member to draw up a report of their project since January and send a copy of this report yo the Jackson office before the staff meeting. We want to make up a package to distribute to the people and the staff at the COFO meeting.

"ONE MAN.....ONE VOTE.....NOW"

MISSISSIPPI STAFF MEETING *****MARCH 13th and 14th

FIELD AND OFFICE PROJECTED AGENDA

1. Reports from project area

   a. Greenville----------Carol Bolton
   b. Greenwood----------Willie Peacock
   c. Clarksdale and Cleveland-------John Bradford
   d. 2nd district----------James Jones
   e. Hattiesburg and 5th district------Lawrence Guyot
   f. Columbus and 1st District---------Donald White
   g. Canton----------Dave Dennis and/or George Raymond
   h. Meridian.....----------Rita Schwnerer
   i. 4th District----------Matoe Swarez
   j. Natchez----------George Greene
   k. Vickburg----------Jesse Harris
   l. McComb----------MacArthur Cotton
   m. Rundown on terror in 3rd district by George orJesse or Mac

2. Field Reporting and Communication--------Charles Cobb

   a. Wats Line----------Emma Bell

3. Finance----------Emma Bell or Penny Patch

4. Transportation--------Irvanhoe Donaldson

5. Jackson Office---------Robert Moses or Charles Cobb

PROGRAM

1. Summer Project-----Mendy Samstein

   a. Freedom Schools------John O'neal
   b. Voter Registration----Robert Moses
   c. Community Centers-----Jess Morris

General discussion on what needs to be done to set up the aparatus on the field for the summer project.

   a. Housing for workers
   b. Building for freedom schools and community centers
   c. Preparing the local communities

2. Freedom Days------Robert Moses

3. Freedom Registration----Claude Weaver

4. Federal farm program------Jesse Morris

5. Challenging The Democratic Convention----Bob Moses

6. Political Candidates------Robert Moses

7. Citizenship Education..----Annell Ponder

8. Food and Welfare Relief----Annell Ponder

WORKSHOPS

1. The federal government, what it can do if it would.

2. The shift in policy of Mississippi's white power structure.

   a. White Citizens Council-------it's program
   b. State Sovereighty Commission
   c. Local police authority
   d. Recent bills passed by state legislature

annotated and changed for final Canton Report

Monday, March 10, 1964

Most of the staff went to Jackson to give their account of the mass arrest on Wednesday, Mrch 4. Matt Suarez drove there, and Theodies Hewatt, Marcellus Byrd, Joe Lee Watts, went with him.

Estimate 10 to 15 people went to the courthouse to register. The registrar started taking three at a time.

Had planned staff meeting in the morning, but we arose too late and the FBI appointment in Jackson cancelled the meeting.

Mr. Robert T. Moore, attorney of the Justice Department, came in the morning to discuss the proposed meeting of the Negro leaders in Canton with registrar Foote Campbell. Mr. Moore mentioned that Mr. Guy Rogers, assistant attorney general of the state of Mississippi, might be interested in meeting along with the others. Mr. Moore said Mr. Rogers is the most moderate member of the staff of the attorney general. Moore had spoken the previous day with George Raymond, Matt Suarez, Richard Jewett, and John Newman about the possibility of such a meeting. Evidently in the hearing in Judge Cox's office on Saturday Judge Cox had suggested such a get-together to try to work out arrangements for registering more people.
The proposed meeting would discuss voter registration problems and perhaps work out better ways to get Negroes registered. By Monday ~~when~~ Mr. Moore talked with us the participants were to include registrar Campbell, his attorney Herring, and the assistant state attorney general Rogers. On the Negro side several ministers and one or two community people active in the movement, totalling about four people, were to come. On Sunday there had been a discussion about the meeting place. ~~The Negroes wanted to meet on territory they knew.~~

(1)

Monday afternoon the Negro leaders met with Matt Suarez, Dave Dennis, ~~and~~ Richard Jewett, and George Raymond at Rev. McRee's house. After some discussion it was agreed that the Negro community had nothing to gain out of the meeting but much to lose. Registrar Campbell was on the spot and should be kept there. There should be no meeting until after the court order is issued, if even then. It was pointed out that such meetings in the past in Mississippi have led to bargains which have relieved the pressure and failed to result in an increase of Negro voters.

No appreciable work on registration by the staff was done that day.

Mr. Bouldin came in with Ernest and gave a more accurate account of the arrest of the brothers and of the trial on Saturday, March 8, 1964.

A mass meeting at Pleasant Green Church in Canton was attended by about 50 people.
Other mass meetings in the rural were

Tuesday, March 11, 1964

This was the first real day of massive attempt at getting registrants from the Canton A people themselves.

In the morning a workshop was held in the back of Rev. McRee's church, Asbury Methodist. Attemding were Maggie Smith, Sylvester Palmer, Theodies Hewitt, Joe Lee Watts, Richard Jewett, Marcellus Byrd, Landy McNair, and George Raymond. This workshop was a continuation of one started the afternoon before. The participants worked their way through the application form and some of the interpretation of the constitution. About half an hour was devoted to discussing what to say to people when canvassing and how to answer their questions.

Afterwards groups were organized to use the available cars to go to the rural areas. The remaining people, the majority, were used to canvass parts of Canton to set up workshops in homes to go over the application form and the constitution. It was hoped that the workshop leaders in the community would be block captains in the future and would help to organize the community.

The ministers' weekly meeting was held. Approval was given to a letter sent to the mayor, the sheriff, and the chief of police complaining about the treat/accorded the marchers on Freedom Day. Approval was also given ment to the work done on block captain organization, and money was voted to defray expenses of both of these.

Two workshops were held in Canton homes in the evening. One was attended by four community people, the other by about 20 community people.
The mass meeting at Pratt Church in Gluckstadt was attended by only one person, so the three speakers were taken to a bible study meeting at his own church in Madison.
A mass meeting was held at

C. O. Chinn and Scott Smith were still in jail at this point. The movement had managed to raise bond, but the sheriff had now been on a two day disappearing act, so approval of the bonds was not forthcoming. Lack of a lawyer prevented any move from being made, and the people had to remain in jail.

Wednesday, March 11, 1964

Staff workshop in the morning. Discussion of what to tell people when they raise questions about possible consequences of voting. This workshop was one of the first times the Canton staff has had a real dialogue as a group going. More of such things are needed.

Cars were used to get a large nujber of workers out into the rural areas. A continuing problem is transportation inthe rual areas. This alone will probably lead to an imperfect and possibly bad program there.

Workers broke up in a manner similar to Tuesday for the city areas.

Workshops were held in three homes in Canton in the evening. Mass meetings were held at two churches in the rural areas;

The files were reorganized, and all the affadavits and testimonies and legal information were brought up to date.

The phone company called to tell us they were disconnecting the phone on Thursday because we had failed to pay our bill.

Recruitment of citizenship school teachers to be sent to Georgia for SCLC Citizenship School continued. The March session of the school was postponed from Mar 16-20 to March 23-27.

George Washington's store reported a case of economic intimidation.

A local resident reported that she had been asked to take her business elsewhere out of a grocery store because she had worn a SNCC button into the store.

An unverified report came that people in Camden were not getting fuel deliveries in a freeze-out on accouht of movement activities.

Thursday, March 12, 1964

Got started in late morning. Normal process of sending some people out to the rural and others around Canton.

George Raymond went around to different merchants in the community and different people and collected $54 to pay for an outstanding phone bill. The phone had been cut off in the morning, but by noon the service was back on again. Some of the people giving the money asked that their names not be taken, but the response from the community was good.

It was a hot, sunny day, and towards the latter part of the afternoon everyone felt like relaxing, so there was ball playing and laughing around the freedom house.

In the evening there were staff people at four mass meetings and three workshops.

March 23, 1964

John Due, Field Trips

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: John Due

Re: FIELD TRIP TO MISSISSIPPI

Thursday, March 12, 1964, in the morning, I received instructions from WAB for a field trip to Jackson and Canton, Mississippi. My instructions were to 1) In Canton, find the facts and otherwise investigate the case of five people involved in voting assistance now in custody for CORE field secretary Dave Dennis, and otherwise assist Mr. Carsie Hall, NAACP cooperating attorney and 2) To attend and observe the COFO convention in Jackson with the special effort to interview Miss Annell Ponder, Bob Moses, the people in Hattiesburg and Clarksdale, Mississippi.

On the plane to Jackson, Mississippi, I met Mr. Elton Cox, NAACP field secretary for Georgia. He told me that he was on his way to Houston, Texas, but was stopping over in Jackson to be with friends over the weekend.

About 2:30 the same afternoon, I arrived in Jackson, Mississippi, and went on to the COFO office at 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Dave Dennis was there. He introduced me to Jessie Morris, the Research Director, and Lois Chaffee, secretary. I reviewed with Dave Dennis what the case was in Canton in relation to the five people who are in jail. As things stood at that time, five people were in jail in Canton. All but one had been convicted. Scott Smith had received six months and fined $1000. C. O. Chinn had not been tried, but was being held over for the Grand Jury. The three Bolden brothers had been tried and given 30 days, except one brother, who has been sentenced to one year and a fine of $1000.

I then proceeded to call and make appointments with Atty. Carsie Hall, who office phone number is 354-3135, and 355-0129 (residence). His office is located at 117 Farish Street. Before I left the office, I met Mr. Mandy Samstein, the director of the summer project of COFO.

I then drove on to Carsie Hall's office for my appointment. Dave Dennis was to subsequently follow. I discussed the facts of the case with Atty. Hall. We then learned that Jack Cauthern was the sheriff of Canton, and that the Justice of the Peace who tried the cases was Leroy Hawkins, who residence phone number was 856-5981.

We discussed the fact that no one was allowed to see or visit with the prisoners, not even parents or spouses, and we also discussed the fact that theproperty owners found by Dave Dennis to be sureties have been in the sheriff's office on three separate occasions, but the sheriff has never been persent to witness the signatures on the bonds. Yet, the sheriff required that he witness the signatures on the appeal bonds and bail bonds. I then asked Carsie Hall what he thought I could do, and he said that at the time, nothing. It was then about 4 p. m. He didn't think I would be able to see the sheriff, and he advised me not to be on the highway between Jackson and Canton at night because the Highway Patrol would surely stop and arrest me. However, I thought I could at least do something, such as seeing the prisoners and finding about the type of property to support the sureties.

Accompanied by Dave Dennis, I arrived in Canton, Mississippi, about 5 p. m. Thursday. The same afternoon, we went to the Freedom House, the general office for the Fourth Congressional District, and here I met the CORE staff, in cluding Matt Saurez of the Fourth Congressional District, George Raymond, in charge of the Canton, Mississippi, area, Richard Jewett, New York CORE, and John Newman, of the National Methodist Youth Fellowship. There were about ten other regular persons who worked on a volunteer basis at the Freedom House. I ate a very simple dinner with the rest of the staff workers, talked to John Newman, who keeps the records of the program and writes reports. He gave me more details about the arrest. (See attached report.)

Dave and I then at about 7 p. m., drove to the county jail. The jail is also a place of residence for the jailers. When the jailer came to the door, I introduced myself as a Florida attorney associated with Carsie Hall, and asked to see the five persons who were in jail. The jailer said I would have to see the sheriff, and the sheriff was nt present, and he did not know where he could be. I then asked what charges and sentences the five persons I named were being held for. The jailer was about to shut the door, but hesitated because of being cut off guard by that question. At that time, a person who looked like a Wyatt Earp cowboy, standing in the shadows, came up to the door, looked at me and said, "I know you." And then the deputy sheriff looked at Dave Dennis and said, "I know you, too, don't I Dave?" After so many words, the deputy said I would have to see the sheriff in the morning and in his office at the courthouse.

I returned to the Freedom House, told George Raymond to tell the persons who were going to be sureties, to be at the courthouse at 8 a. m., explaining to him that I didn't want the sheriff to slip away from us.

I then decided I should see the persons who were putting up their property to be sureties. George Raymond told me that the property owners would be in Canton Friday morning for Freedom Day, which was the first time I had heard about it. The property owners, of course, lived in the county, and it now being night, I was not so disposed to looking for them on the isolated country roads. The reason I was concerned about the property owners was because property is no good for property bonds if the property is encumbered, and also property is generally not valued at its true value, but according to its tax assessment.

I then went over to Mrs. Chinn's house, to see the wife of C. O. Chinn, one of the five persons in jail. C. O. Chinn was charged with carrying a concealed weapon (a pocket knife) and was being held over for the Grand Jury under a $1000 bond, this being his third offense.

Mrs. Chinn has a comfortable house. Their family includes a teen-age daughter. Neither one of them works, and I was aware that their only income was from the rent from the Freedom House - which used to be a beer joint owned by the Chinn's. Mr.Chinn has the reputation of being a fearless Negro in Canton, who has stood up to local whites; consequently, they are afraid of him. On one occasion, a local constable pointed a gun at him and he remarked, "It takes a tough man to pull that trigger."

Every since C. O. Chinn has been involved in the movement in Canton, he has been intimidated by being arrested for carrying a concealed weapon, although he has always had it in relation to operating a beer joint. The local authorities have since taken his beer licenses for the sale of liquor. Mrs. Chinn also accounted to me that she has been down to the sheriff's office and the jail, and she has been refused the privilege of seeing her husband. She then allowed me to keep in my possession, the property bonds which hasve been signed and witnessed by the clerk of the circuit court. She related to me how the Deputy Sheriff refused to taken the bonds, saying that the sheriff instructed him that only he, the sheriff, must witness and handle the bonds, but of course, the sheriff would not be around. I told Mrs. Chinn to be at the courthouse at 8:30 Friday morning.

I then returned to Jackson, went to Stephens Restaurant, a very nice Negro restaurant, with Dave Dennis. While there, Atty. Jess Brown came in. We discussed the case. I offered that I may move for either a Removal Petition, an Injunction, or both. He advised a writ of Habeus Corpus. I expressed the thought that the case is somewhat cloudy, but he pointed out that regardless of all that, these people are being prosecuted and persecuted only because of their participation in the exercise of their civil rights, voting registration, and that the detention of these people are therefore

illegal. I told him that I was going to try to seek him sometime Friday, as he offered to help me. Dave and I then went to his home. He said that he and his wife expected me to sleep there, and thus, I turned in.

Friday morning, I drove a rented car to Canton, Mississippi, arriving in Canton about 8:30 a. m. I first went to the Freedom House. The whole staff, of course, was quite busy. Volunteers were running in and out of the office preparing for the Freedom Day march. Whereas I had asked everyone who were to be sureties to be at the courthouse at 8 o'clock, I immediately proceeded to the courthouse.

While driving to the courthouse, going through the downtown area, there were white farmers deputized, standing five to a street side, standing at parade arrest with shotguns and other types of hardware. It appeared to be an armed town, as if there were expecting the Indians to raid. Although somewhat apprehensive, I went on to the courthouse, and went to the sheriff's office. The sheriff was not there. There was a deputy, however, who waited on me, and asked me what I wanted, and I gave him my Florida bar card, and asked to see the sheriff about five people who were in his custody. He said that he expected to see the sheriff shortly. I saw no one, no Negroes who were to be the sureties for the property. After waiting about an hour, four gentlemen came into the office. I not knowing who they were, and they not me. About 11 o'clock, after I had been there about three hours, the sheriff arrived, but rather than go into his office, he stood in the courthouse rotunda, and then deputies started calling people for him to talk to there. There were photographers around, and other people who seemed to be part of the power structure and possibly the White Citizens Council. I tried to walk over to listen to what was going on, but one of the deputies motioned me back to where I had been standing, saying the sheriff would see me shortly.

Eventually, about 11 o'clock, I was able to see the sheriff. I introduced myself to him, showing my Florida bar membership card, explaining to him that I was assisting Atty. Carsie Hall from Jackson. I told him that Hall represented five people who were in his custody. I asked him whether or not I could see them, and I asked him whether or not they could get out on bond. He said, "No, not today. Not as long as we are having an emergency, and as long as you people are causing trouble in this town." I asked the sheriff whether he would be available to witness the signature of the bonds. He said it would be possibly Monday. I told him that I questioned his authority to witness the signatures on these bonds, however, admitting that I am not familiar with Mississippi law. (Atty. C. R. Santure, city attorney,

explained to me that this is allowed in Mississippi law because the sheriff is ultimately responsible for the people who are in custody and for the forfeiture of bonds. From my reading later of the Mississippi statutes, this appeared to be the case.) I then asked the sheriff what the charges were against my clients. He was cooperative and gave me all the charges and their fines. Since the Bolden brothers were juveniles, I went over to see the juvenile officer, and he explained that because they were almost 18 years of age (one of the brothers is 16), it is the policy of the juvenile court to remand the prisoners or the juveniles to the Justice of the Peace Court. I returned to the Freedom House, and while I was explaining to Matt Saurez what happened, the Chief Deputy, Holly Smith, who had been sheriff before, and the sheriff came in, looking for George Raymond. None knew where Raymond was. It seemed that Raymond had crossed the sheriff up. There had not been a Freedom March at 9 o'clock.

The sheriff and his deputy left, and then came the four people who had been waiting with me in the sheriff's office. They were Arthur Thomas, director of the Committee on Race and Religion, National Council of Churches, and other ministers whose names I did not get. They had come to Canton to observe and to see whether or not the National Council of Churches should promote a community center in Canton, and when they got to Canton, the deputies took them to the courthouse where the sheriff lectured them. It appeared to me that this was a false arrest, since they were taken against their will.

I then went to the church where the mass meetings were being held. All around the church were deputized men and deputy sehriffs with rifles and shotguns, and persons from the Citizens Council taking pictures of all those who were entering and leaving the church. When I entered the church, the church was completely packed with people, who seemed quite aware of what was going on in Canton, and who were behind the movement.

Dave Dennis asked me to stay in Canton that afternoon. Rather than having a march, they were taking people in cars to the courthouse. There were two CORE cars in this procession. George Raymond was in the first car. When Raymond brought the six people to the courthouse, the sheriff and his deputies stood in front of the courthouse door, explaining that the registrar was not in town, being subeponed to appear in federal court. (See attached report concerning this.) Raymond said that since that registrar was not there, another registrar should be there. The sheriff then asked Raymond to tell the people to leave three times, but they remained standing. Nothing was done to Raymond or the rest of the persons waiting.

Eventually more carloads came to the courthouse, and soon there were about 150 people standing on the courthouse lawn. The registrar eventually did come, and five people attempted to register. I do not know how many people altogether tried to register on this particular day. When I found that there were no arrests were going to occur, I then drove back to Jackson, this being about 3:30 or 4 o'clock. Before I left Canton, I explained to Mr. Newman and Mr. Juitt that I would try to get some forms for them so that they would know how to handle their own cases in case they were arrested.

Three other people returned with me from Jackson to Canton, their being teenagers. A truckload of farmers followed us all the way from Canton to Jackson. They stopped when we came to the Jackson city limits, and presumably returned to Canton. There were truckloads of farmers on this particular day driving around the courthouse and driving around the Freedom House and otherwise trying to intimidate the people.

I then went to Jess Brown's office and tried to secure Mississippi statutes on this case.

My next report will be on the COFO convention.

John Due

John Due

JD:js

Attachments: 3

WBB
BW
VEP

March 23, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: John Due

Re: FIELD TRIP TO MISSISSIPPI MARCH 12, 1964
Part II - COFO CONVENTION

Friday, March 13, 1964, I returned to the COFO office at about 5 p. m., and noticed that several people had already arrived from the different projects.

I then made a list of the projects in Mississippi of COFO. An asterisk (*) is placed next to the inactive groups. (See attached Exhibit A). I then took some SNCC people to the Tougaloo College campus and remained over at an off-campus restaurant for dinner. This was an opportunity to talk with some young adults who are not directly involved in COFO, and direct action, or voter registration, yet, who do make a contribution to the general movement.

One such young lady is Miss Doris Derby, a Negro graduate of Hunter College, and public relations director of a group called the Free Southern Theater, Box 92, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. This group presents theater to the Negro community for the purpose of social expression, and also to develop local groups and social awareness. The Free Southern Theater is administered in New York, supported by some foundation money, and, of course, is located on the Tougaloo College campus.

I met Miss Wordell Long, an employee of the National Council of Churches, which is building and developing community centers in the Mississippi Delta under COFO, who explained her job and purpose.

I then returned to the COFO office and learned that COFO had begun its meeting Friday evening rather than Saturday morning, beginning with the reports from the project areas. (See Projected Agenda - Exhibit B).

The meeting was held at a Baptist Church on Pearl Street in Jackson, Mississippi, and the project reports continued from Friday evening until late Friday night and began again early Saturday morning.

The first report was from Donald White and Frank Smith, SNCC workers, from Columbus, Mississippi. Columbus, First Congressional District, has a Negro population of 12,000; only 89 are registered Negroes. At one time, there had been a NAACP Voters League. When the mock

election held recently, 1400 voted. There was no police trouble. (However, a local NAACP leader tried to stop the election).

In the nearby area of Tougaloo, the voter registration project by the way of church mass meetings, ran into resistance from four Negro leaders, also, the city was renewing its project of moving all Negroes to the south side of town.

They also have a case of a person who was not allowed to borrow money to buy a house.

In Columbus, the adult citizenship classes have been started, but not followed up. The recent problems since January resulted from the activities of the new sheriff, such as illegal entry and search in March. A man has offered to put up the money to test the illegal searches.

There is also a desperate need for food and clothing for both white and Negro.

Another report was from Meridian, Mississippi, by Mike Schwerner and his wife, Pat Schwerner, CORE staff force workers. These people work the eastern half of the fourth district - the fourth district being "specifically" a CORE project under COFO. 2,000 out of 12,000 eligible Negroes are registered. This project attempts to work with a local human relations group (that is all Negro). The U. S. Justice Department has filed a suit against the registrar on the grounds of finding perfect applications thrown out.

The registrar flunks 60% of all those Negroes who attempt to register. There has been no evidence of direct intimidation. There is no record of one losing one's job.

There has been difficulty in getting cooperation from the local human relations groups because of the prevailing feeling that Meridian is a "pretty good city" - they have some Negro policemen. In general, there is a Jim Crow doctor, and Negro businessmen who do not want to rock the boat.

Mike spoke of a "white sympathizer," who makes an effort to appear as a friend of the project or movement, yet they do not trust this person because of his involvement in "bribery," where he acts as a "go-between" in the registration of Negroes if the registrar is paid off. Three or four church ministers support the project, but the mass meeting technique has not been used so far.

In this same eastern area of the fourth district is Clarke county, where there is a new registrar and new sheriff where the policy is,

"Bring any Negro, and he shall be registered." Whereas, in the same area is Chciashaw county, where there are only nine Negroes who are registered, and all before 1955, and none since.

The approach here will be to contact individual persons of leadership ability and then encourage them to meet in Meridian.

Also, in the same area is Kosciosko, which is only in a lesser degree, not as bad as Chicashaw county.

The names of the local Negro leaders in Meridian are as follows (who support COFO): Mr. Albert Jones, a realtor, Democratic Committee. (In 1960, his delegation was recognized at the National Democratic convention, not the segregationist group.); Rev. R. S. Porter, minister of the First Union Baptist Church, who will allow the first mass meeting to be held in his church; Dr. Kornegay, a dentist, who is on the executive committee of the Human Relations Council in Meridian; Mr. James Bishop, who owns a funeral parlor, and is executive secretary of the Human Relations Council.

The white "liberals" or "moderates" in the area are: Judge Nevile, Rev. McKeown of the St. Paul Episcopal Church, and Mr. Rosenbaum, all from Meridian, Mississippi.

In summary, of the six counties which compose the eastern half of the fourth district, Clarke county is the most liberal, Neshoha is the most reactionary (comprising the town of Philadelphia), but in Lauderdale, it is practicable to register 3-4,000,5,000 Negroes.

Who is saying this?

Forrest

Saturday Morning - March 14; Hattiesburg, Mississippi (Fulton County)

Lawrence Guyot is the director of the project here in the first district, which appears on the SRC map as about the "whitest" congressional district. Lawrence is a SNCC worker who seems to be one of the most dynamic, charistic of those I have met, yet also seeming to have much organizational ability.

Rev. Ponder and Rev. Bond are some of the most native local leaders who are behind the movement, but it was Rev. Ponder who allowed his church to be used for mass meetings. After one demonstration, the whole community was polarized, and mass meetings were held at all the churches.

Guyot makes extensive use of a pastor's list of whom he keeps the pressure on. A lot of them live in the city, but have rural churches. Guyot also runs Freedom Schools, and workshops.

One interesting technique used in getting the Friendship Baptist Church, which was in a strategic place in the Negro community, to open its doors to mass meetings, was for the SNCC people to join the church and then present a petition to the church to open its doors. The minister formerly opposed this action.

The other general technique has been for the demonstrations and boycotts to be active on Freedom Day. The brunt of the canvassing and the picketing was being carried out by teenagers and children; canvassin g from 3:30 to 7 every day.

The organization which carries out the picketing and canvassing is the Student Union (a national organization). The local president is Douglas Smith.

Several teachers have attempted to register and have not lost their jobs. Some principals are on the books, but not the teachers.

SNCC worker Moncure Fortner explained in detail their work here, such such as getting carloads of persons and carrying them down to the courthouse so that they can attempt to register. Also, there would be a constant picket line around the courthouse, the pickets being in the hundreds, walking single file, backward and forward. These types of demonstrations have not been interfered with by the local authorities.

This report, as it now developes, seems inconsistent with information I received Friday that an injunction exists against Bob Moses and COFO by the city.

I then, from subsequent hours, insert here, my interview with Lawrence Guyot on Sunday afternoon after the conference.

He told me that one of his immediate concerns flows from the fact that the local newspaper gives the names and addresses of all those who attempt to register. He finds it difficult to overcome the idea that this list shows the persons who are registered. He will then have to encourage the people, who have attempted to register already, to go down to the courthouse, beginning on March 23, to see whether they are registered.

Lawrence Guyot, being a project director, has no staff, but depends upon two groups. A regular group, comprised of 12 persons and the group of block captains, composes of 60 persons, who also demonstrate as well as canvass. He states that he needs a full time person to work with the adults.

In responding to my question about the type and extent of reaction from the racist power structure, he mentioned also the fact that they have been under a court order since August 13, 1963, regardless of the Lynd decision.

Guyot also discussed the story of Charles Phillips, who kept a white minister in his home and expected no violence, but his face was shotgunned away. He also related how a SNCC worker, Stoner, has been in jail since the 27th of January, 1963, for the charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor, although no one has signed an affidavit against the person.

In regard to my question about support from the Negro community, he stated that they are behind the movement, without class, without caste.

Of the local Negro leaders, he named: Victoria Gray, a housewife, who works with SCLC and Rev. L. P. Ponder; Charles Glenn, a local 26 year old who works volunarily full time with Guyot, and is expected to be hired as a SNCC staff worker in Hattiesburg; and then Rev. Cameron, who has a fair potential for leadership, but the question is, how much will he be willing to go?

We then returned to the facts of the Peter Stoner case. Pete came to visit a worker at the county jail a few minutes after 4 p. m. (visiting hours are over at 4 p. m.) Along with the charge of contributing to the deliquency of a minor, he was charged with profanity, resisting arrest, and disturbing the peace. He was held on a $600 bond on the 1st of February.

Carsie Hall was asked to file a pauper's plea. Jack Pratt of the National Council of Churches was to handle the case, but he "forgot." The bond has to be filed tomorrow (March 16, 1964). Atty. Crockett (from Detroit Lawyer's Guild) went to see Crockett to see whether he would want them to file a federal Habeas Corpus.

who [illegible]

As far as the summer project is concerned, he said that Hattiesburg is ready. Mr. Theron Lynd is the local registrar, and a Mr. M. M. Robert controls Hattiesburg, who is an attorney who owns a great amount of local real estate. Francis Zachrey is the chairman of the local Democratic Committee, and is the manipulator.

Ruleville, Mississippi, the Second Congressional District, is directed by Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, who is in her late 40's. And, in her appearance at the convention, she was assisted by another lady, who has had 20 children, and is also working as a SNCC worker.

Both of these women have had dramatic experiences which are effective in drawing financial support from "shocked" northerners to SNCC. (I first met Mrs. Hamer at a fund-raising party given for SNCC in Newark last January, and she accounted her experiences there. The folk music crowd gave the appropriate groans and gasps, as if they were being entertained by horror movie.)

Mrs. Hammer doesn't seem to have too much education, but she can relate effectively to the people she want to persuade and educate. She was recently fired from her job of chopping cotton on the plantation she had held for the past 18 years. The only quality Mrs. Hamer has is that element in the viscera called "guts." This may be the only thing important to have in the violent area in and around Rushville and Greenwood. Although she is short and dumpy, about 5'2", she scares me when she says that she is staying right there in Rushville even if they kill her, continuing to fight for Negro registration.

She is no organizer, such as planning for area captains, precinct captains, or block workers. She is a martinet, does everything by herself, except she is assisted by some men who help by furnishing transportation.

In this area, we found that food and clothing distribution has been cut off. SNCC has been able to funnel food and clothing from the north and east.

She recounted how the mayor inadvertently has helped the voter registration drive. The mayor, on the radio, said that all persons who want food and clothing to see Mrs. Fannie Hamer. Of course, about 20 to 50 people would come a day to her house. Mrs. Hamer would first talk with them about the mayor and his purpose, and then talk about citizenship; lead them by the hand, walking or riding if cars were available, to the courthouse, where they would attempt to register. Upon return to her home, she would then distribute food and clothing.

Legal Workshop - During the discussions from the reports given, it appeared from the many questions which were being raised that a legal workshop should be interposed within the program. I also thought that there was a need for a workshop because of all the questions thrown at me ever since I had been in Mississippi. I volunteered to conduct one after the noon break Saturday afternoon.

I planned a more or less general discussion, not having time to distribute any papers, or having access to any blackboards. The two general points which the discussion was to be revolved around was 1)the "entity" of COFO, and 2) the rights of the individual and his remedies.

As regards to the "entity" of COFO, I was going to discuss the problem of who was going to reporesent COFO people, and how. I was then going to discuss the operation of several legal organizations, such as 1) the NAACP, 2) the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and their cooperating attorneys, 3) the American Civil Liberties Union, 4) CORE's general counsel, and 5) Lawyer's Guild.

In relation to rights, the first eight Amendments, the 14th Amendment, and the civil rights statutes were going to be discussed.

In relation to procedure, we were going to discuss the rights a person has upon arrest and subsequent rights and what a person can do with or without an attorney.

Also to be discussed was the necessity of investigation and fact findings, including signed statements and affidavits; the question of the "signed" retainer, and its importance in order to protect the counsel. Then, to be discussed in general terms was 1) conduct of a proceeding at the trial level; 2) matter of appeal, and the question of bonds; 3) removal 4) Habeus Corpus, and 5) injunctive relief.

After the noon recess, Attorney William Kuntsler appeared, and I learned that Attorneys George Downing, Ben Smith and Crockett were coming.

Bill was on his way to New Orleans to file a petition to the Fifth Circuit to remove Judge Harold Cox on the grounds of his remarks he made describing Negroes attempting to register as "pickaninnies," "niggers," and a "black cloud." He needed the signatures of Bob Moses and David Dennis.

Bob Moses, William Kuntsler and I thought that we should wait until all the attorney would get there so we could discuss what legal aids could be provided.

I also thought that we should wait because I, being a novice in the practice of law, should wait for these constituional lawyers to participate in the legal workshop.

In the meanwhile, I was worried about drawing up a writ of Habeus Corpus, and finally was able to reach Carl Rachlin by telephone in New York. He said not to worry about a writ of Habeus Corpus, but draw up a complaint using the Lois Chaffee case which was going to be filed next week. He said that I should return to Atlanta and he would send the Lois Chaffee case to me as soon as he could. He also told me to tell David Dennis that Bill Kuntsler is coming down there, and that Dave is not to sign a thing. I told him that Dave has already signed the petition, and Carl nearly had a heart attack. He told me to find Dave immediately. The main issue about the Kuntsler suit was that there was a feeling on Carl's part that "we" should never "provoke" or "antagonize" the judge. Kuntsler's position is that 79 out of 80 cases before Judge Cox involving civil rights cases have been reversed by the Fifth Circuit in favor of civil rights, which shows prejudice on the part of Judge Cox.

While Mandy Samstein, assistant to Bob Moses, was giving his report on the contemplated summer project, and the discussion thereto, the attorneys came, and then retired to the church basement along with Bob Moses, Dave Dennis and Lawrence Guyot. (The Mandy Samstein projected summer program is attached to this report - Exhibit A.)

When we went downstairs, I moved that we introduce ourselves. William Huntsler represented the American Civil Liberties Union, on the cases which he is filing in New Orleans Fifth Circuit, but is also a general and special counsel to the Ghandi Foundation and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Ben Smith represented the Louisiana and New Orleans chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Lawyer's Guild. George Downing, 2800 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Michigan, and Atty. Crockett (the ~~only other Negro attorney~~), represented the power structure of the Lawyer's Guild.

OMIT

~~I represented that I am an employee of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, and my presence there was due to the fact that Mr. Wiley Branton, the director of VEP, loaned me to the use of Carl Rachlin and CORE in regards to five workers who were held in Canton, and that I had been directed to assist Dave Dennis, Atty. Carsie Hall, and to report on the COFO convention.~~

Did anyone question your participation

I then said that I could sit with them because this relationship as a representative of Mr. Carl Rachlin, to whom I would report our discussions, and also report our concerns to Mr. Branton. However, I also indicated that I am a member of the Florida Civil Liberties Union,

and would also relate our discussion to Atty. Herbert Heiken, my partner, the president, and to Tobias Simon, the director of the legal panel.

The first problem we discussed was the constitutional right to assistance by counsel, this, of course, involving the problem of the out-of-state attorney. There is a difficulty in finding acceptable local counsel who would willingly introduce an out-of-state attorney to the court. The question of the signature of the out-of-state attorney came up which was not resolved, and the question of some federal judges who require bond for every removal of a criminal case.

Begin Bill Kuntsler then presented a proposal that for every congressional district, complying with the five areas which COFO has, there should always be an attorney who is present, as long as the summer project is being conducted. This would be five attorneys for 18 weeks, therefore, at least 80 attorneys should be made available with each only needing to stay for one week for their vacation.

Bill Kintsler then said that the burden for COFO is that each person who is coming south should at least bring $25 with him to put in the legal defense kitty. The purpose is to finance the transporation of the attorneys to and from Mississippi. They would practice either with or without local counsel, representing themselves as the parties "by his next friend."

There seemed to be a vague consensus about these ideas, except that Crockett and Downing stated the position of the Guild. The Guild would furnish their own traveling expenses; it is necessary only for COFO to take care of the attorneys' living expenses.

I raised the point that with lawyers running in and out of the state, there is a necessity for a coordinator. The response was that each attorney, as he comes in, will be "briefed" by the out-going attorney. The general consensus was that in a set-up such as this, there was bound to be some flaws. This did not satisfy me because one could envision cases being messed up, or failed to be prosecuted or appealed <u>after</u> the summer project. Therefore, it was agreed that the volunteers would work with the Legal Defense Fund, and that the volunteers would incorporate themselves.

I then raised the question about bonds and property bonds, but this was not discussed or proceeded with,with any substantial effort.

After dinner, we had our legal workshop, and the above points were reiterated from a general discussion and a question and answer period. Bill made a significant point that an attorney can only advise one what to expect under the law, but that in Mississippi, a worker must presume

that the law will not be followed, even in federal courts.

The workshop then ended at a reasonable hour. (10 p. m.)

Voter Registration - (see Prospectus for the Summer attached. Saturday evening, March 14.)

This prospectus, along with the attached materials, fully explain what is to occur in the summer. However, to reiterate the comments of Bob Moses, the purpose of the summer registration program is 1) to elect electors for Mississippi and to 2) elect delegates to the National Convention, through the means of public and open precinct meetings.

Sunday, the COFO organization would resolve itself into a convention, the purpose being to find five persons to run in the five congressional districts and a person to run for the senate.

It will be attempted to urge upon the National Convention not to seat the regular convention, but to seat the free Mississippi delegation. Also, the congressional delegation from Mississippi shall be challenged in Congress.

Sunday Convention - Sunday, March 15: The meeting was presided over by Mr. Aaron Henry, after an opening by prayer by Dr. Thomas of the National Council of Churches. Again, project directors gave their report. Mr. Patton of the NAACP and Mr. Forman of SNCC were introduced.

Mr. MacArthur Colton, a person who I have not seen before, gave the Third District report, which includes Vicksburg, Natchez, and McComb. He reported three recent deaths, such as Mr. Hugh Allen, who was killed for testifying in a voter registration case. Negro registration here is 5%.

Mr. Aaron Henry made the comment that COFO is shooting for 78,000 Negroes to be registered. However, if the 6th grade provision in the civil rights law prevails, this will add 150,000 votes to the list.

George Raymond presented two local people who gave the Canton report, which was inspiring, but whose comments are not necessarily in order to be added here.

Al Downing was presentd. He gave a report representing the Lawyer's Guild. He reported that George Crockett had gone to Clarksdale, Mississippi, to make a move about out-of-state attorneys. The Lawyer's Guild is also initiating a suit against the state of Mississippi on the grounds that Mississippi is not a republican form of government.

The convention then broke down into five groups representing the congressional districts, each district to "nominate" a candidate for the House, and everyone together to nominate a senator.

It is sorry to say, but only two persons were nominated - Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer from the Second District, and Rev. Cameron from the Fifth. Because no one else was decided upon, a call meeting was planned for March 22, 1964. (They have had their meeting, and the only additional candidate is Mr. Houston from the Third District, Vicksburg. Only Mrs. Hamer reportedly has filed as yet. No one has put up the $500 registration fee at this time. This I learned from a telephone conversation with Dave Dennis on March 23, 1964.)

Mr. Patton urged that a meeting of the national organizations take place after the convention, which did take place. At this meeting was Dave Dennis, James Forman, W. C. Patton, Andrew Young, representing SCLC, Bob Moses, Richard Haley, representing CORE, Aaron Henry, and myself, representing VEP.

At this meeting, Mr. Patton raised the question, "What kind of financial support will each national organization give to the summer project?" One person asked, "What would be included in this financial support?" To which Mr. Patton answered, "The NAACP will match what the organizations will do."

Mr. Richard Haley, associate director of CORE, now to be in charge of CORE's new southern region, stated the position of CORE's contribution - that CORE will continue to give $500 a month to COFO's office in Jackson, and will support and pay for all the expenses in the Fourth District - that CORE is not in the position to pay anything special for a special project.

James Forman gave the position of SNCC, which is to assume all the work, furnish all the workers, and to pay all that which CORE does not pay for or do in the state of Mississippi.

Aaron Henry stated that the Mississippi NAACP will work, contribute, and furnish workers and money, regardless of what the national NAACP will do or will not do, to the COFO effort, whatever it is.

Mr. Patton wanted to know what each organization could do and suggested that each organization put money in a common kitty, and asked for a proposed budget.

Bob Moses indicated that it was impractical to present a proposed budget overall, because of individual organizations who are assuming certain parts of the expenses, whatever they might come to. Example, CORE and the National Council of Churches with the community centers.

(Bob Moses)
The only area where he/could reasonably calculate a budget was for the Freedom Schools, $120,000 for a six-week period for 20 schools. Bob stated that he hoped some of the expenses would be defrayed by the students as they bring at least a hundred dollars with them, each. Foundations shall be solicited for the remainder.

Mr. Patton's only concern was the special effort for the summer project because Mr. Wilkins supports the summer project.

Rev. Andrew Young stated that he could not set policy for the SCLC, but indicated that SCLC probably will not make a special effort in Mississippi, and will only continue the "citizenship" schools, based on the fact that SCLC, by itself, is going to carry on a somewhat similar summer program in Alabama.

However, he suggested that both Bob and Aaron Henry call upon the SCLC Atlanta power to carry on a special benefit for the COFO summer project, that at least $25,000 can be raised at one program, easily and quickly.

However, he did state that SCLC will go hand in hand with COFO as regards to their operational expenses, only requesting a specific demand. Andrew says that SCLC will and shall assume/all the SNCC printing (SNCC had difficulty in getting the pamphlets ready for the meeting) and will print ballots, registration books, and all other necessary propaganda.

Mr. Patton said that all releases from COFO should indicate the cooperating agencies, that the NAACP has not been mentioned in some press releases, such as those coming out of Canton, Mississippi.

Someone mentioned the NAACP image in Jackson via Charles Evers, and Mr. Patton responded that the movement in Jackson is nothing BUT NAACP.

Bob Moses quickly steered the discussion from this impasse by directing the growing feelings toward me. I told them that I am an observer, that VEP is proud of COFO (But I didn't say that we consider it our baby.) However, I stated that I was carefully directed by Mr. Wiley Branton, not to suggest a promise or a possibility that VEP is going to contribute any more to COFO in Mississippi. I reminded them that about $50,000 had been invested in Mississippi, more than any other state except Georgia, and that Mississippi has received its fair share.

At least I helped Bob in quieting the growing bad feelings between the "cooperating agencies" - they were now angry at VEP. The meeting then was closed.

After the meeting, I picked up the remainder of my clothes at Dave Dennis', picked up Richard Haley at the COFO office, and got lost driving to the airport. I was late, so I turned the car in. The Hertz people said they would send the bill to me and just barely caught the plane.

I sat with Mr. Patton on the way to Birmingham. We generally discussed the policy of NAACP in voter registration, which is to register a lot of Negroes as easily as possible, at no more than the rate of 25¢ a head. He indicated his disatisfaction with COFO because of no adequate planning or having a proposed budget.

John Due
Staff Intern

JD:js

WB
BW

March 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: John Due

Re: SECOND FIELD TRIP TO MISSISSIPPI - MARCH 17-20, 1964

While at the offices of Attorney Howard Moore, developing legal papers for the Canton case, I received a phone call from Carl Rachlin and Miss Lois Chaffee. I called WAB, and he stated that he gave permission for me to go to Mississippi.

The purpose of this trip to Mississippi was to assist Miss Lois Chaffe to file a case in the federal court in her own name, rather than my signing any pleadings. Tuesday morning, March 17, I had a conference with WAB. He suggested that I should be very careful and concerned about the reasons why Attorneys Jack Young, Carsie Hall, and Jess Brown would not handle this case.

I reached Jackson at about 1:30 p. m., and no one was there to meet me at the airport. I went on to rent a Hertz car. I reached Jackson about 2:30 p. m., and Miss Louis Chaffee was waiting.

Instructions given to me by Carl Rachlin the night before included directions to cross out all the references to Jack Young, file the complaint and order Tuesday, and have Judge Harold Cox set a hearing on the cause Wednesday or Thursday. The action had to be taken in order to forestall the criminal action which was to have taken place Monday morning in the state court on the perjury charge.

Upon my arrival, we carefully counted the complaints to see whether we had thirteen. We made corrections, erasing that which indicated Lois Chaffee was a member of CORE at the time she witnessed the events. We then went to see a Notary so that her signatures would be notorized on the order to show cause, the affidavit thereto, and on the summons, and the affidavit thereto.

After all of this was done, it was about 4 p. m. On impulse, I went to Judge Cox's office before going to the clerk's office. Cox's secretary said I would have to file the action first and that I should be able to see the judge at about 5 p. m., which was what I wanted.

At the clerk's office, I told the clerk that Lois Chaffee was filing this action, and that I was only assisting her. She believed that the rules required a member of the Mississippi bar to file the ac-

Full sign
JP

tion, but she called Judge Cox and found that she could file the action in her own behalf.

At 5 p. m., Lois and I returned to Judge Cox's office and the secretary said that we should see him in court. Lois and I then went to sit in the courtroom. It was very warm. All the time I had been in downtown Jackson, I felt very self-conscious in walking around with Lois (who is white), and I had perspired freely while sitting in Lois' office. ?

Sitting in the courtoom with Lois, I sat at least a briefcase away from her, and then assumed an air of being greatly interested in the proceedings. Lois seemed bent on destroying this posture because she promptly went to sleep. I nudged her several times, but she would only shake her head. I proceeded to attempt to establish eye contact with Judge Cox, who seemed to look at us rather than at the parties involved in a contract action. When he became peeved at one of the litigants, I would frown. When he would insult one of them, I would smile. I did notice that Judge Cox enjoys himself on the bench with his attempts at witticisms and insults.

When he terminated the case for the day, he quickly returned to his offices, so Lois and I returned there, also. It was then 6 p. m. Cox's secretary asked me to return at 8:30 in the morning because he was tired, and probably would not consider my cause then as reasonably as he otherwise would. I was reluctant, but at that time, I could see no real difference in his signing the order then or the next morning.

We ate dinner, and returned to the COFO office. I then determined what our next course would be - which was to determine the persons to be placed on the subpoena list.

I tried to call Carl Rachlin, but he was not available. I received a phone call from Attorney Brewer from New York (he drew up the complaint). He told me that Carl said for me to subpoena Jack Young, Jess Brown, and Carsie Hall, along with three other Jackson attorneys who practice criminal law. I asked him to tell Carl to call me so that I would know what to tell WAB.

I then called Jack Young for the names of persons who could be subpoenaed and he ran three names off. I informed him that I would see Carsie Hall Wednesday morning because some of the people from Canton told me that the FBI wanted to see the prisoners, but the sheriff refused to let them see those in custody until he saw me (and of course, I was supposed to see the sheriff on Monday, March 16.)

- I then went home to bed.

Wednesday morning, Lois and I were at Judge Harold Cox's office at 8:30 a. m. Although others came wanting to see the judge, when he arrived, he motioned us in. (He was acting as a "father" - motioning us to sit down.)

I told the judge that I was from Atlanta, and a member of the Florida bar and the U. S. District Court, Miami division. I explained why I was there - that we wanted to request that he sign the Order to Show Cause. I told him I understood that cases were assigned according to the last number, but I explained that Judge Sidney C. Mize, being in Hattiesburg, or Meridian, even though assigned this case, could not sign the order, and we could not wait for him to return because the hearing must be held that week, or it would be too late; Lois Chaffee's federal rights would be in jeopardy Monday. He said that those who seek equity must do equity, and that one cannot come to court to undo a harm that one has put on one's own head. I agreed with him that it was late, but told him that Messrs. Young and Brown just resigned from the case Monday, and that I was there as a friend, seeking that he sign the order. Also, I told him that it would seem that he had the authority to sign the order rather than my waiting to see Mize, because the rule as to the assignment of cases was his own rule.

He agreed, but on grounds of being "polite" and because of his policy of not making exceptions, he would call Mize. He then called Mize, and Mize gave Cox "permission" to sign the order. He also said that Mize mentioned that Lois had better have an attorney who was qualified Friday morning, implying an in-state attorney. I asked whether it would be sufficient for an in-state attorney to just "introduce" an out-of-state attorney, and Cox said that would be all right.

Cox read the order, didn't like it, and wrote another order entitled, "Fiat." and signed it and the copies therewith for all of the complaints to be served. The marshall received the "fiats" and summons, and Lois and I had breakfast.

I called Brewer (not being able to call Rachlin anywhere), and told him that the legal costs of the subpeonas would be over $300, and that COFO just did not have it in its treasury. He told me to serve them ourselves, and just pay for the per diem, and travel expenses of the witnesses who were not parties.

I then called the clerk, and she gave me more than 50 certified and signed subpoenas. The rest of the day on Wednesday and Thursday, several others over 18 years of age, and myself, served subpoenas on about 14 persons.

We were not able to find the mayor. I was assigned to the governor,

and I was almost arrested by the state police (I assume they were his guards.) They ordered me from the State Capitol building. I did not want to tell them what I was there for, except to "see the governor." They told me his office was closed (it was after 5 p. m.), which I knew already, but I knew he was still in the building because his official car was parked in the driveway.

Lois and I walked to our car, crossing the Capitol grounds, followed by the stares of the state cops who gathered at the door. As we came to the street which we had to cross, a city cop was directing traffic. I was wondering whether he was going to stop traffic as he did for other pedestrians, but he did not. Instead, he just went off duty and entered his car. As soon as we drove off, he went back on duty.

One little girl waited in Attorney General Patterson's office, and after she served it, Patterson ordered her not to ever come back.

When another little girl served Rayfield, the Chief of Police, he saw only that he received something in an envelope marked, "Aaron Henry for Governor," which he promptly tore up. Deputy Chief Ray, according to a Jackson radio station, ran into the chief's office and said, "I have just been subpoened." The chief then went into his waste basket and laboriously put his subpeona back together.

I spent Thursday morning talking to Carsie Hall, and he said that he would go to Canton. He called the sheriff, and the sheriff told Carsie that he would release three people Thursday at 2:30 p. m. Jack Young said that he would voluntarily go down to Biloxi; all he desired was a subpoena.

I then spent two hours with Jess Brown, who finally agreed to go to Biloxi for free. Jack Young and Jess Brown were going to testify from their experience in handling criminal cases, had any witness been charged with perjury when a policeman's testimony contradicted that of the witness.

Thursday evening, I went to Canton to be available if the people were not released, but I stayed at the Freedom House, letting Carsie Hall handle it all. The Boldens were released, and the others were to be released Froday morning, so I returned to Jackson.

I called Brewer, and he said that Rachlin would want me in Biloxi. I asked him what could I do. He said to make sure that the witnesses get to Biloxi and to brief both Carl Rachlin and O'Dwyer about the witnesses and the parties as regards to the proof. He said that Carl

would call WAB. I told Brewer that Carl had not called me for two days - that I had a duty to call WAB, but what could I say unless Carl called me? So I told him to tell Carl to call me or leave a number by midnight Thursday. No one called, so I went on to Dave's house. Dave Dennis, one of the witnesses went to a dance, and I knew that I would have to drive to Biloxi.

We planned to leave Jackson at 4:30 so as to be in Biloxi at 8 o'clock - the hearing to be at 10. Dave's electric alarm clock didn't ring, or Dave turned it off unconsciously, so I woke up automatically at 5:30 a. m. Dave, Lois, and I left Jackson by 6 a. m., and reached Biloxi at 8:30 a. m.

O'Dwyer and Carl came to the funeral home where we were, and we went through our case.

At 10 o'clock, only the defendants, Jack Travis, the Jackson prosecutor, and the Attorney General were present.

At the hearing, the state agreed that there would be no prosecution Monday, March 23, 1964, therefore, we have attained a stipulation which was better than a temporary restraining order. It gives us more time. The hearing for the preliminary injunction is set for April 16, 1964. After the order was indicated, Jess Brown and Jack Young gave reasons why they dropped out of the case. They said that they did not have an opportunity to participate in the drawing up of the complaint, so they should not sign the complaint - that they were not "afraid" as might have been suggested by O'Dwyer.

After the hearing, I called WAB and went to Florida to see my wife, returning Monday to the VEP office.

John Due

JD:js

APR 17 1964

WBV
BWV
RTB
JS
Please copy for Research Files

PARISH ASSIGNMENTS

Congr. Districts	Parishes	Workers	Remarks
5th	East Carroll West Carroll Union Ouachita Morehouse Lincoln Jackson Richland others in dist.	Mike Lesser Tom Valentine Henry Brown Claudia Edwards	one car in use
6th	East Feliciana West Feliciana St. Helena Pointe Coupee Iberville Tangipahoa others in dist.	~~Mimi Feingold~~ Spiver Gordon Flag ~~Howard Messing~~ ~~Loria Davis~~ - U.H.	one car in use
managing office and coordinating project, etc.	ALL	Ronnie Moore Lawrence Mitchell * 432 Allen Str. Baton Rouge La	one car in use

NOTE: Although we are concentrating on promoting VR activities in the parishes named, we are also laying groundwork for our summer project covering all 24 parishes in the two named congressional districts.

JOYCE WAHR

VEP 4-10

LOUISIANA SUMMER PROJECT

1964

I. Pre-summer-project activity:

The Louisiana delegation to the National Democratic Party Convention will be chosen by the Democratic State Central Committee in early May. It is important to protest the fact that both the State Central Committee and the delegation will be all-white, and will therefore not represent a sizeable minority of Louisiana's population. As part of the freedom registration and elections, we plan to organize a freedom delegation from the Sixth Congressional District which will challenge the seating of the Louisiana delegation at the National Convention.

On April 25, 1964 there will be a meeting of the Capital Voters' League in St. Francisville, La. The Sixth Congressional District CORE task force will make sure that there are at least the following minimum representations from these parishes of the Sixth Congressional District: 6 persons from East Baton Rouge Parish, 3 persons from Tangipahoa Parish, and 2 persons from each of the other parishes.

The Capital Voters League will elect a 17 member delegation to represent the people of the Sixth Congressional District on the Democratic State Central Committee. The persons will request to be seated in place of members of the State Central Committee already elected from the Sixth Congressional District. When the State Central Committee convenes in early May in Baton Rouge, it will have to face the challenge of the freedom delegation and if it refuses to seat the Negro delegation, the latter will meet separately and elect 3 to 6 delegates to the National Democratic Convention (i.e., 1/8 of the 24 to 48 delegates usually selected by the State Central Committee to the National Convention . The exact number of delegates from the State Central Committee will be decided at their meeting in early May; either 24, each with a whole vote or 48, each with a half vote, will be elected.) We hope to send the delegates representing one Congressional District in Louisiana jointly with the Mississippi delegation, which will represent the whole state.

II. Freedom Registration:

The first state-wide law suit against Louisiana voter registration procedures filed by the United States Department of Justice attacked the constitutionality of the registration application form. The basic contention was that the application form is valid only as an application form and cannot be used as a test. Additional law suits against individual registrars clearly point out that the constitutional tests, old and new, are unconstitutional.

Therefore, we contend that all potential registrants meeting the following qualifications be registered: 21 years of age, American citizen, and residency requirements as outlined in the laws of Louisiana. Moreover, they must fill out in their own handwriting (with or without the assistance of the freedom registrars) a regular application form. In the case of those who are unable to do so (illiterate, disabled, etc.), and who are able to give the information to the registrar, they should provide the registrar with the requested information.

The application suit is now pending before the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. We plan to get every potential Negro voter who can fill out the application form in the manner described earlier to do so, sealing it in a blank envelope before a freedom registrar who will present it to the parish registrar for acceptance. If the application is denied, then it will be held in a central and protected place later to be presented with approximately 100,000 others to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The presentation at the Fifth Circuit will be as follows: 5 to 10 freedom registrars from each parish will carry all of the applications to the chambers of the five judges of the Court asking that the Court declare the applicants registered as a part of the lawsuit filed by the U.S. Department of Justice. If the judges order the freedom registrars (numbering approximately 12- to 240) to leave, taking the applications with them, they will refuse to do so, risking contempt of court.

In each of the parishes of the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts we plan to send in teams of voter registration workers who will serve and/or recruit local people to serve as freedom registrars, commencing a freedom registration campaign. This will involve setting up freedom registration posts in churches, grocery stores, club houses, Masonic Halls, etc. Each registrar will sign notorized statements that they will carry out registration procedures in the above manner, and will appoint local people to serve as deputy registrars. The registrars and their deputies will carry out the general objective of reaching every unregistered Negro and getting him to fill out an application form which will go through the channels described above.

In the freedom registration campaign we plan to reach 24 parishes, 48 to 56 communities, and two Congressional Districts which geographically cover 1/3 of the state. It is clear that this will be the most progressive organizational step by CORE toward setting up a state-wide program in Louisiana for the future.

III. Stand-ins:

In several communities of the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts we plan to have lines of Negroes flooding the registrars' offices on the three days when the registration books are open between the first and second Democratic primaries. This endeavor may result in a few more names being added to the registration rolls.

IV. Freedom Elections:

With the total concentration of this summer project focused upon protesting for the right to vote, it will be a logical step to hold mock elections. The summer project as presented here will be a pretty complete reproduction of the whole democratic electoral process as practiced in the United States. This will start with the attempt to seat delegates at the Democratic National Convention in July, continue with Freedom Registration in July and August, and conclude, as the actual process concludes, with mock elections.

In July and August of 1964, Louisiana Democrats will choose their representatives for the U.S. Congress. Since the Louisiana voter registration system is systematically designed to exclude Negroes from the voting rolls, these representatives will represent only a part of the state's population. Approximately 1/6 of the over 600,000 voting-age Negroes in the state of Louisiana are registered to vote in official elections. Therefore, 5/6 or over 400,000 Negro citizens of the state have no voice in the electoral process. To dramatize and protest this situation, we plan to sponsor two Negro candidates who will run for Congress from the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts in a mock election.

All persons who have been freedom registered will be eligible to vote in this election, which will be held on Aug. 29. We anticipate that over 50,000 votes will be cast, which will be proof that not only do Negroes here want to vote, but that had these votes been cast in a real election, they would have been able to determine that election.

At the time of the general election in November, we will urge all Negro voters registered within the official Louisiana registration system to write in the name of the freedom candidate instead of voting for one of the party candidates.

IV. We plan to urge Negroes to seek public office including congressional seats in the Democratic primaries.

V. Mechanics of the Project:

Dates: ~~July 12 - August 30, 1964~~ June 10, 1964 — August 14, 1964

~~July 12 - 16~~ June 10 - 15: Training in Plaquemine for freedom registration and vote campaign.

~~July 14 - 20~~ June 16 - 25 Regular Registration: Preparation for voter registration stand-ins at registrars offices in Monroe (Ouachita Parish), St. Francisville (West Feliciana Parish), Clinton (East Feliciana Parish), Greensberg (St. Helena Parish), Plaquemine (Iberville Parish), and New Roads (Pointe Coupee Parish)

June 26 - July 26 Freedom Registration

July 27, 28, 29: Stand-ins at registrars offices. These are the only three days the registration books are open between the two Democratic primaries (July 25 and Aug. 29)

July 30 - Aug. 12: Freedom registration campaign

Aug. 13 - Presentation of application forms to parish registrars.

Aug. 14: Presentation of application forms to Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

~~Aug. 15 - 29: Mock election~~

~~Aug. 30 - Project evaluation and conclusion.~~

Manpower and transportation: We need 48 workers, two to each parish, plus the present staff. We also request that an official of National CORE take up permanent residence in Louisiana for the summer project like last year. The purpose of this is that this will be an independent CORE endeavor and we will need additional professional know-how in community relations and organization.

We need at least 12 cars plus the cars now in operation, one car to every two parishes. We hope that with 12 cars and a staff of 48 we will be able to secure additional transportation and volunteers from local communities.

VI. Practical aspects:

Although the plan for a summer project may be interesting and dramatic, we are concerned about several practical aspects.

Community interest in such a project cannot be overlooked. And we have problems in this regard in both the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts, particularly in North Louisiana. With present staff we have been unable to fully scout North Louisiana and our work has been limited to a couple of parishes. Resistance on the part of the whites in this area will be especially stubborn and work will be dangerous, recall Mike's being run out of Tallulah. Thus, reaching and inspiring the Negro communities will be an arduous task and we can only be hopeful of success.

Before freedom registration could begin and little if any work could be done on the freedom election, workers could most probably be arrested, intimidated, and even severely injured by members and associates of the White Citizens Council and the KKK.

VII. Follow up Program and Staff:

We hope to have a staff of at least 18 persons left in Louisiana for follow-up purposes.

Plan:

September - Voter registration in the 24 parishes of the 5th and 6th Congressional Districts.
IMPORTANT - last month for registration before the presidential election.

October - Voter registration, chapter development, and direct action in same parishes. Preparation for write-in vote.

Nov. 3, 1964 - Write-in election for freedom candidates on the date of the general election.

Nov. 4 - Dec. 31 - Voter registration, direct action to implement civil rights bill, and chapter development. Rallying communities to file suit to desegregate all public facilities.

OUTLINE OF A PARISH SCOUTING REPORT

1. Parish

2. Key towns

3. Statistics: total popn., Negro voting age popn., white voting age popn., total voting age popn:, Negroes registered, whites registered, total registered, other

4. Contacts - names, addresses, phone, directions to home

5. Conferences (notes on)

6. Economic life
   1. Agricultural? major crops
      a. Negroes sharecroppers? tenants?
      b. Independent farmers?
      c. Number of Negroes engaged in agriculture
   2. Industry
      Major industries
      Negro employment figures
      Jobs held by Negroes
      Hiring and employment practices

7. Political life - parish political structure, Negroes holding office, etc.

8. Evaluation of Negro community

9. Voter registration - past and present

10. Federal action and other lawsuits on voter registration and related civil matters

11. Feasibility of summer project.

12. Progress toward desegregation

13. Volunteers for freedom registrars

14. Volunteers for freedom election

15. Organizations active in the community

16. Polling places

17. Places for freedom registration

18. Housing and food arrangements for CORE workers

19. Intimidations of Negroes active in freedom struggle past and present.

20. Community attitudes toward CORE (white and Negro)

21. Transportation

1. Form Committees on Registration Education
2. Set congressional voter conferences

Guide for Workshop Leaders-- Things Students Can Do

I. Political Campaigns

---organize different campaign committees

1. Committee on Publicity--to canvass, go from door to door telling people about the candidates

2. Committees to get places for meetings for the candidates to speak --get your minister to open his church

3. Committee to raise funds for the campaign

II. Freedom Registration

1. Act as deputy registrars

2. Canvass your community to get people freedom registered

III. Summer Program

1. Find housing for people coming down for the summer

2. Find places to hold Freedom Schools

3. Get other students to fill out Freedom School Applications

IV. Mississippi Student Union

---get Mississippi Student Union started in your home town

TO: WAB

April 28, 1964

FROM: JD

RE: Field trip to Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina including the Counties of Greenville, Spartanburg, and Laurens, April 22, 23, and 24.

RTB and I arrived in Greenville April 22 from Huntsville about 11:00 P.M. and obtained accommodations at the Negro Ghana Hotel. The next morning, after eating breakfast, we went to the Greenville County Political Action Committee's office which seemed to accommodate most of the town's business and professional services and some social organizations.

We were very graciously received by Mrs. Walker who already knew RTB and who called most of the important people in the community who figured in the recent registration drive which produced 3600 Negro registrants.

Soon arrived at the Greenville County Political Action Committee's office (125½ Fall Street, in the Benevolent Building) were Mr. Harrison Rearden, who is a Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance man at 409 E. McBee Avenue, Greenville, South Carolina; Reverend Brockman, who is a ministerial teacher and is active in the local NAACP; Atty. Sampson, who is the Negro candidate for the House in the South Carolina Legislature; Dr. Givson, who is treasurer of the local organization, and Reverend C. Francis.

RTB then proceeded to explain why we were there. Dr. Givson was at first a little hostile, which I shall later explain, but he warmed up after we finished making our statements. RTB, before Rearden arrived, explained the history of the congressional district concept and that the other districts have begun to function except that of the Fourth Congressional District.

We then learned that there had been meetings of the Fourth Congressional District; leaders had been chosen two months ago and a recent meeting had been held two weeks ago.

RTB informed the group that he had received no response from his letters. Dr. Givson stated that he had received no information about the Fourth Congressional District's set-up. Further discussion was halted until Rearden appeared. After Rearden came, the lack of communication was explained by Rearden's being busy in Sampson's campaign

and that his information about the Fourth Congressional District probably was attached to NAACP reports for Greenville County and RTB speculated that the information went into our files unnoticed.

Everyone agreed to the congressional district method but RTB insisted that VEP does not think in sums of money but programs, and that there must be a proposed itemized budget for a program which VEP must consider before approval, that VEP funds cannot be involved in politicing in any manner, that there must be separate accounts, separate offices, and copies of all checks sent to the VEP as evidence to show that the money is not spent unlawfully or in support of a candidate or party. There was a general discussion about the above points which everyone agreed upon the need of the separation of the two activities. It was now after 1:00 P.M. and RTB took his leave. I remained in order to organize a call meeting of the Fourth Congressional District organization. Many of the persons there would not be able to be present for a meeting if it wase on a Saturday morning; so it was decided that it would be held sometime on Friday Evening. Accompanied by Dr. Brockman, I then left Greenville by Rented Car to go to Spartanburg, Laurens and Union Counties.

Rev. Brockman, as a teacher and administrator of a Baptist Mission, has much free time which he has devoted to registration and work on behalf of Dr. Gibson's candidacy. It was explained to me how Greenville is more liberal than most of the Southern counties of South Carolina, which he thinks is due to a lower percentage of Negroes as against whites. It is my opinion that the answer is too simple in light of the fact that in the past a high percentage of Negroes had been there which did aid producement of discrimination against Negroes, and it has been shown that although the Negro population may have decreased substantially, the anti-Negro feeling remained. Therefore, the "liberal" attitude in Greenville may be due to the "New Image" which many Southern communities are producing in order to attract Northern industry. His examples of the liberal attitude there is a bi-racial committee which has integrated the theaters and will soon completely integrate the hotels (for the Omega Phi Psi Convention). The present civil rights concern is school integration suit. Rev. Brockman feels that efforts in integration is mere "tokenism" achieved by the fact that the president of the local NAACP is a member of the Bi-Racial Board and therefore is effectively blocked and controlled, and that the Negro community is beginning to resent his membership.

Rev. Brockman also illustrated the "liberal" attitude of the Greenville community by the fact that his group was allowed to set up a table outside the registration office and fill out the blanks of people who came to register. Whites also came to their table to

register who were registered. Brockman said however that he angered the registrar whereby mistake he instructed a white person to indicate that he was a Negro, which he did.

~~the registrar~~

We arrived in Spartanburg and went to the office of Mr. J. E. Williams, Manager of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance. I stated my purpose, including the history of the Congressional District Method. He informed me that he is not presently active in voter registration, that he would not be able to attend the Friday Evening meeting, but that he would be very happy to allow us to use the Insurance office as a place of meeting. He was busy having a district meeting, but he gave us his wife's address so that she could give us further information.

At Mrs. Williams, she gave us the telephone numbers and addresses of Rev. Harold Cox, Rev. Thornton, and Rev. Johnson. These are persons who have been busy in voter registration. Both Rev. Thornton and Rev. Johnson were out of town. We were able to reach Rev. Harold Cox who we planned to meet for lunch at a drug store. Mrs. Williams indicated that she had been active in voter registration until three or four years ago. She then showed me her books. For a period of three years from 1957 to 1960, she had gone to the registrar's office and copied the names in the book of every Negro who was registered. She indicated that it is against the law in South Carolina to keep records of registrants according to race, yet at the same time, there is a little "c" by every Negro registrant. By 1960, the book showed that there were about 1100 Negroes registered.

We then ate lunch with Rev. Harold Cox. He was one of the local persons (the only one I am sure) who aided Frank Robinson and Brown of CORE in the recent drive in a specific part of the town. I explained to him our program to which he was quite agreeable. He was a young adult and seemed acknowledgeable. He said that there was going to be a play at the high school, which everyone who is active in registration probably would attend. So it was determined that the meeting be at 9:30 P.M. We took Cox home on our way to Laurens.

We arrived in Laurens and first to the home of Rev. E. W. Wright, 720 Settlement Street, after 6:00 P.M. Soon came Rev. James N. Whitmore. We had a general discussion about registration activities in Laurens. They were all proud of having a "Laurens County Citizen's Progressive Improvement Club" which they say the "white folks" respect and is like having an NAACP. They all worked in registration but they could not tell me how many Negroes were registered. They could not come to the Friday meeting but they directed me to Mr. C. E. Beasley, who is directly in charge of registration.

Mr. Beasley owns a funeral home, a service station, and a barber shop where he was waiting to cut a customer's hair when we arrived there. After our discussion, he indicated interest in our program. He said

that he would try to come but told us to see also Mr. Pusely next door, owner of the drug store, and to see Rev. L. C. Butler of Clinton, who is President of the "Laurens County Citizen's Progressive Improvement Club." Mr. Beasley could not tell me how many Negroes were registered, but said that he paid his son to register and that he should know.

It was now getting late and we decided to return to Greenville. We finally realized that my rented car was on fire--the back seat. Probably Rev. Cox had allowed a hot ash from his pipe to get into the seat. We drove to the fire station and a fireman and I took the back seat out and the fire was put out. He said that not many people bring a fire to the fire station. We then left for the Ghana Hotel.

Because the Ghana Hotel was out of town, I decided that it would be better to ~~obtain~~ obtain accommodations within the town. Rev. Brockman suggested the Hotel Poinset, which may be integrated now because its restaurant may be open. After two hours of discussion with the Hotel Manager, and after about an hour of driving trying to find the Ghana Hotel, I reached it and turned in.

On Friday, April 24, I returned to Greenville and called by phone Rev. Cox and Rev. Thornton of Spartanburg and Rev. Butler of Laurens. They all said that they would be at the Friday Evening meeting.

I went to the Greenville Registrar to see whether she could inform me as to how many Negroes were registered. I identified myself, but she became somewhat suspicious or hostile when she saw that I was from out of town, even asking me whether I was a member of the FBI. She told me that it was impossible to know how many Negroes were registered until after May 9, and even then, the information will not be in her hands because her office would be closed. She did say "yes" to the question as to whether the Secretary of State may know then.

After some time in the Greenville Office, I drove to Laurens on the way to Spartanburg in order to talk to the young Beasley who was paid to do registration. His method was to knock on doors, ask whether the person was registered, and then drive the person down to the courthouse. He said that the registrar's attitude is good, and only a very few Negroes have been turned down, and this is because of being convicted of a felony or because the person could not read. He said that he would be at the Friday meeting if his father could not be there.

I arrived in Spartanburg about 6:00 and finally reached Rev. Johnson. He strikes me as being a very intelligent person and is in his early 40's. At his home, we had a discussion and he appeared to be quite concerned about voter registration. Rev. Johnson is the Chairman for

the Fourth Congressional District. His address is 199 W. Park Ave., Spartanburg, South Carolina; telephone: 583-6569. He was concerned about the political activity in Greenville and thought more emphasis should be on voter education.

Rev. Thornton was the first to arrive for the Friday Evening meeting. We had a conversation about registration activities in Spartanburg. He indicated that there was no problem about registration, and that the registrar will give them pads of registration application blanks which they can take around from house to house.

Approximately a few minutes of 10:00 P.M., Rev. Givson, Mr. Rearden, Mrs. Cobbs of the Citizenship School, Miss Walker, the Secretary of the Greenville organization, Rev. Francis, Rev. Brockman--all from Greenville, and Rev. Johnson and Rev. Thornton from Spartanburg were all present. No one from Laurens was present.

Mr. Rearden presided. After being so introduced, I immediately went into why I was there. I informed them that from our experience in South Carolina, it was best to work there with the Congressional District Method in order to reach all the counties and to develop programs benefitting all the counties. I pointed out, however, that we insisted that they develop their own program and that they itemize a proposed budget which should be sent to us immediately so that we can approve it. There was an understanding that there should be a full-time secretary, two part-time secretaries, and a coordinator to work with all three counties. There was a feeling that there should not be a central office for the coordinator except for his mailing materials, but that he should at least spend equal time among the these counties. There was also an understanding that the coordinator should be outside the area because no one within the area is experienced in voter registration as it should be done, and that it would be agreeable that VEP may suggest a coordinator. Because no one from Laurens was in attendance, Rearden was to send a proposed budget and program immediately after a meeting in Laurens this Thursday, April 30. Rearden also at that time will resign from chairmanship of the Fourth Congressional District because of his identity with the Sampson Campaign, and another chairman wil be elected.

In summary, the people from these counties want to have their own local community organizations to carry out the program of voter registration, and the coordinator not to do the work except to stimulate and to assist. Rev. Brockman and Dr. Givson from Greenville, Rev. Thornton and Rev. Johnson from Spartanburg, and the young Beasley from Laurens all seemed that they will be active if a registration campaign is properly organized.

WB—
BW
RTB

TO: Wiley Branton

FROM: John Due

RE: Field Trip to Louisiana, April 29, 1964

My purpose in making the field trip to Louisiana was to determine CORE registration activity in Louisiana, particularly the 21 parishes covered by a federal injunction order which disposes of Louisiana's Constitutional Provision, to effect better reporting on the part of Ronnie Moore, and also to determine whether the Parish assignments of present workers are carried out as per letter, April 17, 1964, (Attached to this report).

I arrived in New Orleans at about 2:00 PM, April 29, rented a Hertz Car (after some difficulty because of my possessing RTB's card rather than that of Authorized Representative). I first had a discussion with Richard Haley, Director, Southern Region of CORE, 2211 Dryades Street, New Orleans. I regard Richard Haley as a personal friend, first meeting him in 1960 as an ex-music teacher at Florida A & M University, who was even then active in CORE together with my wife.

Richard has not assumed any personal direction of voter registration in Louisiana or New Orleans, mainly because of his responsibility with the whole Southern Region but also because his presence in Louisiana has been a short time and he is still determining his role and capacities. Ronnie Moore, therefore, still has been reporting directly to the national office and Richard, along with VEP, has not been receiving any written reports, also to Richard Haley's consternation.

As to my inquiry about registration activities in New Orleans area, he informed me on "hear say" about four groups which are and have been recently carrying on registration activities in the area, which are: (1) Coordinating Council of New Orleans, (2) Women's League for Good Government--which he is sure is the Negro branch, although the other group is integrated, and (3) the NAACP, which has or is carrying on a registration drive in the "Desire Housing Project," an 1800 Negro family unit housing project.

The CORE chapter in New Orleans is hardly active, due to lack of student Negro participation (only 8 from Dillard), resulting from restrictive policies of the administrations of all the Negro colleges in the area, and presently does not have a program.

Richard Haley was able to give some information about the CORE summer project of which Ronnie Moore is to give me more of. The pre-summer activity shall begin in June with training of the workers who shall participate in the project for Louisiana at Berea College, Kentucky. Beginning early in July, at least 50 new workers shall work the 21 parishes covered by the Court Order and other parishes in Northern Louisiana which are not covered by the order. The function of the summer program is (1) Voter registration and (2) Freedom Election. At this point, I interjected that

field trip

the Freedom Election, although a probable stimulant or gimmick for registration, must be separated from the VEP assisted registration program. Richard then explained the Freedom Election as Ronnie Moore conceives it, which is to set up "freedom registrars" in the hard-core areas by which to (1) present "deputy" registrars to the registrars, (2) register the people with the deputies , and take the "lists" to court as duly registered.

We then sought to find Ronnie Moore. Although an office remains still in Plaquemine, 303 Ivy Street, MU7-9131, more probable than not, Ronnie would be at his home, 10185 Avenue "B", Scotlandview, Baton Rouge, either phone 775-3872 or 775-1715. Mike Lesser is in charge of the Fifth Congressional District, Monroe, Louisiana, 103 North 10th St., 322-9103; and Mimi Feingold in charge of the Sixth Congressional District, 683-5401. Not being able then to reach Ronnie anywhere, I then planned to visit the Sixth Congressional District office at 6:00 PM and later seek to find Ronnie that evening.

After checking in for a room at Dillard University, I was caught by the afternoon rush traffic, got lost, and completely went out of the way by taking Lake Pontchartrain Causeway in order to reach Clinton. From U.S. 51, I had to take highway 10 to Clinton, which I later learned lies only a few miles from Amite, Pike, and Wilkinson Counties in Southwest Mississippi, such counties I was later to become involved in next week. There were "Beware Cattle" signs along highway 10, but at 8:00 and pitch darkness I did not believe there would be any problem until I came around a curve and was confronted by two cows silently standing in the middle of the highway. Not wishing to disturb them, or their owners, I went around them. I happened to remember a story about a Negro whose car hit a pig in Perry, Florida. They could not catch the Negro, so they hung the car. When I heard the joke, I did not think it was so funny. I surely did not think it was funny that night.

Negro

When I arrived in Clinton, I was immediately impressed how still and dark this little farm center is. Clinton is in East Feliciana, one of the white parishes covered by the above U.S. Court Order. Mimi Feingold and Spiver Gordon ~~are two white youths~~. I called the CORE office and Howard Messing came to where I was in order to direct me to their office. The office is made up from the living room of the home of Mrs. Charles, a Negro widow. Mimi Feingold, the other CORE worker, was typing up a report which was to be ready for Ronnie's staff meeting the next night. Of the other staff workers, Spiver Gordon was in Plaquemine for a visit, and Loria Davis was on her way back from New York City.

Mimi and Howard indicated to me that in East and West Feliciana, the registrars in these parishes have closed the books. The Justice Department has acted but Judge West has required the Justice Department to file briefs

within 10 days and the other side to respond in 10 days. Mimi and Howard feel that it shall be one or two months before they can attempt to do effective registration work.

They told me that

In St. Helena Parish, there has been registration since the order without the "test" but Negroes have still been denied on technical grounds, through Form LR 1. In other words, technical mistakes disqualify. The Justice Department still has this in the Courts.

As to my question about their techniques in this parish, they told me that in the St. Helena Parish, there is an active NAACP group which has been canvassing the area. The CORE staff here conducted for them the NAACP voter registration workshop, and carries on an ongoing assistance in the voter education clinics with the involvement by the youth in the area. In charge of the clinics is Mr. Ellis Howard of the local NAACP, a farmer, who actually started the clinics on his own personal initiative. People are not marched down in a group but go by themselves. The clinics are held every night. The staff have trained the NAACP youth with each "teacher" teaching two or three persons at a time. In this area, my notes seem to indicate that 50 have been registered but 100 have been denied on technical grounds.

St. Helena has been of the parishes the staff has been most active with since the order, but they said that also, much of their time has been to visit every parish in the Sixth Congressional District to make an assessment of the potential for the present activities of the CORE staff and for the summer project.

They indicated to me that the "6th" staff shall leave the St. Helena Parish for the present time in order to concentrate the present energies in Eastern Area of the "6th", including Livingston, Tangipahoa, Washington, and St. Tammany Parishes, containing the relative large towns of Bogalusa, Covington, Slidell, and Hammond to work from, beginning May 4.

They told me that they expect success in Bogalusa, and Washington Parishes. In Bogalusa, they said that there are two groups, a Voter's League and the United Paper Makers and Paper Workers, local 189 A who expressed that they would be "anxious" for CORE to come in to give assistance. Mimi and Howard told me that CORE has not been in this area heretofore, but they believe that there is a good potential, where 200-300 persons out of 7000 possibles are registered.

For Hammond, they said that they would be in a sense be returning to this town, their being in this town from last year's activities a CORE chapter composed of young people. The staff's main contribution will be to assist an active Voter's League, the "Peoples Defense League". In the same parish of Tangipahoa, they have local persons to contact to stimulate activity there.

For Livingston Parish, they expect an easy place to work. There is an interested community, two local leaders, a high school leader, the president of the local voters league, the "Livingston Defense" League, Mrs. Loise Lockhart and Mr. Edward Taylor. Here, of a possible 1,818, (according to 1960) by 1964, more than 1,165 have been registered. Their goal is to get the other 700.

On Friday, May 1, a staff worker shall return to Pointe Coupee to reassess the potential for registration work there for the present and for the Summer Project. It was here, they said, that as a result from the CORE Summer Project, 500 applied and 170 passed the registration test. It is here that there is only a dormant CORE group, but strong leaders do exist in the area.

Of the 21 parishes covered by the order which the "6th" staff workers are responsible for are East and West Feliciana, St. Helena, and part of La-Salle Parish.

I then called Ronnie Moore, found that he was in Baton Rouge and took leave of Clinton, Louisiana.

At around 10:30 PM I found Ronnie Moore at his home and with him enjoyed a repast of raw crabs, oysters, and shrimps, along with other refreshments. Eventually I put on my VEP hat and found that the books will be closed from June 25 until July 25, and that there would be 10 days of registration beginning June 10. He said that of the 21 parishes covered by the injunctive order, after the staff conference which he shall hold tomorrow, (April 30), the CORE staff shall carry on an immediate registration effort in 11. Of the 11 not already pointed up to be in the 6th, he named East Carroll, Franklin, Jackson, Morehouse, Quachita, Union, and West Carroll. All of these parishes center around Monroe towards the Mississippi River (Northeast Louisiana) and are in the Fifth Congressional District, being handled by CORE worker Mike Lesser with his staff.

I asked him about his not answering BW letters. He had no real excuse, but did indicate that his reports have been going to the national office. As Richard indicated, he said that he requires reports from the areas and he sends a summary to the national office. I advised him to do what Patricia does, which is to send directly to BW a copy of his reports. He indicated that he was glad to get a good decision in Jackson Parish where the registrar is required to give monthly reports, and he said that 400 Negroes have already registered, resulting from Mike Lesser working with the local people.
Ronnie Moore said that
In Monroe, there is a group organized since 1958 called the United Crusade Voters League, which is presently a paper organization. The CORE office there is the former NAACP office. Since January, his staff workers have been working in East Parish, West Parish, and Madison, but these areas are such "hard core" areas, only a 150 were registered in January.

Ronnie stated that he was interested in setting up a state-wide organization. I pointed out to him what serious defects the Mississippi COFO program has in relation to VEP, such as the failure to distinguish registration activity from other activities. When he complained that it is hard to separate one activity from the other, I reminded him that as to the policy of VEP in other areas, it is sufficient that there is evidence of separation or appearance of separation, such as to personnel, offices, names, etc. I also said that is my personal belief that local people should run their own politics anyway, not CORE or SNCC. He seemed to agree to this, he at least took notes.

I left Ronnie Moore and arrived back in Dillard, Louisiana at about 3:00 AM. On May 1, I was fortunate to meet up with Mike Lesser, had lunch with him, and during that period, was able to discuss his responsibilities in the fifth CONG. DIST. and the seven parishes covered by the court order.

He said that in East Carroll and Lake Providence, they made a mistake last year in coming in full blast, conducting clinics and canvassing without consulting the local leaders. On May 2, they shall return to re-coup, hoping to cultivate the local community.

In Lincoln, from their recent assessment, they shall send a staff person to work with the students and some of the professors at Grambling College rather than acting initially in the parish seat.

In Jackson Parish, Lesser said that he had been invited by Rev. Hester for a registration program for the parish. Hester was from Chatham. However, unfriendliness resulted from the other two Negro leaders in the area, Messrs. Francis and Dade of Jonesboro. They indicated to him that "they were not having any problems" and suggested that if they would need any help or assistance, they would call him. They also indicated that 1200 were registered; so he put it on a low priority. Hester had recently died. Mike said that he has subsequently found that only 200 Negroes are registered and that there are a 1000 potential more voters. Mike said that he has consulted with the Justice Department (Frank Dunbar?) and they have given him a couple of adults and some high school and college kids to contact. The latter he hopes to organize into voter registration activities before the Summer Project begins.*

In Richland Parish, his staff will, on May 2, contact local people in order to assist to form a parish-wide committee for registration.

In Tensas Parish and St. Joseph, since January, only 35 people have been registered. Here, they have been assisting the local leaders, Rev. Durham, a professor at Jackson State, and Mr. T. H. Ellis, a local barber. Here, they have run into intimidation.

* NOTICE THAT MIKE LESSER CONTRADICTS RONNIE MOORE. RONNIE'S INFORMATION WAS APPARENTLY "TOO OLD".

In Madison Parish, Mike said that he was arrested as soon as he checked into the P.P. Negro Hotel in Tallulah (19 miles from Vicksberg) and was run out of that town.

In the other parishes covered by the order which Ronnie said that Mike is to be responsible for,Mike and his staff have yet to complete their study; so on May 2, part of his staff shall work to complete the evaluation in one week.

Because of the lack of community organizations in his areas, 25 workers shall be sent to him to assist him to carry on a registration program from June 10 until June 18.

In summation, it seems that a few CORE workers have been effective in stimulating and assisting voter registration in the Sixth Congressional District, but not so effective in the Fifth. The Fifth's success seems to result from already present organizations with capable persons who only need a catalyst to act. Whereas in the Fifth, the forces have been spread too thin because of no effective community organizations already existing, or at least the persons who could be capable have been intimidated by the Klu Klux Klan.* It is in the Fifth Congressional District that CORE has found it necessary to put as many workers as soon as possible in order to carry on effective registration for this year.

* It is Mr. Mike Lesser's opinion that the Klu Klux Klan has re-activated itself in North-East Lousiana, with resultant intimidation of the Negro community.

MEMORANDUM

TO: WAB

FROM: JD June 1, 1964

This is a field report to Birmingham, Alabama in relation to the Miles College Citizenship Project.

On May 25, 1964, I arrived in the Birmingham office of the Alabama State Association for Registration and Voting at approximately 1:00 PM.

I introduced myself to the secretary and phoned the Atlanta office for further instructions. WAB indicated that I should find someone in the Birmingham Community who would give an objective opinion about the Miles College group as to their effectiveness. He then said that it was of the utmost importance to see Mrs. John Drew for this information.

BW, from her check lists, requested that I ascertain how the college group works, such as their canvassing, block workers, and cooperation by volunteers. She also requested that I attempt to ascertain the reaction of the community, and find also how Mrs. Johnson feels about their work. BW also wanted to know how they teach political education. She then requested that I find out what kind of reporting they do, what they are going to do with all of their information, and what kind of social research.

From being in Birmingham until the evening of May 26, 1964, I have found the following:

(1) In relation to canvassing, the Miles Group is very busy currently in Bessemer, a town in the Birmingham metropolitan area.

Other than the director, they have nine students who give a full day's work in registration activities, and of these nine, six persons work in the field. Those who work in the field canvass, but this work includes <u>education</u>. Education includes <u>exploration</u> (See attached Exhibit #3) of registration, and also going through with the potential registrant the application (See attached Exhibit #6). They will fill out one for the person and leave a blank one, asking the person to fill out the application without looking at the one already filled out.

On June 3, the Miles College Bus and their car will return to the Bessemer area and pick up more than 200 persons who claim that they have not registered.

Each worker is able to see between 25 and 35 persons a day. So far, about 25% of the persons they interviewed have stated they have not registered and will be ready to be transported to Birmingham to register.

JD Field Report

(2) Other than the six field workers, there is a person who is assigned to the courthouse. He is Mr. William Taylor.

When I was in Birmingham, the registration office was closed, therefore, he was working in the office.

His assignment in the courthouse is Courthouse Researcher. His job is to give moral support to any person seeking to register and to give assistance. When the person is finished, he will ask the person what did the registrar say and what was his attitude.

Already, he has found that when a person makes a technical error, the registrar tells the person to return next year.

(3) The other two persons would work in the office and process the Canvass Cards. The cards are processed at this point only to effect immediate registration rather than making a study, such as 1) the non-registered, and 2) who needs help, (See attached Exhibit #7).

(4) In relation to Reports, because each person receives for the first semester credit in Adult Education, and for the second semester, Social Research, each person must give a report to Rev. Woods, describing his experiences and conclusions. Then these reports are given to Dr. Pitt.

From the wealth of information collected from the Canvass Cards (See attached Exhibit #4), Mr. Douglas Price will make a study and give a report which will be available to the public.

(5) Community Reaction: After wasting four hours trying to see Mrs. John Drew, and wherein she was incommunicable because of sudden sickness, I discussed the effect of the group with these persons:

Mrs. Lou B. Ard - 225 56th St., Fairchild
Mrs. Johnson - VEP Office, Birmingham
Mr. Emory Jackson - Birmingham World.

Mrs. Ard is a volunteer in voter registration and said that she helps both groups, the Miles Group and the Johnson Group. She stated that the Miles Group has made an impression and that the community is aware of their presence. However, she had no information about any claims they allegedly may have made, nor could she give an opinion that the Miles Group works as hard as it can.

Mrs. Johnson indicated that she and the Miles Group seem to have difficulty in coordinating their activities. She was unaware that the student group was in Bessemer.

What concerned her was their claim to the number of registered voters resulting from the court order and how Rev. Wood supported some other candidate.

Mr. Jackson said that his paper accepts without comment the press releases by the Wood's, and he did not investigate whether their claims were valid (See attached Press clippings).

As did Mrs. Johnson, he indicated that he was an early supporter of the Miles program and participated in their preliminary crash program last September.

He said that he did not "know" whether the group is as effective as they claim to be, but in further conversation, he said that he was disappointed because they did not follow his suggestion and concentrate in one small area and make a thorough study of it rather than hitting every place.

(6) As to coordination between the Miles program and Mrs. Johnson, Wood indicated that she keeps them informed about the questions which will be asked, and on June 3, 1964, will furnish them the new questions.

As to duplication of effort in canvassing, the Miles Group is not at all worried about that because Mrs. Johnson's group never has done any canvassing, and if it does, the students feel that duplication should help keep the climate aroused about the need for voter registration.

Rev. Wood is concerned about functional coordination because he is concerned about identity of the Miles Group for fund purposes, and for that reason, does not desire the group to be subsumed under Mrs. Johnson's coordinated effort.

He complains about the fact that his church committee and her church committee are suppose to be working together as to the church contest in getting votes.

However, A. D. King, in charge of Mrs. Johnson's church committee, has not called his committee together because he is always out of town.

Mrs. Johnson expressed great concern about the fact that there is no coordination of effort. She expressed that she knows not where nor what the students are doing. They do not work.

She indicated that she was one of the first ones to propose the student group. The problem, she says, is that Rev. Wood is concerned about seeking publicity, although the students are doing a good job. She said that A. D. King is worried about the tendency of Rev. Wood. She was also concerned about the fact that they do not work through or contact the leadership in the communities they are working.

(7) Demonstration:
Rev. Wood and others of his group feel that demonstration, which shall immediately occur, will have a direct effect of assisting registration, in that it will be a stimulus to registration activity. This will result from consequent unity of the people.

He hopes to poll some of the young kids also who want to demonstrate and put forms in their hands so they can canvass.

Mrs. Johnson has no opinion about the effect of demonstrations, but she hopes that children will join her "Johnson Crusade" if they don't want to register.

(8) Conclusion:
I asked Rev. Wood the direct question: "How many people can your group claim to have registered?"

He said that he really could not do that, even if his group transported the people down to the courthouse; it would not be fair. He feels that his group has been the most effective, but nevertheless, he feels that the reason people register is due to many stimuli and his group cannot claim to be the only stimulus.

This response caught me off guard because Wood's brother's demeanor of giving all the answers on the right answers. I expected them to claim at least the number resulting from the court order, but face to face, they didn't.

The bad characteristics of the Wood brother's personality may be true. The fact that they do not work through the "established leadership" is true.

Nevertheless, although it appears that the group may be stamping on the feet of the "established leadership" of the Negro community, the fact remains that when I was in Birmingham, the student group was out in the streets, canvassing and seeing a Hundred people a day. When the books open, they shall begin to bus the people to the courthouse. No other group was doing that when I was in Birmingham.

JD:bs

Sample Material from
S.C. Field Trip

Spartanburg County Voter
Education Project
1631 Union Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina
August 6, 1964

Dear_____

The Spartanburg County Voter Education project is urging everyone to become a register voter and to vote in November.

We are asking you to help us. You have been highly recommended as an interested person.

Let me know at once what you can do to help. Also let me know what I can do to help you in your community.

Please call me at once, 583-8634 between the hours 5 and 8 P. M. and let us plan together.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. H. G. Barksdale
Director

Attach to S.C. field trip report - ID + ST (original copy)

Be In The Know Be A Helper

Be A Registed Voter

The registration books will be open August 3 through August 15, 1964.

For more information contact the Director of Spartanburg County Voter Education Project.

Dial 583-8634 (Mrs. H. G. Barksdale)

585-2039 (Silver Hill Methodist Church)

or 585-2998 (Miss K. R. Moore, Secretary)

Mrs. H. G. Barksdale
Director

8/7/64

WB
JM
JTV

MEMORANDUM

TO: WAB
FROM: JD
RE: Field Trip through South Carolina, July 28-29

I returned from Florida on July 27 and had a conference with Wiley Branton. It seemed that we had some questions that were rising out of the Fourth Congressional District which could be answered only by a field trip to the area.

On Tuesday, July 28, at another conference with WAB, it was determined that I should leave that day. He had contacted leaders of the Third and Fourth Congressional Districts, Rev. S. L. McCain and Mr. Harrison Rearden respectively, and, therefore, they would be expecting me. My My route was planned and it appeared to be convenient that I arrive in Augusta after leaving the office after 5 P.M. and arriving in Augusta around 9 P.M, checking into a motel and then seeing S. L. McCain, who lived a few miles near Edgefield, South Carolina, or about a half hour by car from Augusta.

I was instructed that I should seek to find the answers to the following questions. From the Fourth District, I should find out why we have not received any financial reports from Harrison Rearden since we began supporting their program beginning July 3, and incident to that, are all the county organizations functioning? Also, in what manner are VEP funds being used? Why is there a misunderstanding between the county organizations? From the Third District where also there have been no reports received by the office, WAB wanted to know the names and addresses of the county leaders and the manner of deciding how and who to assist financially, what bills are paid, and how the money is divided.

I arrived in Augusta, Georgia, and checked into the motel at about 10 P.M. After calling Mr. McCain in South Carolina, it was determined that it would be better that I see him Wednesday. I told him I would see him on my way back to Atlanta from Greenville, South Carolina.

Wednesday Morning, on my way to Greenville, I stopped in Anderson hoping to see Rev. Joe Rich, the director of the Anderson County Program in the Third District. I had been instructed by WAB to find out from him and the local common ~~people~~ person what is being done in voter registration in the county. I was told also to call Miss Betty Ann Johnson who, at a prior time, was part of a VEP assisted NAACP program in Anderson. I could not find Rev. Rich but was told that he may be available that same day in the evening.

John Doar
Field Trips
Blue

Arriving in the Greenville Political Action Committee's Office in Greenville early Wednesday Afternoon, I talked to Mrs. Cobb, who was in the office with the secretary. Mrs. Cobb was an SCLC Citizenship school teacher who was now a field secretary of the Greenville County organization as I learned, along with Mr. Debow and Rev. Wittenburg, all receiving $25 a week for their expenses. The secretary, Miss Bernice Reeder, receives $35 a week. Rev. Brockman, County Director, receives $25 a week plus $15 a week as Congressional Director.

While waiting for Rev. Brockman to return to the office, I talked with Mrs. Cobb to understand what she was doing. As a field worker in the county, she was director of the lower six wards of the county of Greenville, as well as chairlady of two precincts. Her mode of operation was to hold township meetings and precinct meetings in order to develop a core of reliable "box" workers--box workers are volunteers who, on registration days, will be ultimately responsible in getting the people in the vicinity of their places of voting (boxes) registered.

There will be only 10 days for registration in August. Because of this, one of her complaints was that she was not satisfied with the County Committee only giving $.25 for those who need funds to pay expenses of their transportation to the place of registration. The areas in which she works include rural areas which are as much as 30 miles away from the place of registration.

I also called Dr. Gibson, who is treasurer of the Fourth Congressional District, and asked him about why VEP has not received any financial information. I found out that that very day, they were sending by airmail special delivery this information--I saw copies of their checks. Dr. Gibson explained also that they have not received any bill for the checks purchased by VEP and therefore did not know they were obligated to pay.

Rev. Brockman did arrive and we both left the office and joined Mr. Rearden, President of the Fourth Congressional District, who had just returned from a business trip. It was then that I learned of the difficulty Rearden and Brockman were having with the other counties in the Fourth District. In Spartanburg, there has been no activity, and Brockman has not been able to contact Rev. Johnson, who is president of the Spartanburg County Committee. In Laurens, the officers of the committee there are upset because they feel they are not receiving a fair share and that Greenville is receiving the lion's share. Mr. Rearden, in saying this, also said that at the meeting in Laurens of the Fourth District meeting, there was an understanding and even a motion by a person of Laurens that money be distributed

on a per-capita basis (i.e. the number of unregistered Negroes in each county). But they soon became dissatisfied with this arrangement and called Rearden to distribute the funds on an equal basis, which Mr. Rearden refused on the advice of the South Carolina VEP Chairman, Mr. Thomas, who said that in practice, this arrangement is insufficient because one county can spend all of its funds and have need for more but cannot get more because of another county having its share remaining; and of course, VEP will not send more when the Congressional District Treasury shows a balance. Also, as explained to the Laurens people by Rearden, this "equal share" distribution will mitigate the whole purpose of the unity idea of the VEP support of the program on a congressional district basis. Brockman and Rearden, however, felt that it was important that I explain this to the Laurens people and they set a meeting up for 6 P.M. This was allright, but I realized that held in jeopardy were the prospects that I may be able to see Rev. Rich in Anderson and McCain in Edgewood at a reasonable hour. Rev. Brockman and I then left Greenville for Spartanburg to see whether we could find Rev. Johnson and Rev. Thornton, the leaders of the program there.

We arrived in Spartanburg, and the parties we wanted to see were not to be found. I suggested to Rev. Brockman that as director, it would seem that it was up to him to find persons in the county who are willing to work, and although Johnson is the "elected" head of the county group, it would not be going over Johnson's head--these workers would be subject to Johnson's control and only would assist him. Brockman then asked whether he has our go-ahead and I said yes. We then went to see Mrs. Williams, the wife of Mr. Samuel Williams, the Southeast Director of Pilgrim Insurance. I was impressed with the records and work of Mrs. Williams of 15 years, 1945-1960, and where she had personally copied the names and addresses of Negroes who have registered. This impressed me in light of the fact that the Greenville organization is paying several persons $5.00 or so to copy names.

When we arrived, Mrs. Williams was busy and was not available but Mr. Williams was very gracious at our very forward intrusion. We had a long talk and I received a very good education about the Negro in South Carolina politics and Mr. Williams' role as connected with the present influence he has in the community. He is on the Spartanburg Human Relations Council and Mayor's Council, and it was his influence that Johnson is the president of the local organization. Althoug impressed, I was inclined to be cautious in my estimate of him as this seemed to suggest some self-praise. ~~However~~, On the whole, I was disappointed about my purpose being fulfilled. Mr. Williams was "too busy" at the present time or in August to be primarily concerned about registration. His personal plans are to put his whole effort, influence, and time in "getting out the vote" (to beat Goldwater),

although he seemed to suggest that he was, at the present time, a Republican. Although he was sympathetic with our program, it was his problem of priorities which interfered with present efforts for registration.

Mr. Williams, although seemingly the most important Negro in the community, could not refer us to people who could work in voter registration other than Rev. Johnson. He admitted that most people he knew were busy in their own personal affairs. He admits a community apathy. When we left Williams' house, it began to dawn upon me why, after studying RTB's reports, CORE workers, Frank Robinson and Brown, assume the primary role of registration in a community and tend to do most of the work.

Last April, on my field trip to Spartanburg, everyone I spoke to said that Frank Robinson and Brown did a wonderful job, but in my own mind, I was critical because the way it was said--they did a good job of registration--not we, not even they did a good job of ~~assigning~~ assisting us. I was inclined to put fault on Robinson and Brown for not working through the community organizations and community leaders. I remember now that when they left, they took their records and organization with them.

But now, I begin to suspect that I was wrong about faulting Robinson and Brown. Apathy, from the mouths of Williams and Brockman, seems to be the problem in Spartanburg. But the problem is compounded by that organization forms do exist to the extent that there are appointed leaders who do not lead, or in another way of saying it, leaders without people to lead; yet these same persons are jealous of their prerogatives and must be gingerly treated. I know not of Robinson's program in Spartanburg last year other than that he used college students and a few local young adults to do an intensive effort in low registration areas. Johnson's group seemed to be not involved other than to give advice to Robinson.

One of the local people who did assist Frank Robinson was Rev. Frank Cox, a young 26 year old minister, who helped me to set up a Fourth Congressional Meeting in Spartanburg last April. He just recently married and was honeymooning away from Spartanburg. He and Brockman have worked together before and know each other well. I told Brockman that Cox seemed to be one of the few people he and I know who has the energy and time to do anything in this area, and suggested that he contact him immmediately. Brockman again said that he was reluctant in doing anything without Johnson's say-so. I told him that what was important is voter registration, that Cox will only be assisting Johnson, and that Johnson and his organization will receive the credit for the registration and will receive the benefit from the registration since this group represents the "Negro Community" in Spartanburg.

We then talked to Mrs. Cox, Rev. Cox's mother, who is a very pleasant lady with a neat home. Rev. Brockman determined how to get in touch with Cox, and then we left going to Laurens.

We arrived in Laurens at the proper time for the meeting. There were about six persons already there, and so it seemed that they had a chance to talk among themselves before we arrived. We waited for about three other important persons, such as Mr. Beasley's son who is the secretary. About 12 of us sat under the shade tree of Mr. Beasley's funeral home, and after a short while of small talk and comments about the Republican Convention, we settled down to business. I first asked them what their program was and Rev. Wright, the presiding officer of the Laurens group, said that they have had two prior meetings and have had area meetings. From these meetings, they have come up with 25 volunteer workers. In rough hand, they have taken tablets and ruled them off in order to use them as canvass sheets. They have used church mimeo copies for announcements, etc. They have not spent any VEP funds.

And that was what the meeting was about--how to spend VEP funds. Actually, Rearden's communication with them that same day after he had talked with WAB was sufficient to explain the problem, but they wanted me to say it and I said it. I told them that experience has taught VEP not to support a program on a county basis but on a Congressional District basis. VEP support is financial, and therefore there is to be one central treasury in the district and that funds are to be disbursed on a district basis rather than a county basis, and on a basis of need rather than on a county basis. I then said that if you are concerned about Greenville spending funds, the fault is the fault of the people in Laurens because they have the obligation of developing a program and the need for funds, and then upon that basis, they can spend funds just as easy and as well as Greenville is spending funds. (I said this with tongue in cheek because I had reservations about Greenville spending so much for "field workers" and for people to copy names in the registrar's office. Nevertheless, this was a policy question which I had to discuss with WAB when I returned; otherwise, I would be put in a contradictory position of saying, "you have the right to spend as Greenville,yet you do not have the right to spend as Greenville is spending because Greenville is spending too much)."

I then informed them what Greenville County was doing but with caveat that I was not suggesting that they spend as Greenville is doing--emphasizing that it is the local community who is to carry out the program, that it is the local community who must determine their program and their needs, not VEP nor the Fourth Congressional District's

Director or Rev. Brockman. I did point out that the Greenville field workers were full-time workers and if they are to pay anyone as Greenville, that the people be also full-time workers--suggesting that the 25 volunteers may not be full-time workers or deserve each, $25 a week. Rev. Wright said that his group will have another meeting about staff needs, and expenditures will always be in the terms of being reasonable. Rev. Brockman promised to bring checks right on over for their needs. The meeting adjourned with everyone seeming to be satisfied. Rev. Brockman and I left Laurens.

After taking Rev. Brockman home, I then drove on to Anderson, and again, no one was at Rev. Rice's home. I did go across the street and talked to one of his friends who said that she had been active in voter registration last year but was not familiar with a program being active this year. It was after 10 P.M. and I apologized for waking the lady.

I had called Rev. McCain when I was in Greenville that it may be midnight when I arrived, but he said that it would be allright. When I arrived, after 1 A.M., he gave me the reports from the counties, and from these, WAB and VEP could determine the county leaders. Abbeville, Pickens, and Okone have no county representatives, but there in Pickens is a Dr. Hill who is a contact. Rev. McCain's field agent, Mr. Charles Daniels, Rte. 1, Box 140, is working the latter area and the other areas where there are no county representatives. He said that he had not received a report as of yet from his representative at Salude, Rev. R. A. Mathis.

He indicated that on the second Sunday of each month, there is a district meeting and the representatives and the workers present their bills, which McCain suggested to be primarily gasoline bills. McCain's just-finished task was visiting the areas which have not submitted their VEP reports to him. He warned them that they were not to receive any more funds unless they send their reports. I was under the impression that financial reports had been sent to VEP, and I failed to make further inquiry or to ask to see some of their bills. I did ask about the Anderson situation and he said that Rev. Rice did make the meeting, "meeting before last," and because of their past expenses, he gave him a hundred dollars. Therefore, this was a general discussion during the early morning which had the unfortunate result of avoiding the specific needs I needed to know. About 3 A.M., I left Rev. McCain and by 4 A.M., I decided to stay in Augusta before returning to Atlanta.

JD:bs

☆ ORANGE COUNTY BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

39 NORTH PARRAMORE STREET
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

August 10, 1964

Dear President/Pastor:

We the members of the Orange County Branch NAACP are calling on every Club President/your members to participate in our Voter's Registration Campaign. We ask of you if we may have a speaker to come to speak with your group at your convenience.

We must begin at once to get more negroes registered before the general election in November. The registration books will close October 3.

We need everyone to help us in this drive. It is very important that we reach every person that is not a registered voter, so in this important election they may have a voice in the affairs that govern them.

Can we count on you? If so, please contact our Campaign Office at this number 424-6394.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

NON-PARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

(Attorney) N. D. Woolfork III
Campaign Chairman

(Mrs.) Mabel Richardson
Campaign Directress

mjj

File: John Doe Field Trip Reports

8/17/64

TO: WAB
FROM: JT & JD
RE: Field Trip to South Carolina, August 10-12, 1964

(JT) INTRODUCTION

WAB first decided to send me alone on this field trip, then later decided to send JD also. In a conference prior to the trip with us, WAB stated specific questions and situations he wanted us to seek answers to. He stated his thoughts and suggestions that we, if possible, make to the various county chairmen concerning the operation of VEP programs under their guidance. [redacted]

NOT SO Note

(SEE insert)

We were asked to seek specific answers to the following questions in:

First Congressional District:

WAB asked us to visit in Charleston, S. C., with Mr. Esau Jenkins, a county leader in this district. Here, we wanted to know whether the program was working; how many people were registered; number of volunteer workers; take a look at his records; and make this a routine visit.

Second Congressional District:

1. Visit with the students at the Summer Project sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee; see what they are doing; and inquire as to the results of their program and how effective is it.
2. In Columbia, S. C., talk with Dr. I. DeQuincy Newman, district chairman. Nothing special, how are voter registration programs doing; what are their results; and ask for questions, complaints, etc.

Third Congressional District:

1. Talk with Rev. S. R. McCain, North Augusta, S. C., about the general VEP program in his district.
2. Ask Rev. Rich did he ever work out a budget.
3. Check Rev. McCain's records, nothing special, just a routine check.
4. Use your (JT & JD) own judgment in talking with Rev. McCain about the VEP project in the third district.

Fourth Congressional District:

1. Have there been any changes in the programs?
2. Are all counties working effectively under VEP?
3. Pass on to the fourth district chairman that the VEP office will send them $1,300 sometime this week.
4. Check with Rev. Brockman in Greenville.
5. Call Mr. Haile and get names of county leaders.

5th Dist

Insert to Field Report

WAB suggested we mention to Mr. Rearden that it might be easier for County Chairman in the Fourth dictrict to keep at least $50.00 petty cash on hand to pay small expenses rather than submit them to Mr. Reardens office which would take a larger period of time to be executed.

JT

Fifth Congressional District:

1. Check and see what voter registration activity is going on in the various counties.
2. Check with county leaders; how is the VEP program working or moving?
3. Point out to them (the county chairmen) that they are due some money. If they are working in their respective counties, we will send them more financial assistance.
4. See what's going on in voter registration at Rock Hill, S. C.
5. Find out just how are the counties working with the other counties in the Fifth Congressional District.
6. Get a list of county leaders and their addresses.

WAB asked that we bring back to him a general picture of voter registration programs in South Carolina so that he may determine whether additional financial assistance is needed. The registration books will be open again in September for the state of South Carolina.

(JD)
Athens, Georgia - Monday Afternoon

Joe Tucker and I arrived in Athens, Georgia approximately 5 P.M. Whereas our purpose was at first to determine who was sending us the reports, and during our last few moments in the office, we found that the person who was sending the reports was Mr. E. C. Gardner, we decided that to only pay a courtesy call to Mr. Gardner and then continue on to S. C. in order to meet with Rev. Joseph Rich, the Anderson County director.

Mr. E. C. Gardner's address is 1495 E. Broad St., Athens, and his phone number is 67001. When we arrived, we introduced ourselves and were cordially welcomed. He offered that the registration effort in Athens is an NAACP operation by its political action committee. Expenses and income for voter registration are not kept in a separate account. Their manner of operation is to pay Negro taxis for taking people to be registered. A taxi driver will present a list of the persons who they have taken, including information such as the person's place of residence, and they charge a reasonable price. Mr. Gardner said that the taxis do not charge as much as the regular rate because they, too, say that they are part of the movement. Nevertheless, I concluded that since there is no standard rate, such as $.25 a head, this way of making a profit stimulates the Negro taxis to cooperate in the registration campaign, working with the Negro barbershops and beauty parlors.

Mr. Gardner has no "title," and he says that he just works in registration, but agreeing that he is a coordinator, if not so designated. He informed us that the president of the NAACP is Rev. W. Hudson.

Anderson, S. C. - Monday Night:

We arrived in Anderson around 7:30 P.M. Monday. We tried to reach Rev. Rich from Athens, but he was not available. Joe and I remained in Athens to eat dinner, hoping to catch him later, but by 9 P.M., he never appeared. Nevertheless, we met an acknowledgeable young man who knew the names of the local leaders. Before we left Anderson, we contacted the president of the local chapter of the NAACP and gave him the information about our concern in relation to Rev. Rich drawing up a budget for which we could support. The president indicated that Rev. Rich had been out of town and he did not know when he would return.

JT and I then left Anderson and arrived at the Ghana Motel, a Negro motel in Greenville. Because of the inferior accommodations there and because the newly integrated motels either "have no accommodations" or "desire not to desegregate," JT and I strongly advise one who is a Negro working in the field to phone ahead and make reservations.

Fourth Congressional District - Greenville, Spartanburg, and Laurens
Tuesday A.M. & P.M.

After remaining in the office of the Greenville Voter Registration and Education Committee until about 11 A.M., Rev. Brockman, having taken a carload of people to be registered, came to the office. We gave him WAB's message concerning the second allotment. Because we were mainly interested in the other two counties, Laurens and Spartanburg, we did not remain in Greenville long. Rev. Brockman indicated that he never had been able to get in contact with Rev. Johnson, the president of the Spartanburg registration committee. Rev. Brockman then said that in almost despair, he finally told his troubles to Atty. Thompson in Spartanburg. Atty. Thompson expressed great surprise and had no knowledge of any role Spartanburg could play in voter registration. He set up a meeting with himself, Brockman attending, along with Mr. Williams of North Carolina Mutual, (see previous report) and Dr. Bulldale, a Negro. This meeting was held during the first of August.

Rev. Brockman said that Mr. Williams surprisingly expressed reluctance that Spartanburg be involved in the program, fearing that VEP and Non-Spartanburg people would control the community. Rev. Brockman insisted that he or no one else would control their community and that it was they who are to organize and direct the program. Mr. Williams then was persuaded and the Spartanburg people became enthusiastic about the program. Mrs. Hattie G. Barksdale, a middle aged housewife, was hired as county director who hired Mrs. Moke as a secretary. The Spartanburg office was set up on 267 N. Converse,

in the Silver Hill Methodist Church, phone number: 585-2039. Mrs. Barksdale's residential phone number is 833-1836.

Rev. Brockman said that Laurens County is performing quite nicely and is directed by Prof. J. T. W. Mims, 232 S. Livingston St., Clinton, S. C. Therefore, JT and I decided to visit Clinton and Spartanburg before going through the Fifth District and then stopping in Columbia for the night. From the Greenville office, I called Prof. Mims and Mrs. Barksdale and made appointments to see them that afternoon. I also tried to contact Frank Robinson, W. Brown, and Mr. Haile, the latter being the Fifth District President, but was told that he was attending an undertaker's meeting in Kingstree and may be back in Camden late that night.

Approximately 12:30 P.M., we arrived at the home office of Laurens County. Rev. Mims had not as of yet arrived from the post office, but there to meet us was Mrs. Emma Hunter, the Laurens County secretary. The office was equipped with a telephone, mimeograph machine, and other necessary incidents. We looked at their records and forms. A typical example of their finances includes $25 a week for Rev. Aureton, a daily supervisor, whose job it is to be at the registration office and assist and observe; $25 a week for Prof. Mims, an education director; $35 a week for Mrs. Emma Hunter as secretary; $.08 per mile for the transportation pool; and $.10 per family that is contacted.

We learned from Prof. Mims that he is a retired school principal and is president of the Negro Teachers Association, the party which sued for equal pay several years ago which influenced him to resign.

He indicated that the registrar told him that more than 500 persons have registered and that 90% were Negro, since August 3. We indicated to him that we planned to visit Spartanburg and then take a quick trip through the Fifth Congressional District and stopping briefly in Gaffney, Rockhill, Chester, Lancaster, and Camden before going to Columbia. Prof. Mims, because of being a principal in Rockhill several years, was able to give the names of local leaders there, which include Rev. R. G. Totely, Rev. W. B. Knox, president of the NAACP, Dr. Dewey Duckett, who is on the board of the South Carolina Human Relations Council, and Rev. Lloyd Morris. For Chester, he told me to see the Farm Demonstration Agent.

Prof. Mims then invited me to speak at a meeting to be held in Laurens County sometime in early September, which is to be both a worship of voter education series and a celebration for their efforts in voter registration. After an enjoyable discussion, we took our leave and then drove on to Spartanburg and made our appointment with Mrs. Barksdale for 3 P.M.

Mrs. Barksdale and her secretary were waiting for us. It was soon apparent that she had no prior experience in voter registration nor was being directly assisted by anyone who had prior experience. However, she was working and sincerely trying. She has a quite sufficient office in the Silver Hill Methodist Church and has the right to use any of the utilities of the church. She told me the manner in which she was appointed. She attended the meeting which Rev. Brockman had set up, which I mentioned earlier in this report. After the meeting, she said out loud that she was going to work and register anybody she sees, and Dr. Bulldale overheard her, and through him, she was appointed. Her records were very scant. She said that everything was in her head, but then asked me whether it would be allright for everyone to not report until after the books close.

I told her that as far as reporting, etc., Rev. Brockman is responsible to VEP. Therefore, she should try to report the way he wanted her to report. However, there should be some manner of daily reporting to her so that she could determine who is working and who is not working so that she can know of anybody who is actually being registered, (which she did not know), so that she can make some changes if necessary. We then left Spartanburg around 4 P.M. on our way to Chester, S. C. Because it was so late at this time, we decided to skip going through Gaffney. When we arrived in Chester, it was nearly 6 P.M.

Fifth Congressional District - Chester, S. C.--Tuesday Afternoon
After arriving in Chester, we found the name of the Farm Demonstration Agent and went to his home, but he was not there. His name is M. M. Sitton, 40 Jetter Street, home phone number: 385-3804, and 385-5592 is his office number which is located at 121½ Gadsden Street. We then drove arount to a Negro business district and found that the president of the NAACP in Chester is Rev. H. B. Brewer, who was active in taking people to be registered. We called his number, but there was no answer. His address is 130 Bailey and his phone number is 385-3698. We then left Chester, going to Rockhill, S. C.

Rockhill (5th District) - Tuesday Night
When we arrived in Rockhill, we noticed that this was a fair-sized town with a well-defined Negro business street of several blocks. We found the addresses and phone numbers of Rev. Totely, 927 Crawford Road, phone number, 327-4222; and Rev. W. B. Knox, 307 W. Moore, phone number, 327-7339. We went to both homes. We were only able to talk to the 18 year old son of Rev. Knox. He said he knew of no voter registration activity.

JT and I were about to conclude that there was no voter registration activity going on in Rockhill and had almost decided to drive on to Camden before it would be too late. But still not remaining assured that voter registration activity was not going on, we felt that we had to support this finding from the Negro on the streets on the Negro block.

We stopped at a Negro barbershop and asked a young barber whether there was being conducted a voter registration drive. He said that some man with a college age youth had been going around all week asking people whether or not they were registered and taking them downtown. This sounded like Frank Robinson or William Brown of CORE. He was able to find out that Brown was in town and find where he was.

It was now after 7 P.M. when Joe and I passed a parked car that fitted the description we were given. We met Rev. Lloyd Morris, with whom Brown was having dinner. Rev. Morris is a young minister who is the local person in charge of the voter registration drive in Rockhill. His address is 442 Ray Street, phone number, 327-3916. The youthswho are involved in voter registration and canvassing were associated with those who, several years ago, were involved in sit-ins and demonstrations under Rev. Morris' predecessor. The work in Rockhill is of a low-gear quality, the workers being only about ten youth and being handicapped by a shortage of cars. It seems that Brown got to Rockhill too late to organize for the 10-day registration with the results similar to his and Robinson's results in Spartanburg.

I told him that we were trying to visit the counties in the Fifth Congressional District and found the names of the county leaders and directors in this district. Brown happened to have a list with them which Mr. Haile gave him which I indicate below:

Gaffney

There was no organization, but the contacts there were:

Rev. A. W. Goforthly
S. Johnson St.
Gaffney, S. C.
Phone: I.V. 9-5669

Rev. M. L. Roberts
619 Borad Street
Gaffney, S. C.
Phone: I.V. 9-8953

Rev. J. W. Saunders
330 W. Meadow St.
Gaffney, S. C.
Phone: 9-2180

Chester

Brown stated that he knew of no Sitton or Brewer, but that the inspired person who is working hard in that area and had just registered 300 people without VEP support (He had just returned from there.) is Mrs. Jean D. Hynson, 146 Loomis Street.

Lancaster

This is an area which Brown is going to visit this week,(August 3-7), and which is of interest to him because of the leader there who ran for

council. His name is Reddick L. Martin, office phone: AL 3-4018, residence phone: AL 3-1439. Other contacts are Mrs. F. Funderburke, Funderburke Funeral Home, and Rev. C. M. Smith.

Chesterfield
Brown says that this area is where there is an active group in existence, but it is not receiving funds from VEP. The contact there is Mr. Joe Morris, 284 Second Street, Cherow, S. C. Brown did not know the name of the person who is a contact in York County except that the person there is a minister; and in Union County, the contact person there is Dr. Long (See VEP files for address).

Brown said that there are only three counties which receive direct assistance from VEP funds, which are Kershaw, Winnsboro and [redacted] Chesterfield?

Dr. C. H. Thomas, State Director
It now being late, we cancelled out the trip to Camden and other counties, driving to Columbia for the night and then arriving in Orangeburg on Wednesday. We had a chat with Dr. Thomas. He was concerned about the continuance of the statewide registration program after it went out of existence, and that it would all be a wasted effort if they had no support for having a continuing existence. He showed us the plans for assessing each county on a Negro population basis which would result in $.15 for each Negro for a $15,000 budget. They have been promised $4,000 from the Presbyterian Church, but this would be insufficient because of their needing an office and a staff. He therefore hoped that VEP would assist in supporting their effort. I asked him about who they were going to get as a field secretary and how. He said that they are establishing qualifications, but that they are still bothered about the questions--whether to get a Negro, and about the sex of the person. (One of the persons from the Friends group has offered his services.)

American Friends Group - Wednesday Afternoon
Dr. Thomas then directed us to the "Freedom House" where the American Friends student group was located. The house was located in a Negro neighborhood, but there remained in this same neighborhood homes occupied by white families, which is typical in many areas in the South. The house itself was a non-new prewar two-story house which was clean and neat. It was rented for the period of the AFS work in Orangeburg County for their use. They use it both as a place of residence and as an office.

As an office, they have space in the corner of the dining room which is used for the card file records, other file records and a table for holding their publicity matter. What I thought was quite unique is that use of their personnel for office use is very low priority. They do not have a phone although they have the right to use their close-by neighbor's phone. Therefore, a phone plays an insignificant part in their operation, and this frees their people to work in the field rather

than to answer a phone. This suggests that a phone may not be absolutely or even practically necessary for a voter education project.

The AFS group consists of nine youth and young adults integrated sexually and racially (one Negro girl), a dietician and a chaperon. Their director is a white young adult in his middle or late twenties by the name of Pickens Moore. Assisting from the community are 15 college age youth from South Carolina State Teachers College, a Negro institution. This total of 24 persons is broken down into four teams, each team assigned to one of four areas into which the county is broken. For their use, they have five cars, four of which were donated to the community for their use and one belonging to Mr. Pickens Moore.

I interviewed six workers from various teams and Mr. Moore. A team's typical day during the August registration period is to fan out to their particular area at 8 A.M. and organize the Negroes for immediate transportation to the registration office. When the registration day terminates, they then begin a period of canvassing around 8 or 9 P.M. After it finishes canvassing for the day, the team then conducts a voter education workshop-mass meeting or attends a revival meeting in the area, the latter taking priority in order to avoid conflict. After the meeting, the teams return to the Freedom House tired (sometimes after midnight).

Their procedure of canvassing is unique. Each worker has a set of 5 x 3 cards which he takes with him which he or she identifies by ward and precinct, etc. Again, this puts more workers in the field rather than in the office. I have observed other groups who have forms for their canvass workers which they fill out and then return to the office. Office personnel is then needed to transcribe the information on the cards. AFS workers eliminate this necessity for office overhead.

Before a team hits a part of their area, they are in contact and communication with the local precinct chairman who gives them the "key" to the particular area by introducing the team to other local leaders and contacts, and who briefs them upon their expected behavior and about the reaction of the local white power structure. Accessibility in the area is a success because of Orangeburg being highly organized voter education wise due to prior VEP support, Mr. Thomas, State VEP Director, and Mr. McPherson, director for Orangeburg. After the initial contact, they have an interview with the local enforcement officials whereby they introduce themselves and indicate their purpose and frankly ask for protection. The response has varied from the promise of protection to the moderately negative response, "I don't like you people being here, but I can't stop you from being here." Assistance, as I gather from their talk, from the local area leaders varies from vocal support and assistance at workshops to actual accompaniment on canvassing missions. They have had no transportation problems or needs in getting community support in this manner.

On their door-to-door canvassing ventures, they work on a sexually integrated basis but not on a racial basis (such as Black boy-White girl patrols). When a resident answers their knocks, they introduce themselves as volunteer workers assisting the Mr. _____or Mrs._____, (the local resident voter registration leader). Their purpose is to identify with the local community as much as possible to establish rapport. They will not voluntarily offer to the local resident the American Friends organization, yet they willnot avoid discussion if the resident or other persons request discussion. They relate exactly why they are in their area--"We are here to register Negroes." They briefly explain South Carolina Laws about voter registration--"You can register in August only between now and August 15, this coming Saturday at noon." But time is not spent so much on education as it on establishing a desire or curiosity on the part of the resident. So the team or patrol will explain why the local resident must register--from a bacon-and-grits basis to relating them to Goldwater and Johnson, (or local political contests).

Because little steps are easier to take than giant steps (going down to the Courthouse to register), the team will request the local resident to attend a local mass meeting. The mass meeting is a workshop to educate the local residents about the techniques of registration and voting, and the issues and the personalities. If the resident is in a true rural area distant from other residents and not able to attend the mass meeting, a personal workshop is given to the resident right there, but the resident is encouraged to attend the mass meeting for obvious reasons.

At a typical mass meeting, (A team holds several in a week in an area, and if there is a revival meeting being held, a meeting may be held right at the end of the revival meeting or be incorporated as a part of the revival meeting.) the service is opened by the presiding or local minister by prayer and followed by hymns. Then they have an inspiring speaker from the Orangeburg area who is an expert in the use of emotion. Sample registration forms are then passed out and everyone is instructed on the use of the forms. Then the candidates from the various parties give their speeches, i.e., President Johnson, Senator Barry Goldwater, and the local candidates, etc. (Team workers are trained in the personalities and the issues and have studied all the pertinent speeches of the candidates.) The team worker will either give one of the already published speeches or give an improvised speech based on the philosophies and speech technique of the candidate. The people are then educated about the techniques of marking a ballot. Sample ballots are distributed. An election is then held, using all the products of a regular election such as poll watchers, etc. The count is totaled and results are given, and the meeting is terminated by prayer.

The mass meetings have varied from 6 to 120. The AFS <u>unique</u> use of the mass meeting technique for a workshop cannot help but stimulate

the participants to register and then vote and provide the little step which makes the step to true voter participation by the Negro easier.

The results of the program seem to average about 150 per day. A total of 169 persons were registered the previous day.

Charleston, S. C. - Wednesday Afternoon

After we left the Friends group, we then went to Charleston. We decided that there was no need for us to split up after it was determined that I would not be able to see McCain in the Third Congressional District until late in the evening.

In Charleston, we found the office of the Citizens Committee and Registration Committee and waited for Mr. Esau Jenkins, who was busy transporting people to be registered in his bus (VW). He indicated that he had received $600 from VEP which is the account held for him by Mr. Fleming, and has received a direct grant from SCLC and assistance from the Highlander Folk School, the latter being used in his Adult Education in Citizenship series which was held last month on the island. He indicated that three teachers are responsible to him who receive $3.00 per hour. His coordinator receives $25 per week, as does himself.

We left Charleston and arrived to meet with Rev. McCain around 11 P.M. Wednesday. (SEE NEXT PAGE)

JT's Personal Conclusion to S. C. Field Trip

The trip proved to be very interesting and informative. It was an awakening experience to meet and see in action other people interested in voter registration. They all seemed sincere and interested in their work and moved about their duties with a great amount of dedication and tenacity.

The VEP car was used as our mode of travel. It performed exceedingly well. The mileage meter showed that we covered a total of 958 miles. When we returned, the condition of the car mechanically wise was good. After making the field trip, I am even more so impressed with the Voter Education Project, its goals, its operation, and its leaders.

Third Congressional District

We arrived at Rev. McCain's house at the designated time, 11P.M. McCain told us about the Voter Registration program in his district. How they get people to the polls and how he gets his volunteer workers organized and working. He told us how the program is working and how it was organized.

Rev. McCain said he had not seen Rev. Rich about the budget, but plans to as soon as possible. Rev. McCain said he didn't have any records we could look at, they were all with Dorothy Franklin, the SCLC Secretary in McCormick County.

Rev. McCain sent a voided check, N. 0013 by us to the VEP office. He had received correspondence requesting this numbered check and some more. He only sent one check back by us.

McCain said he had no problems, things were going pretty well. He couldn't tell or show us anything else do to the absence of records.

JT

WB
JMC

M E M O R A N D U M

#cc

9/1/64

TO: WAB
FROM: JD
RE: Field Trip Throughout Georgia, August 17-21, 1964

On Monday, August 17, I received a phone call from WAB, who was on a field trip, and was requested to take the VEP car with Texaco Card and take a field trip through Georgia. I was asked to take a trip through South Georgia, see Bill Randall of Macon, and Atty. Jackson, and find out whether they would be interested in a program before September 15. I was to then see Mr. Appling of Ft. Valley and check to see whether he would want a direct grant immediately, along with budget and voucher checks.

I was then to go into Southwest Georgia and visit the SNCC projects in the various counties, explain to Don Harris about VEP's policy, and seek explanation about reports to JBM which state, "I took (a certain number) of people to be registered," but do not state how many people were actually registered.

From there, I was to go to Savannah, see Hosea Williams and meet the county leaders in their program (SCLC, Southeast Crusade for Voters). Also, I was to see P. B. McCoy of Waycross, who is conducting a voter registration campaign in Waycross under the name of the "Negro Political Action Committee."

Macon - Monday P.M.

When I arrived in Macon, Mr. Randall had been out of town, but I was able to catch him at his residence just before he went to a revival meeting. He stated that he is doing voter registration work, using his newspaper staff and local volunteers. Prior to the books closing in June, he estimates that of of 4,500 newly registered persons, about 2,200 were Negroes, bringing the total to about 6,000 total registered Negroes. He estimates that at the present time, there is a potential of 13,000 Negroes who could be registered, and about 6,000 from the hard core (the practically unregisterable). He requests VEP assistance, stating that he would use the same people that he used before the books were closed--at least six NAACP youth members who are affiliated with SCLC who will also furnish Citizenship teachers. One of the persons he believes will assist him is Bernice Turner, a youth staff worker who at the present time is in Monroe, Ga.

He said that he will dictate a budget to his secretary in the morning who will send it on to WAB, but he asked me whether I thought that VEP would support a district-wide program in voter registration with him as the director. He also expressed interest in the Third Congressional District. I admitted that VEP may be amenable to a district-wide program rather than supporting separate counties, based upon experience in South Carolina.

I asked him whether he thought Mr. Appling would be the best person to direct the program in the Third Congressional District, and Mr. Randall answered that Mr. Appling is the best person for Ft. Valley.

I received wonderful accommodations at the Holiday Inn, and while there, ate dinner with Atty. Jackson, a young attorney who in the recent past had been assisting C. B. King but is now establishing a practice of law in Macon.

Ft. Valley - Tuesday A.M.

The phone number of Mr. Appling is TA 5-5319. He stated that Mr. Patton "messed them up" in the operation of the Middle Georgia Voter Registration Project, which covered the counties of Peach, Houston, Taylor, Crawford, and Macon. He stated that "they" set up an organization in Dudley County and registered over 400 in the last registration period.

In the Congressional Races, (3rd), the main contenders are Charlie Byrd and Earl Cox, and both are vieing for the Negro vote at this time so as to make the runoffs and freeze out the other candidates. Also, states Appling, Randall is a supporter of Byrd and suggests this is why Randall is so interested in voter registration. Appling says that his group has sent questionnaires to both Cox and Byrd with typical questions concerning race relations, etc., and that Cox is the only one who has answered.

Appling stated that he has worked with the Georgia Voter Registration League, but he feels that it has been all talk and no work.

From Appling I learned that the name of the local group which participated within the Middle Georgia Voter Registration Project is the Peach County Political Action Committee. The name of the vice chairman is Ruben Jones, and the secretary is Daisy Wooten.

Americus - Tuesday P.M.

After leaving Appling, I drove down to Americus. While driving, I heard on the radio that there was a warrant out for the arrest of Don Harris, the SNCC Coordinator for the SW Georgia VEP, and that Rev. Herman Wells had already been arrested. The arrests, according to the radio newscaster, were in connection with the riots the previous weekend. As I drove into Americus, I felt that I should go to Koinia Farm in order to find out where the local SNCC project was.

Koinia Farm is a farm enterprise managed and more or less owned by the Jourdans. At first, it was his dream of an inter-racial co-operative farm of 20-30 families, and so it was for a while. Mr. Jourdan and the others had been shot at many times, even as late as the Fall of 1962, (but the reason then was housing SNCC workers); yet the real squeeze has been the economic boycott, not able to buy

supplies or sell produce and now having to rely on things that can be sold on a public auction such as cattle, etc.

This may not have so much to do with voter registration except to indicate that the Jourdans have always shown a dedication to the cause of civil rights. I knew that I would be able to find from them the address of the SNCC office and learn about the the community.

I was graciously received by Mrs. Jourdan as always, and we first talked about mutual interests and friends. I learned that Zev Aelony, a former CORE worker who stayed with Patricia and me in Tallahassee, was somewhere in the 1000 Acres working and recuperating from a heart attack resulting from his experience in the Americus jails, (being accused of sedition and insurrection last summer), but the talk soon led into voter registration.

John Perdue and Bobby Mance traditionally have been the SNCC workers for Americus. But at the present time, John is situated in Albany. The two main workers in Americus are Sam Mahone and Sam Rushin. Mrs. Jourdan considers Mahone quite effective, who is only 18 years old and is registered. I believe that he is the new type of people SNCC seeks to recruit as workers, young Negroes from the community.

I learned from the Jourdans that the SNCC office is on Jefferson St. near the Barnhill Funeral Home. ~~I learned about the Jourdans~~. It seems that there is no real Negro leadership in the community except, of course, the "Uncle Toms." Therefore, there has been no real support of Negro voter registration. An exception is Grandma Barnhill. It may be an error to type her as a leader--she is a militant individual who has demanded and received respect and human dignity--an attitude which has been transplanted to her grandson who is now working for SNCC. Housing and other accommodations for SNCC workers are due to Mrs. Barnhill, but she seems to stand alone. Although, just last week, the Jourdans were able to invite to their home white persons and Negroes from the community. There is some promise of a better community, but the process is hard for true reconciliation.

Joyce, the Jourdan's daughter, was taking one of the Farm's employees into town; so she was glad to show me the way to the SNCC house. She introduced me to Sam Mahone, a quite self-possessed young adult. He and the other SNCC workers, when the car is running, have been taking people off the street and taking them to apply to the registrar. Unfortunately, it has been represented to them that the office is closed (closed the week before) until the November election. Sam says that during the first week, 85 persons took the test who applied the year before! Sam stated however, that last year, he applied and in only three weeks, received a notice to take the test and he took it and passed. He concludes that many of the people are now applying to take the test and will not be able to take it until next month.

From him, I found that Don Harris' address was 536 E. Jefferson, and phone number is 924-5863.

Cordele, Christ County - Tuesday P.M.
While at the SNCC office in Americus, it was my good fortune to meet Rev. Ulysses Fullwood, a citizen of Cordele and the SNCC Voter Education Director there. His address is 605 23rd St., Apt. F, Cordele; phone number: 273-3220. The main problem there is a lack of transportation. He said that he has succeeded in registering 29 Negroes. He also said that the Young Adult Movement in Cordele is assisting him in door-to-door canvassing. One of them is assisting him in the rural areas. Rev. Fullwood stated that in the first of next week, he is going to attempt to either get permission to bring some Negroes to learn how to use the new voting machine which is at the courthouse.

Albany - Tuesday P.M.
While driving into Albany from Americus, I half-way expected to see policemen patroling as a result of the riots, but the town seemed peaceful in the dusk of the day, as seemed the town should have been because of the easy and peaceful desegregation of public accommodations there in early July. Filling at a Texaco gasoline station, even the white station manager didn't seem hostile, although the Negro seemed suspiciously curious...."I have people in Atlanta (looking at my license plate)....Are you a school teacher?"

When I came to the SNCC office, I was quite surprised! Painted over were the SNCC signs, and in their place was a sign saying, "Charles Sherrod Library." I was more suprised to see that the place was deserted--only New York Times newspapers being on its doorstep. I then decided to call Allen Clark, a law schoolmate of mine, and find from him where everyone was. Wile walking to what I thought was the nearest phone, a car came by and stopped, and a white girl with a bunch of Negro youth asked me whether I was looking for them. I said yes and followed them to where they were going. She had recognized me from seeing me in the Atlanta SNCC office, and introduced herself as Joyce Barrett.

The Harris Family's residence (It seems that the whole family is militant. Don's sister has traveled a year as a SNCC Freedom Singer.) is located at 623 Whitney Ave., and the phone number is HE 6-1997. Joyce Barrett is the defacto person in charge of the Voter Education Project in Southwest Georgia. She may be reached either at the Harris' residence, or at HE 5-9811.

She sends the VEP reports to Atlanta SNCC office and the VEP office, and she supervised the SNCC-VEP workers in the field. She is the one who pays them but requires them to report to her before they are paid.

Joyce said that Don Harris attended a staff meeting in Mississippi but is due to return. She then said too that both Rev. Wells and

Don Harris have been charged with insurrection. Rev. Wells has been arrested and charged in the warrant for: (1) distribution of materials preaching insurrection, and (2) attempting insurrection. The bond for Wells has been set at $2,500.

She was quite excited and angry and stated things which had more to do with illegal search and seizure than with VEP, but after a while, we were able to discuss voter registration.

She stated that the office in Albany is the coordinating office and she spends a portion of her time in this effort. She then asked me whether VEP would be opposed to her working in KING FOR CONGRESS HEADQUARTERS. She said that her job there is record keeping and she spends some time there. (The phone number there is HE 6-5184.) She said that she understood that VEP cannot be engaged in partisan political activities. I told her that was correct, and that if a SNCC worker is paid full-time by VEP, his full-time should be engaged only in those things which are not partisan political activities. But, of course, persons' personal time or time after work is his own time, unless it reflected upon his VEP activity. This then is why I believed that WAB, I told her, explained to Don Harris that VEP has a policy of not being in a position of appearing to be supporting demonstrations that have a likelihood of arrest.

Joyce stated that in Albany, the number of Negroes registered is near the "hard core" of unregisterable (60%), and that other local organizations have taken up to register the remainder. These groups are the Deltas, other fraternities and sororities, and civic groups.

It is her opinion that SNCC over the last few years has done such an intensive effort in registration and canvassing that she feels that it is necessary that the local community take over this effort and that they are doing it.

She then gave me the names, etc. of the other projects in Southwest Georgia as follows:

Thomasville
Gwendolyn Brown
312 Festus Street
226-1245

Moultrie
Herman Kitchens
323 Northwest 3rd Avenue

Tifton
Isaac Simpson
c/o Solomon Nixon Funeral Home
P. O. Box 143
382-1825

Joyce asked me whether we (VEP) had any sample voting machines. I told her that I would talk to WAB about this.

Wednesday A. M.
Because of a flat tire with the VEP car, I drove into Tallahassee from Quincy and had it repaired.

Wednesday P. M. - Thomasville, Ga.
Here, I saw an example of how Joyce Barrett and Don Harris are separating SNCC VEP efforts from other SNCC efforts.

Gwendolyn Brown, (the wife of Rev. Thomas Brown whose father was a fellow NAACP worker in Indianapolis), and another girl are the SNCC VEP workers here and do not engage in any other activity. Their office and home is at 608 Alexander St., Thomasville, around the corner from the SNCC office at 312 Festus St., and it is here they have the phone: 226-1245. On Festus Street, it seems that our boys stay. On reflection, it seems that the boys work on SNCC's "King for Congress" group and the girls here work for VEP.

Gwendolyn says that the local NAACP Chapter has promised to give financial assistance for arrests, but has not given any other support or effort, "Uncle Toms" and "Fear" being the main problem. She says that the local leader seems to be Rev. I. L. Mullins of the 1st African Baptist Church, and is giving his full support, both in registration and distributing leaflets. While I was talking to her, it was raining, and because of the rain, no one seemed too busy plus the fact it was lunch time.

The girls explained to me that their car had broken down, and that tomorrow they would start again. They said they have been doing door-to-door canvassing, that they are local girls from the community, and that they are now working on a block worker system.

Regarding the white community's attitude, they stated that they have been followed by both police and local white citizens, but no one has been arrested when involved in voter registration. (Late last week, one of the KING FOR CONGRESS SNCC kids was arrested for distribution of advertising matter without a license.) Gwendolyn also stated that the attitude of the registrar towards their activity is that he does his duty, not going out of his way, but also not deliberately "slowing down."

Wednesday P.M. Moultrie
Relative to voter registration here, there are two enthusiastic young men: Mo Lamar, a Negro, and Herman Kitchens, a white adult. It seems that here is the potential for danger. They have been promised by the local police that they would not get any protection. They have been followed back to their office, and while in the downtown area

recently to talk to Negroes on the street, an ugly white mob gathered, armed with "Maddox Drum Sticks"; but at the last moment, the police intervened and cut the lynch-type air with jokes and finally the two workers were able to get back into their areas.

There is a local Negro voter registration committee carried on by John Robertson and Mr. Williams. The workers state that they pass Robertson because he is clearly an "Uncle Tom." This group, they said, has been active only in the registration of Negroes in the city and not in the county.

They have found from the deputy registrar, Crosby, that 1,167 Negroes are registered in the county to vote, but 1,447 Negroes are registered in the city. It has been shown, they said, that during city elections, Negroes are shipped in on trucks to vote to keep the "Power Structure" and keep out reform movements.

They said that the attitude of the registrar is unpredictable, (or, I should add, his deputy, the registrar, they said, is never there).

The workers said that the registrar is still using the old-now illegal test wherein 10 out of 20 must be answered correctly. They feel that everything is allright at the registrar's office and there is no tension until they begin to mass about 20 Negroes at his office. They feel that the deputy registrar is apprehensive of them. He has told them that the FBI had been through there, and he has told them that everything will be allright as long as they (SNCC) won't have there in Moultrie a "Freedom Day." Otherwise, the pressure will be on him and he will have to slow down.

The potential Negroes who may soon become supporters of their effort are Rev. Hopkins, whose home is in Thomasville, but who preaches in Moultrie; Bishop Gardner of the A.M.E. Church, and Mr. Robert Burke, who ran for City Commissioner last spring but who is now still frightened from the white reaction, and also, Mr. Edward Starkly.

Regarding the youth, the VEP workers had no contact with them until last week when, on their own, they began testing public facilities. It seemed that Mo and Herman have been briefed well on that because they understood that VEP supported no activity in that type of effort. Herman said that the testing seemed to be under the direction of a girl leader, Joyce Harrington, now planning to return to Atlanta University. He said that Mo has given them general advice and feels that they will work in voter registration in September. They feel that they should register 3,500 at least.

From the City Directory and the voters list, they have compiled the following information:

Voters List

County	
White Voters	11,693
Negro Voters	1,167
City Wide (May 26, 1964)	
White Voters	3,817
Negro Voters	1,447

Population

City	16,500	(estimate 1964)
County	35,000	

Census

City	15,764
White	10,080
Negro	5,684
County	34,048
White	26,043
Negro	8,005

The workers claim that they need transportation. They have registered 40 people. If the person cannot read, the deputy registrar will ask them oral questions, and usually spends about three minutes for each person.

Wednesday P.M. - Tifton

I talked to Mrs. Nixon but was not able to get any information about any SNCC effort there.

Savannah

On Wednesday, I arrived in the office of the VEP Southeast Crusade for Voters. The new address is 416 Park Avenue and the phone number is EL 5-5924. Ben Clark, as could be expected, was there. He introduced me to a gentlemen who was a local official of the Smelting Workers' Union, whose offices were on the same floor as the SECV. I then remembered that from reading BW's field reports, WAB did not approve of this arrangement.

When I arrived, it was difficult to present my business. Everyone was excited. The owner of the building leases office space to the VEP office of Hosea Williams upstairs in this building, and the owner also owns a clothing store on the street floor of the building. A group of hoodlums, or one hoodlum had taken a key to the stairway door and used it to enter the building, went upstairs, broke into the door of Hosea's office, made a hole in the floor, dropped down into the clothing store, broke open the man's safe, stole the money, and tookaway lots of clothes. The owner was suggesting that volunteer workers (youth) of Hosea were involved and when Hosea arrived, he was suggesting Ben was too lax, etc. However, I was sure that reactions were because of being excited and the effects would soon pass.

Before Hosea had arrived, I interviewed Ben Clark. Regarding the Chatham County effort, there are 20 paid workers, three of whom are assigned to the office. Also, the Chatham County Crusade for Voters has 75-80 volunteers upon whom they can depend upon, including a transportation committee of 10 persons. They also have three full-time cars, and available for their use is a sound truck. In the last big effort, they used the sound truck for two and a half weeks.

I learned from Hosea that through him, VEP is supporting only Scriven, Liberty, McIntosh, Burke, Tattnall, and Wheeler Counties. He said that he has set aside for them $1,000 from VEP funds, and to be allotted as follows:

Burke	$200
Scriven	200
Liberty	200
McIntosh	200
Tattnall	100
Wheeler	100

I also learned from him that the NAACP is involved in Brunswick, and Mr. J. M. Atkinson does not want SECV support. He stated that he is not supporting any effort in Waycross because it is in another congressional district.

The addresses of county leaders or contacts in the counties supported by VEP in the Southeast area are as follows:

Scriven
Rev. J. W. H. Thomas
Newington, Ga.
857-4462

Liberty
Miss Beverly Lewis
Route 1, Box 78 or
c/o Dorchester Center

McIntosh
Mr. Chester Devillars
Todd Grant High School
Darien, Ga.
437-4341

Tattnall and Evans
Mr. D. J. Norwood
P.O. Box 4
Collins, Ga.
693-2770

Wheeler
Mr. B. R. Williams
c/o Mrs. Dollie M. Williams
P.O. Box 192
Alama, Ga.
523-2651 (BRW)
LO 8-2041 (DMW)

Rev. C. S. Robinson
c/o Mrs. Ann Evans
1123 Quaker Road
Waynesboro, Ga.
554-3385

We then made long distance phone calls on the VEP Credit Card to find out when the people would be home.

Hosea assigned to me a worker ordinarily assigned to the office, Charles ~~Strongbeds~~. He would accompany me for the remainder of the
STRANGELOCK

day. He was taking with him, also, SCLC registration kits which included VEP forms for reporting and making financial statements.

Thursday - Liberty County

Approximately 4 p.m., we arrived in Liberty County. After stopping to Dorchester Academy and speaking with the director, we went on to the home of Miss Beverly Lewis. We had found no activity at Dorchester.

From Beverly, I learned that the REGISTRAR'S office is opened one day a week only. The registrar is an old lady who works out of her home and has it opened any day of the week she pleases, and she closes any day she pleases, also.

In two weeks, they have registered 20 persons each week, and for the coming Friday, they (the youth working with Beverly) shall carry 30 persons. Unfortunately, Beverly has found that the books are closed on August 25--closing all the books, because of county elections which shall be held on September 25.

The name of the registrar is Mrs. Lucille Woods, whose office and residence is located at 323 North Main St. Beverly says that there are no signs to show that this is the place for registration. She says, however, that other than the registrar administrating the old law rather than the new law, registration is easy. Mrs. Woods has allowed the youth to administer the tests while she, Mrs. Woods, would do the typing. At one time, Beverly said that Mrs. Woods got tired and left the office to them.

The name of the youth group which Beverly is a part of and which is doing the work of voter registration is the Junior Liberty County Citizenship Council. They hope to open up six citizenship schools in September.

Unfortunately, Liberty County seems to have a dearth of Negro adults who should be active in voter registration. Beverly mentioned only one person, Earl Boggs, who is [redacted] "scared" but is a potential leader. He receives his mail at Route 1, and his phone number is 884-5845.

Beverly showed from her records how her group canvassed 479 families Monday. Their group has the use of one car. She says she needs more money for gas and oil. They have been existing on contributions, and of this to date, they have spent about $25. Some of their contributions come from anonymous Negro donors in Riceboro.

Beverly seems optimistic about her program succeeding, especially when school begins. She feels that when the youths collect, she can organize them to assist her. I asked her whether Hosea had sent her any money and she said no. She also said no when I asked her whether Hosea had asked her to send him any receipts for her expenses.

Thursday - McIntosh County

When we arrived in Darien, it was 6 p.m., about two hours behind my time schedule, but it was allright anyway because after calling Chester Devillas, he, too, had just arrived. Strangelock and I were quite surprised to see Mr. Devillas was a high school teacher. We waited for him to finish his supper, and then we were doubly surprised that Mr. Devillas serves on the Board of Registrars.

He indicated to us that there is no problem of registration. He stated that since he has been Principal of Todd High School, he has demanded that each student, if 18, must register before graduating. Also, he stated that the Senior Class and his teachers, along with the PTA, carry on a voter registration program. Consequently, he said, there are more Negroes registered than white persons. All and all, he believes that about 1,765 Negroes are registered in the county.

He said that the books are opened once a month, every second Saturday, between the hours of 9 and 5. This is the time one must register and answer five questions. When an applicant cannot read or write, he can designate a person to help him. Although an applicant can appear before the Board of Registrars only once a month, a person can apply any weekday before 5 p.m. with the Tax Collector.

I asked him how Mr. Williams has him listed as a county leader. Mr. Devillas stated that he was surprised also. He had not attended any congressional level meetings nor had otherwide been involved with the SECV. He did say that Hosea's office did inquire for some statistical information about the county, and he responded. This was the only communication he has had with Hosea.

After a while, after feeling him out, we quickly understood that he does have a position with the white community, although still related to the Southern tradition, and he did not want to do anything which would compromise his position. He was equivocal to the direct question, "Would you direct a voter registration program among Negroes?" He did say that he would give all the support he could indirectly and he invited Strangelock to speak to the School Assembly when school begins Monday, August 31. This was about as much as could be asked for! Strangelock then took a registration kit designated for the county and explained it so that if a local person could be found to lead the registration, Mr. Devillas could explain it to him. There was one person Devillas suggested, Mr. Leon Rogers, and his phone number is 437-4618.

Thursday - Wheeler County

We then left Darien driving into the setting sun, going in a northeasterly direction. We drove into Glynwood, made a phone call, and found that Mr. B. R. Williams had left for a Masonic Meeting in Alamo at the "Old Negro School." He had waited for us until 9 p.m.

We found the Old Negro School, a victim of school consolidation, Negro school consolidation, that is. It was just off a near washed-out but dried-out dirt road. The moon was not out, and nothing showed that people were present except for cars, including new Lincolns and Cadillacs, and trucks being parked around. I kept the car lights on, and soon a Negro, presumbably wearing the Masonic costume, came and cheerfully asked if he could help us. Strangelock reminded me later that he was the guard in that he was carrying a long saber. After what I thought was a long while and many mosquito bites, Mr. Williams, the Wheeler County Leader, came.

I learned from him that he was just elected the president of the Wheeler County-Wide Club. His address is P.O. Box 367, and phone number is 3-2651. I found that he had not attended the district-wide meeting held by Hosea, and that he did not know that the SECV was in the position to assist his group in voter registration. He welcomed such support and would appreciate it if Strangelock would come and assist him. Strangelock promised to come on the next meeting night if transportation was available. He also explained the SCLC kit to Mr. Williams. Williams is a "contractor" (carpenter, etc.) and works most of the daylight hours. I conclude that a full-time worker is needed in the county in order to get the community started.

Tattnall and Evans Counties - Midnight (Thursday)

Mr. Norwood was expecting us and was ready to show records and statistical information which he was going to send to Hosea. Trusting that Hosea was going to send VEP (Atlanta) the information, I cared not to copy anything. He carries on a direct constant relationship with Hosea and constantly brought up Fred Bennett. I realized that Norwood, being president of the local "Christian League," was operating an SCLC affiliate. Therefore, there was no worry as to his county receiving SECV VEP funds. I was contented to show the VEP flag and leave, allowing Strangelock to drive back to Savannah. (Mr. Norwood had no complaints.)

Scriven County - Friday A.M.

Friday Morning, I drove to the home of Ben Clark, picked him up, took him to the SECV office, received from Ben more SCLC kits which Hosea wanted me to distribute to the counties, and took off towards Atlanta. But first, I wanted to visit ~~two~~ the county leaders one in Newington and others in Sylvania--Scrivens County and Burke County.

As Wheeler County seemed to be full of Williams, so does Scriven County seem to be full of the Thomases. The Thomas I was looking for and finally found is J. W. H. Thomas, who lives east from Newington, turning right at the first road before the radio tower. Then you go for a mile down the county road and ask anyone where the Thomases live. His address is Rt. 1, Box 121, or South Elementary School.

He said that he personally had been taking Negroes down town to register but not recently. He had not attended any district-wide meetings of the SECV, nor has he or any other persons or organizations been working in voter registration in Newington. He indicated that he had no time to direct a voter registration drive, but he gave me the names of persons who would be interested in voter registration as follows:

Wilbert Maynor (a former County Agent)
Phone: 564-2414

Mr. E. Blampkin (Present County Agent)
Rt. 4, Box 238
Sylvania (near Oliver)
857-4782

Rev. A. L. Thomas
1009 S. Main St.
Sylvania, Ga.
564-7987

J. S. Morgan
Oliver, Ga.
857-4720

Mr. Thomas assured me that the above named persons would be interested in directing a voter registration drive in Scriven County. He suggested, however, if I saw Rev. Thomas, (his brother), be sure to see also Mr. Blampkin, and vice-versa. Both of them are leaders of opposing factions, or cliques, resulting from Mr. Blampkin's charge that the existing civic group in Screvens is not doing anything, etc.

It was after mid-day when I arrived in Sylvania. I was not able to reach Rev. Thomas of Sylvania, but was able to find Mr. Blampkin at the consolidated Negro school. He was quite glad to see me, as he was quite interested in a voter registration effort in his county. When I arrived at the school, I noticed SCLC stickers Register to vote on his car, and he had some SCLC literature and voter registration aids.

Both from him and Mr. Thomas of Newington, I learned that the registrar is easy on Negro applicants, although tending to be "snobbish." Beginning four years ago, however, he began to refuse to register illiterates.

Mr. Blampkin told me that the local group which would carry on the registration drive is the Sylvania-Scriven County Progressive Council. (This is the group mentioned earlier by Mr. Thomas of Newington.) Mr. Blampkin indicated that last week, he registered 15 people. He said that the voters lists are available, which show that 3,530 whites are registered, and 863 Negroes are registered. Both figures seemed to be low. Sylvania seemed to be a fairly large town of 5,000 to 10,000. (Constitution of the group attached)

Mr. Blampkin indicated that he desired to attend the district-wide meeting, but was unable to. He said that he and Scriven County would appreciate any assistance SECV could give.

Burke County - Friday P.M.

Rev. Robinson met me at Mrs. Evans' home in Waynesboro. He had been in the rural areas of the county, and that was the reason I was not able to contact him the day before. He is president of the Burke County Civic Group. He had attended the district-wide meeting which had been held on Saturday before the 3rd Sunday in July (18th). They have received no VEP funds nor have they turned in receipts, but at the moment, they seem to be a self-operating almost self-sufficient group. They have raised almost $1,000 from $.25 membership fees and donations. He has 14 workers who are paid $4.00 a day or $.07 a mile. To be paid, workers must submit a report indicating who they canvassed or who they brought down to the registrar's office. He said that VEP funds will not be made in surveying, (or canvassing), only in the actual registration.

The registrar's office is opened Monday through Saturday where one can apply, and then he receives a card telling him to appear before the Board of Registrars to take the test. Then Robinson told me that he heard of no one being turned down. He showed me the copy of the local newspaper and the editorial which spoke of the dangers of "block voting," and then indicated the 20 questions that have to be answered correctly in order to pass. I agreed with Robinson that this was to intimidate Negroes from registering. I told Robinson that Georgia has a new registration law whereby only five questions are to be administered, and that he should find out whether the registrar is to administer the old law or the new law. He then immediately phoned the registrar's office, found out where he was, and left to see him. About a half an hour later, Robinson returned and told me that the registrar, H. D. Stone, assured him that the newspaper should be disregarded because he, as registrar, is going to abide by the law of Georgia and the United States and administer only five questions.

Rev. Robinson had "in the rough" statistical information showing that 5,000 Negroes are registered, that 200 on the average are registered per week. He hopes to double this 5,000 figure by September 15.

CONCLUSION

It was quite noticeable the difference between the SNCC VEP registration in Southwest Georgia and the SCLC voter registration in Southeast Georgia. The SE Georgia SCLC VEP registration depends upon the figure of one personality, Hosea Williams. He makes, decides, and executes policies and decisions. Ben Clark administers these decisions. This is a very effective team in Savannah, but in Savannah and not in the remainder of the SECV region. Savannah Crusade for Voters is effectively

organized down to block workers and street campaigns, and on a horizontal basis as regards to program. But the SECV seems to be no more than a treasury or a payment agency, and a poor one at that. SECV has insufficient contact and communication with its counties who are allowed to operate independently. Most of them are not able to operate a voter registration drive or make financial reports. Liberty County is operating a voter registration drive but needs desperately SECV financial assistance. One county, Burke, is independent, knows what to do, and may not need SECV assistance. But, as a whole, because SECV depends upon the one-personality figure, Hosea, at the time of the trip, had not allowed any of his staff to serve the counties. He seems afraid to delegate responsibility or to allow any of his staff workers to exercise discretion. He wants to control and operate everything, and because he is only human, he can operate effectively only in Savannah.

Whereas SW Georgia and the SNCC operation is the opposite. Their operation is a staff operation with each person responsible for himself for individual decisions. Or if two or more are working the county, they decide among themselves, but decisions are voluntary decisions which exist at the will of each person. If two or more SNCC workers are working a county, no one had been designated as coordinator, director, or the one in charge from Albany. Therefore, Don Harris can be in Mississippi, or a fugitive from Georgia justice, and the SNCC operation can go on without a miss in the motor. If Hosea and Ben Clark go to jail, their whole project would collapse. Here in SW Georgia, the effort is spread throughout the counties with no effort concentrated in the county where the office is situated, Albany. It is the coordinating office only. Effort is concentrated in Savannah but the office there does no real coordinating. Yet, the Albany office allows so much discretion in the staff that the office, too, has insufficient information about what is going on in the counties. I was not able to find the SNCC workers in Tifton, and Joyce Barrett, when I told her about this a week later, was surprised and did not know where they were.

JD:bs

	MON	TUE	WED	THUR	FRI	SAT	SUN
7	BREAKFAST						
8	CLASS SESSION					BREAK-FAST	BREAK-FAST
9	COKE CREEK					SATURDAY SEMINAR	religious services
10	CLASS SESSION						
11							
12	LUNCH						
1	SEMINAR						DINNER
2						FREE TIME	FREE TIME
3							
4	VOTER REGISTRATION FIELD WORK (?)						
5	SUPPER	SUPPER	SUPPER	SUPPER	SUPPER	SUPPER	SNACK
6	FREE TIME						
7						FREE TIME	FREE TIME
8	LEADERSHIP LABORATORY	SPECIAL DISCUSSION	LEADERSHIP LABORATORY	LEADERSHIP LABORATORY			
9		GROUPS					
10	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK
11							
12							

WB
JM

9/10/64

M E M O R A N D U M

To: WAB
From: JD
Re: Field Trip Throughout Florida, September 1 - September 4, 1964

On August 28, WAB decided that we should investigate VEP activities in the state of Florida, being particularly interested in the NAACP program in Miami but not interested in the Sunshine Coast Areas such as Tampa, St. Petersburg, etc. In Miami, VEP had given a grant of $4,000.

Lake City - September 1

I arrived in Lake City where there had been "riots" early in July right after the passage of the Civil Rights Law. Lake City is the county seat of Columbia County and the apex of two national interstate highway systems. In a state of "small cities," Lake City can be categorized as a medium-sized town which is moving. People seem to be moving faster there.

I had called Mr. Patton earlier and he gave me the name of the person who he is working through in Lake City, a Mr. David Jenkins. Jenkins is a young unmarried school teacher who teaches in the adjoining county of Union. He is popular with the local youth and is an advisor to the local NAACP Youth Council which is without a parent body. His address is 1068 Jefferson, phone number: FR 2-6333. Upon entering his home, five or six young people where about, some, later I learned, were canvassers or block workers there to report. One was a former Florida A & M University student who had been active in CORE in Tallahassee.

After I introduced myself, and my purpose there, Mr. Jenkins called a Mr. Powell who was a G.S.5 at the local VA Hospital and who was a hard worker in the youth NAACP activities. We then discussed voter registration. Voter registration is a new project which they have assumed. They have completed a massive testing program, with cases now resting in the Federal Courts, and now have just finished in enrolling a Negro at the formerly all white Lake City Junior College. The latter took the energies of Mr. Powell and Mr. Jenkins. So, voter registration had just begun as a project. They have the local NAACP youth broken down as canvassers and block workers. From among the adults of the community, they were able to organize the Car Pool and to hire a coordinator, a young housewife by the name of Mrs. Carolyn Aaron, at the salary of $25 monthly.

Figures were produced which show that only 2,309 Negroes were registered, which seemed to me to be only about 20% of the maximum. Their goal is 3,000 more voters, which is conservative.

Their immediate task is to attempt to get the "books" into the neighborhoods. In many places in Florida, it is practiced that deputy registrars will register voters in their precincts, etc. Jenkins discussed with

me his problems in getting the books into the "Negro" neighborhoods. Jenkins said that he asked the Registrar, Mr. Greene and he replied that this is done only by the request of the local Chamber of Commerce or a "white" organization. Jenkins said that he had learned that the books had been, in the past, moved to "white" areas, and Greene, the registrar, told him to check with the Chamber of Commerce. He told me that he became quite angry with the registrar, suggesting to him that he was discriminating against Negroes. Anyway, Jenkins said that he did check with the Chamber of Commerce who responded with, "We don't plan to take the books into the neighborhoods." Jenkins said then that he is to see the registrar.

This was their second week of operation, but the number of people they registered was not available.

It is hard to predict whether the local project will reach its goal of 3,000 new voters, but odds seem to be against it. It is a common belief that the white community is organized as a "Democrats of Goldwater" area. Mallory Horne, the Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives, is a power and is the chairman of the movement.

Because spring levels of people registered in North Florida were able to defeat a liberal candidate for Governor in the primaries, their effort seems to be not to increase any registration, therefore, keeping Negro participation in registration at a low level. It seems that the local group of the Youth NAACP has the spirit and zeal, but it remains to be proved that they have the endurance in an effort without excitement and unlike "testing." It remains to be proved that the youth group will be able to stimulate the Negro community to organize through its adults who the youths do not have today as a support.

At present, Jenkins had not received any funds from Patton in which their coordinator can be made. He was to call Patton about this, and also about whether they can expand into Union County, the twin county to Columbia County, where a low percentage of Negroes are registered. I gave him the VEP address and phone number and suggested that he call or write if he has problems, or whether we could assist him.

<u>Gainesville - Wednesday A.M.</u>

Gainesville, Florida is the home of the University of Florida. The University has no real forces to compete with it, with the consequence that it is the dominant force in the community, thereby moderating what would otherwise be a segregationist North Florida area. The University has been a force which has contributed to an enlightened city and county government and peaceful desegregation of most places of public accommodation. The University has had no policy of punishing faculty and students who have been demonstrating in civil rights movements, to the consequence that intra-rivalry between groups, an unaffiliated chapter of CORE and University of Florida Movement for Civil Rights. Students and faculty members have also integrated the local NAACP and Youth

Council, but have not vied with Negroes for leadership of the latter group. They just do almost all the work.

When I arrived in Gainesville, it was registration day at the University of Florida. Consequently, no voter registration work was apparent. I was able to easily find Rev. Wright, the president of the local NAACP. His address is 503 N.W. 4th St., and phone number is FR 6-6516. (Wright is Patton's worker.)

When I came upon him, he was reading. I introduced myself, was warmly received, and I spoke of my purpose. I learned from him that Hugh Love was still in town. Wright said that 60 persons were registered Monday through him, Love, and another person. The effort was casual, just picking up Negroes off porches or sidewalks while they were loitering or standing around. Wright said that for the remainder of the week, the groups that were working with him will finish canvassing the town, and next week they will assist him in the nearby towns.

I had discussed Gainesville with CORE's Judith Benninger over the last few months at her home, and she told me that the city of Gainesville should be close to 60% of the Negro potential, she being able to speak on this subject because of being active in voter registration in Gainesville with the Women's League for Voters and the other groups. She felt that the need is to get out into the county because a great portion of the Negroes live in the county and are not registered.

I asked Wright about whether more unregistered Negroes are outside of the city. He, too, had the same opinion as Judy. It is for this reason that he plans to begin canvassing in the nearby areas in the county, Hawthorne, Alachua, and High Springs. He has no full-time workers but he has the support of Youth NAACP, the adult branch, and the "Voters League."

For picking up people, he claims he has a "pool" of 10 cars, including his own. (But the day I was there, people scheduled to be picked up were not being picked up by any car pool or even Rev. Wright who was otherwise busy.)

It was interesting to learn from him that Dr. Andrews ran for one of the offices of City Commissioner and lost only by 40 votes.

Wright said that the local registrar, Mrs. Barthe, has been quite cooperative in allowing the books to go into the Negro areas and appointing Negro deputy registrars. However, the heat is on her office resulting from the accusation that people have been improperly registered. Consequently, she is not appointing any "Negro" deputies, nor any for that matter because the Commission has not furnished any compensation for white registrars. (Negro deputies have worked on a voluntary basis.)

I then found Hugh Love. Six precincts have been scheduled to be worked, three already completed and three to be finished this week. He spoke highly of a Mr. Cambridge, a postal employee, who has been a fanatic about voter registration over the past several years. Both Love and Wright feel that the man could be no coordinator or director, but rather, is nothing but a hard worker. An example is that he has registered 300 persons himself.

It seems that Gainesville has a probably substantial structure for a voter registration effort but depends too much upon the undeliberate effort of Rev. Wright who has other roles to play in that he has a large church. It also depends, it seems, too much upon the insecure effort of voluntary groups. Voter registration is not exciting in moderate Gainesville, nor was I able to see during my short stay that the liberals from the University had assumed Negro voter registration as a Cause Celebre. Rev. Wright is sensitive in bias towards the name of the NAACP which may be unjustified if dependent upon physical participation of other groups and associations. I know that two years ago, there was disunity between the NAACP Youth Council and the Adult Branch. The main participants still remain, the fact of which may complicate a united and full effort in voter registration. It is too bad Hugh Love left with me because they need a full-time worker, innocent of past arguments and conflicts.

Ocala - Wednesday P.M.

Hugh Love decided that he would accompany me as far as Ft. Pierce, which I appreciated. Before leaving Gainesville, I called Rev. Pinkston, President of Ocala NAACP and a friend of Patricia and mine. I learned that they were kicking off their drive Thursday Night at a mass meeting at Broadway Baptist Church, and they asked if I would be the main speaker. I consented and said that I would discuss voter registration with their people then.

Orlando - Wednesday P.M.

Here, I met the dynamic Mrs. Mabel Richardson, 39 N. Parramore, in and next to the Central Life Insurance Building, which I believe her husband is an agent of. She is chairlady of the Political Action Committee of the NAACP, and the name of the group carrying on the voter registration in a separate financial reporting identity is the NAACP Crusade for Voters. She is biased in favor of the NAACP cheerfully, "NAACP" being in a word in every sentence, which is justifiable because it is the only real group, and depends upon no other group except the local Florida Voters League which has been absorbed into the NAACP Crusade for Voters.

She has the League, regular NAACP and youth support and has a register of 176 volunteer workers from these groups and the community assuming leadership positions as precinct workers and as block workers.

She stated that the CRUSADE organized during the week of August 3, and beginning August 10 began intensive canvassing. Up to date, she has registered 300 persons. She begged me to participate in a "Demonstration"

beginning Thursday. I jokingly stated that VEP cannot support demonstrations like those in Rochelle, N. Y. and Harlem. She said that for September, she has planned "Task Force Demonstrations" to last throughout the month.

As it was explained by her, it seemed that the Task Force will be like a Russian Assault--use of massive forces in a small area. All of her forces Thursday will assault a precinct and mop up all the unregistered in all all day attack, lasting until 9 P.M. This technique will be used until all the Negro precincts are secure, and then hop into the surrounding towns, mopping up all the islands of unregistered Negro voters. I told her that VEP approves of this kind of demonstration.

She stated that she is the only paid worker other than the secretary. But he discussion of this, she wanted low. Officials of the local NAACP were in the adjoing office and she did not want them to know that Patton was paying her. It seemed that she did not want them to know that she could be independent of them and their control, and that she is in fact responsible to Mr. Patton rather than to the local chapter. Her pay is $40 weekly and the pay of the secretary is $25 weekly.

I asked her whether the registrar has called a "moratorium" on her type of demonstrations, and she said that there is cooperation to a great degree, although books are not in the neighborhood nor does the registrar give them weekly breakdowns as was done previously. But the books are open every day, until 9 p.m. on Thursday and Friday, and until 12 N on Saturday and this continues until October 3.

It seems that the effort there in Orlando is a purely NAACP effort. Other than those already named, no other civic clubs and groups have given their support. Mrs. Richardson said that of 79 letters she mailed seeking assistance, there were only two replies.

Winterhaven - Wednesday P.M.

It is the time of year that Monsoonic rains occur every late afternoon and Wednesday was no exception, the rain being so heavy that it appeared unsafe to continue to drive. But with the dusk, the rain ceased and it was at dusk when we drove into Winterhaven and waited for Mrs. Althea Hill. She is Patton's VEP local worker. Her VEP address is 1900 N. 1st Drive, and phone is CY 4-4816 (or CY 4-1816?), and her home address, where she is staying with her mother, is CY 3-3987.

She is also working part-time as an insurance agent, and it was from this capacity that we awaited her. She said that she registered 162 persons the previous week, assisted by 30 members of the NAACP Youth Council. She said that her main problem around Winterhaven has been the fact that there are a great many migratory workers who have not satisfied the residence requirement. There had been no arrests in connection with voter registration, even in testing the new Civil Rights Bill.

She stated that she is seeking to extend her activities into Bartow and Lakeland, and is quite disappointed in the apathy, disunity, and lack of motivation to vote. She has found that the Adult Chapter of the NAACP is weak and the Youth Council has disbanded in Lakeland. She feels that the group to work through in Lakeland is the Ministerial Alliance.

She understands how the Florida communities are "community conscious" which tend to resent more the "outsiders" from another community although they can be from the same county than outsiders from outside the state. She is proceeding carefully and is waiting until she can see the president of the Lakeland Ministerial Alliance, work through him and have him name a person who she can suggest to Patton to hire in Lakeland.

I was impressed with Mrs. Hill, a powerful woman, powerful in the sense as Mrs. Constance Motley of the NAACP is. If local groups are weak, she seems to be the strong individual and personality who can take their place to lead a voter registration activity.

Ft. Pierce - Wednesday Night

The rain assumed and we drove into the rain, but just as suddenly, the rain ceased when we drove into Ft. Pierce.

It was 10 p.m. I hardly believed Hugh Love that I would be able to speak to some about voter registration, it being so late. Soon we were at 1530 Avenue D, the address of the Crusade for Voters of St. Lucie County office, constituting a small wooden-framed building. Inside was the chairman, Leroy Bennett, busy under a naked light registering two Negro women.

This was the NAACP project in Florida that Hugh was proud of. A total of 315 persons had been registered during the week. Bennett is by profession an architect and as such is employed by the city. He is also a member of the Florida Voters League. He invited me to attend the Statewide Convention of the Florida Voters League which is to be held in Miami on September 26-27.

I learned that the director of the project is Mr. Verdell Floyd. Bennett's phone number is 461-5461 and Floyd's phone number is 464-0908, the latter's residence being 1002 N. 25th St. Floyd is paid $25 a week and his secretary receives $25 a week. Bennett also told me that the project is starting into its second week and is getting a good effort out of at least 26 workers. While I was there, two of the, young ladies and school teachers, entered the office with their canvassing reports.

Mr. Bennett had a large blown-up map of St. Lucie County with the appropriate pins, etc. He explained how the county was broken down into 26 areas. Each area is assigned to one of the 26 workers who canvass, bring the unregistered persons to register, and report to the director. They are registered here at the CVSLC office, although they can also go downtown.

The convenience of the CVSLC office is that it is open late, past 10 p.m. (I was there after 11 p.m. and people were still coming.) It is also open on both Saturday and Sunday, (but must be post-dated or pre-dated to comply with Florida Law). Also, each worker is responsible in procuring his assistants.

They seem to be satisfied with the cooperation which they have received from the official registrar. Bennett said that they have received such cooperation because they (the Negroes) got him elected.

I left the CVSLC office, Bennett and Love in Ft. Pierce. I could well understand Love's enthusiasm about the program there and why he was glad to be part of an ongoing success, but I was concerned that he might be needed where NAACP-VEP programs were not such a success.

Miami - Thursday A.M.

It was a sun-bright day in the 90's in Miami still showing the kiss of "Cleo." I called Mrs. Myer Range and an appointment was made for Noon. I then decided to see Mr. Al Moore, President of Miami CORE. He is also representative of Central Life Insurance for South Florida. I had learned in Atlanta that NAACP, CORE, and the Urban League were working in a joint effort in Miami. The NAACP was receiving VEP assistance and I had learned that the NUL was giving assistance to the local UL. I knew that National CORE was not contributing to the local CORE group. I then decided that Moore, being a community leader, could explain to me what was going on which I could weigh against Mrs. Range who was directing the NAACP-VEP effort.

When I arrived at the office of Mr. Moore, I saw that rooms were being used as a registration sub-station. As soon as I entered, a secretary asked me, "Have you come to register?" I introduced myself and said that I came to talk about registration. I was told that Moore was due to return; so, I went into the big room where registration was being conducted.

Mmes. Stephens and Hall were friendly but were reluctant to talk to me, saying I had to talk to Mr. Moore first. On all my field trips, I finally met someone who was suspicious as to who I was. But I did learn something from Mrs. Stephens. The group she is affiliated with is the "BIG VOTE," the chairman of which being Mr. Charles Hadley, who is an elected Constable in Dade County and is active in local politics. She claimed that "Big Vote" was formerly the "Crusade for Voters" (1960). I asked her whether Weldon Rougeau worked through this group, the Crusade for Voters, and she replied no. She then asserted that WR worked only with CORE. I knew the latter information was not true.

She said that the deputy registrars and their clerks are employed by the county, and that sub-stations are set up in every precinct and are open every day until 9 p.m. She then stated that the rest of the workers, the canvassers and the ones bringing people to the sub-stations are

Note: John says this was the deputy registrar doing this. Not VEP people. NGB.

volunteers. I observed her persuade people that they wre "Democrats" for registration purposes, and then I left because it was about noon and almost time for my appointment with Mrs. Range.

Mrs. Range owns a large funeral home which she directs, assisted by a son in his early 20's. While waiting for a seemingly long time, I was called into her office. I introduced myself and explained my purpose. She told me that she is the chairlady of the Crusade for Voters and reports to Mr. Patton of the NAACP. She has two coordinators, Mr. Milton Hardreck who is paid $50 a week and works out of St. John Baptist Church at 1328 N.W. 3rd Ave, and Mr. Sam Hutchinson, who Love says is a friend of Patton. Hutchinson works out of his real estate office. The organization is also broken down into 13 areas with area captains, and under them are precinct captains. She said that two areas have been worked and they are moving into the other areas. She said that Hurricane Cleo cut down registration completely for two days and has had an effect for a week. Consequently, she is going to see that the county have the books remain in the neighborhoods for another week. I learned that three registration sub-stations are at the regular polling stations (76) plus an additional 10 places manned by their CV volunteers.

I asked her how many people have been registered and she estimated only about 6,000 so far. After the books close on October 3 or when neighborhood registration ends, (It was scheduled to end September 5.) she plans to have the CV embark on an educational program to explain the use of voting machines and to teach them whether they are "Democrats" or "Republicans," etc. She said that she needed more materials and money. She was to call Patton about this that day, and also about getting assistance if the books are allowed to remain in the areas.

I asked her how the Crusade for Voters originated. She said that people of goodwill got together informally in June and determined that they were going to carry on Negro voter registration. They established a budget and then were concerned about fund raising and were met by the specter of being overly busy in raising funds rather than in voter registration until Mr. Patton came. He agreed that his office would assist them financially. The civil rights groups, CORE, NAACP, and the UL came to the big meeting in July and each chose an area.

I asked her about canvassing, and she stated that this was done through the SNCC workers, white and colored mixed groups, and the youth groups of the NAACP. I then took my leave planning to see the two coordinators at work.

When I went to Hutchinson's office, he went immediately on the defensive, explaining why he was not doing anything. In a back room, he did have tables set up with typewriters, and his wife was there. He stated that $40 or $50 per week that he is receiving is certainly no "salary," not for him for this is about what he pays his secretary. He said that he helped organize the Dade County Democratic Organization and that he is

also an elected precinct committeeman, and also a volunteer deputy registrar.

It was now 2 p.m. Rather than be late for my speaking engagement in Ocala, or see activities in Riviera Beach, I decided to forego trying to meet with Mr. Milton Hardreck and leave Miami. (See supplementary report on Miami as per phone conversation.)

I left Miami satisfied that voter registration was being carried on. Mrs. Range seemed to be a sincere business woman with little tolerance for foolishness. But, too, I feld that she treated me like an "outsider" to a degree. (Did she tell all!) Mr. Hardreck seemed to be held responsible to her more so than Mr. Hutchinson. She had to forego her business to be involved in the minutiae of the program, and this made me uncomfortable. I did not feel right in leaving Miami feeling that I did not have all the information. Yet, I did not feel I could learn all in two days.

Riviera Beach - Thursday P.M.

I had discussed my trip schedule with Hugh Love and he told me that Broward County's books were closed, and the county included Pompano Beach and Ft. Lauderdale communities. I therefore decided not to visit communities but rather see Riviera Beach before going to Ocala. It is a community of West Palm Beach in Palm Beach County.

The NAACP-VEP worker here is Mrs. M. L. Jones. Her address is 849 George St., and her phone number is 844-7887. This is a project I would imagine Mr. Patton is proud of like Ft. Pierce. Mrs. Jones is a housewife, otherwise unemployed, with only school-age children. She invited me to attend a rally in the Glades, (a community in Palm Beach County). Mass meetings and rallies are an important indispensable method for her, for she has 24 deputy registrars who are volunteers to come to these mass meetings and register Negroes right there. They also come to the homes of the unregistered.

She does not work through any organization and it seems that it is not necessary for registration purposes. She does not seem to be concerned about "canvassing" because she has registration and voters lists by street. So, it is easy to know who is not registered without canvassing. She stated that 500 were registered last week; her goal is 2500 and she says that she is only 300 away. She is working all the areas in Palm Beach County and has deputy registrars from each. They have been working out of a cash box of $50. The only fund she wants is $17.31 to pay for workers' gas and oil.

Registration in Palm Beach County seemed to be quite easy with door-to-door registration (rather than door-to-door canvassing). The only thing that is needed now is to make it a misdemeanor for failure to register to vote. With that thought, I left towards Ocala and Marion County where it is almost a crime to register.

Ocala (Marion County) - Thursday P.M.
I arrived in Ocala at 7:30 p.m., a half hour before the time of the mass meeting and the time for me to speak.

Voter registration in Ocala could not be discussed without discussing the Civil Rights Movement in Ocala. The community is as tight and as effected as St. Augustine or Savannah, but probably without the national publicity, and therefore, it should be discussed because of my firsthand knowledge.

The demonstrations in Tallahassee in late Spring, 1963, taxed my time, (I was studying for the Florida Bar--I was not yet a member of VEP), and my wife's time, (She was chairlady of Tallahassee CORE and was trying to prepare for her exams). National CORE sent to us Zev Aelony who had been in Americus. Later in June, he went down to Marion County to observe Dunnellon CORE conduct a picketing line. He was immediately arrested and taken to the Marion County Jail in Ocala and beaten by two other white prisoners in the presence of a deputy sheriff.

My wife and Ruben Keenon immediately went to Ocala to see Zev. Rev. E. G. Pinkston had just recently graduated from Divinity School and had organized an NAACP Youth Council. The 60 members went with Patricia and Keenon and were immediately arrested. It was two weeks before they were released. The arrests of the youth of Ocala killed the apathy of the community and sparked a massive civil rights movement with complete unity.

As in St. Augustine, this late Spring and Summer, there were mass meetings with overflowing crowds. So much money was collected that I know that Ocala was the main support for R. B. Hayling in St. Augustine before his movement became an affiliate of SCLC. (I was counsel in the Fall of 1963)

Also, after the massive arrests, the Youth Council of the NAACP began two programs, employment and voter registration. About this time, white students of goodwill from the University of Florida in Gainesville came to give support and assistance--Gainesville being only 35 miles away from Ocala. One of these students was Judith Benninger who stayed in Ocala all Summer and who helped in voter registration efforts and wrote a mimeographed newsletter. She later worked for CORE-VEP in Leon and Gadsden Counties during Spring, 1964.

When I arrived in Ocala at the church to speak at the mass meeting which was an institution in Ocala, my ego was massaged, knowing that I was following the personalities of Martin Luther King, Jr., Rev. Fred Shuttleworth, and recently, Jackie Robinson. But when time came for me to speak, the turnout was poor. Rev. Pinston said that this was due to the changes in the days of the week. I hope that was the reason.

My talk was a short history of the Civil Rights Movement 1954-1960 and the birth of the Voter Education Project. I then brought everything up to date concerning national issues, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and ended with a point about the Northern Riots and James Bevel's statement, "I come here not to tell you not to fight, I come here to tell you how to fight well."

While I was in Ocala, I learned that Mr. Riley Preston is president of the Marion County Voters League and I met him. The young activist in the NAACP Youth Council is Mr. Marcellius Gaines, his address is 1654 S.W. 2nd St., and his phone number is 622-6172. National NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and for that matter also VEP should watch him. He is both a good organizer and has that quality of charisma that moves masses of people. He would make a good field worker.

The drive begins Saturday. There are two coordinators, Mr. Eugene Poole who is responsible to Mr. Patton, and a special director, Mr. Leon Miller. The office is to be in the Greater Hopewell Baptist Church, near the corner of Chestnut and Van Buren.

They have organized an effective and successful boycott (selective buting campaign) and registration program in the past, increasing registration of Negroes from 3000 to 6000 (so stated Mr. Poole), and could still double the figure. There is a big billboard picture of Mr. Goldwater on a tall building saying, "Deep in your heart, you know that he is right." This may be certainly the image which is uniting the community for voter registration.

St. Augustine - Friday P.M.

Driving into St. Augustine from the southwest through Union County, I remembered how last June it would have been most foolhardy to take a state road through this Klan territory. Although then, U.S. 1 was not safe, several friends having been stopped and assaulted.

I renewed acquaintances and finally was able to catch Fred Martin, the SCLC-VEP Director in voter registration. His address in St. Augustine is 64 Washington St., and phone number is 829-6406. He feels that there is an easy potential of 4000 new Negro registrants. Upon reflection, (Most of these unregistered are in the county.) I know that this is correct. Miss Patricia Neely, then of the St. Augustine NAACP Youth Council, dis such a good job in voter registration that Mr. Patton hired her to direct the registration effort in Ft. Lauderdale.

Mr. Fred Martin, in order to get to the unregistered Negroes, states that he needs more cars. He has only one assistant, Funderbick, a Negro youth from St. Augustine, who receives $25 a week plus $.05 a mile for the use of his private car. Miss Plummer, the secretary for SCLC, mans the office.

On Saturday, he is planning to use 12 Negro students from Florida Normal and 12 others to hit one precinct where 2000 Negroes are unregistered. The Negro Quarterback Club is going to furnish cars. He had only begun organizing this week. He had already prepared research. He had large blownup maps of both the city and the county with precincts marked off, indicating the number of Negroes and whites.

Martin says that his main problem is getting enough permanent workers who would work. He claims that he needs five cars full-time that could be paid $.15 a mile, and workers who would be paid according to people the register, such as $.50 a head.

It seems that the project in St. Augustine could be a success if there were more financial investment or material investment because the unregistered Negroes do amount to about 13,000 (claims Martin). With so little capitalization because of needs, there may well be a loss rather than any profit. Since September, he has registered only 20.

Jacksonville - Friday P.M.

Jacksonville, of all the towns in Florida, was most disappointing to me. Mr. Hugh Love stated that he was coming to Jacksonville Saturday. I hope that he does after what I saw Friday when I arrived. I talked to Mr. Torrence.

Mr. Herbert Torrence is the NAACP-VEP Director. His address is 411½ Broad Street, and is chairman of the Crusade for Voters. He is paid by Mr. Patton at the rate of $25 per week, but he does not work full time. He spends his time there and at his cleaners. NAACP-VEP has a beautiful office with a secretary by the name of Loretta Oliver. But in four weeks of registration, only 300 Negroes did they claim they registered. They have no organization broken down into precinct workers and block workers. They do have a voters list which can assist them, but it is not broken down into streets.

The registrar in the past had placed the registration books into the neighborhoods, but the registrar will not this time, the County Commission claiming that response was poor, said Mr. Torrence.

The checks are mailed from Memphis, and they have in their kitty $150 allocated and have received $100. Mr. Torrence said that canvassing is to be done by the Youth Council. He went to their meeting and asked for some volunteers to commit themselves and several did. This is to begin Saturday.

I also talked to Prince McIntosh. He was returning to Florida A & M after being suspended because of CORE activities in 1963. During the past year, he had acted as Public Relations Director for Jacksonville

NAACP. He seems to feel that Mr. Torrence is a hard worker but a poor organizer. It was Mr. Patton who appointed him, and Torrence is sincere. But when I was there, the effort was poorly organized.

Mr. Torrence claims that the Negro does not have an issue to organize behind like in the past, such as Sit-Ins. His goal is 7000, but with 400 new registrants in four weeks, it will do well if he attains a tenth of that number. The potential in Jacksonville justifies a greater effort there.

(Phone calls to Miami)
Wednesday and Friday, September 9 and 11, I have been concerned about Miami. When I was there, I was not able to talk to anyone of CORE who I thought was important because it and its leaders, Mr. Almoore, the President, and Mr. John Brown are viable forces in that community. Brown is also an executive on the Miami Community Relations Board.

I talked to two persons, an ordinary worker member, Miss Dorothy Pierson, Almoore, and Dr. John Brown. It seems that last July when the Crusade for Voters called the meeting in July, CORE attended. It was determined that each group would choose an area or section. CORE chose the area which could be described as "Downtown Negro Miami." This area runs from N.W. 4th St. to 28th St., and from 7th Avenue to the ever present railroad. They claim that their 28-30 reliable active members have registered 3400 new Negro registrants, bringing the people on foot and in cars; and that in this area, no other effort has been made. They do not know whether any effort is presently being made by any other group. They like Mrs. Range and Father Gibson, but Mrs. Range has not been able to direct it as she should and Father Gibson lacks follow-through. They claim that Mr. Milton Hardreck is a "shyster" along with Mr. Sam Hutchinson, and that they know that money has come into Miami which has attracted their likes. Mr. Moore claims that Miami CORE has done the work but is not getting any of their expenses paid, such as gasoline, etc. He claims that CORE could double the 3000 figure if their workers could be compensated, such as $10 or $15 a week which would really just pay their expenses.

I also called SNCC's office to find out whether they have any workers down in Miami. They said that if there are any, they are not suppose to be down there. Mrs. Range's "SNCC" workers, therefore, must be just CORE members with SNCC buttons or students home from the Mississippi Summer Project.

JD:bs

Attachments:

WB/
JM

M E M O R A N D U M

9/15/64

To: WAB
From: JD
Re: Field Trip to Fort Valley, Georgia - September 11, 1964

On Friday, it was desired that I would leave with my car to go to Jones County to see Rev. Charles Wells, to Bibbs County to see Bill Randall, and to Peach County to see Mr. Appling.

Car Problem: It being afternoon when I left the office, I determined to first have the automobile greased and oiled. Fueling up in the city of Griffin at a Texaco Station, the car would not start and the only diagnosis they gave me was that a brush was burned out and had to be replaced. Finding also that with a "push" the car would start, I decided that I would see only Mr. Appling.

He stated that his group, the Peach County Political Action Committee, has registered about 247 persons during the last three weeks. He stated that money received from VEP has been deposited but has not been used. He therefore promised to return it Monday.

He said that he expected that his group could have registered at least 2000 more people, but as he puts it, the people were just not there (in the city). This number and more that could be registered are in the county, but he said that there just was not enough time for them to organize.

He indicated that their method of operation is to hold meetings every night in the Episcopal Church (except last Tuesday when the Primary Eve Meeting was held in a Baptist Church). Mr. Appling has a voter's list broken down into streets; so, at the meeting, people appoint themselves as volunteers to work the streets to register the unregistered people.

I then tried to find out whether there are any other people supporting Appling in voter registration. He told me that his secretary of the Peach County Political Action Committee is Mrs. Daisy Wooten, and the treasurer is Mr. Ruben Jones, the owner of a Pure Oil Station. He stated that one of the programs of the Peach County Political Action Committee is that it has a committee which is an advisory to the Bi-Racial Committee of Ft. Valley.

Before I left Ft. Valley, I stopped at a Sinclair Station and store owned by a Mr. Hightower, a Negro. He was unaware of any groups

working in voter registration presently, although a group had been so involved last Spring. I did not ask him about Mr. Appling, nor did he know that I knew Mr. Appling.

Conclusion:

I understood that in the past, Mr. Appling has conducted voter registration and has demonstrated that he could be effective. I, therefore, cannot accept as a full reason for no VEP effort in Peach County and the surrounding area because "there was so little time to organize." It follows then that either he is not effective, or that he did not want to put out the effort. It can be both.

JD:bs

WBJ
JML

TO: WAB

FR: JD

RE: Field Trip to South Alabama-Sept 21, 1964.

Prior to making the field trip , I had a meeting with the director to plan the trip. It was determined that I see Mrs. Idessa Williams, Montgomery Improvement Association, in Montgomery; Mrs. Boynton, or Rev. Gildersleeve, of the Dallas County Voter Project, Selma; Mr. T.Y. Rogers, of the Tuscalossa Citizens for Action, x and, if possible, Mr. W.P. Mitchell, of the Tuskegge Citizens for Action.

Coming into Tuscaloosa at about 10 A.M., I went by Mr. T.Y. Rodger s office. The door was locked. Icalled his home and no one answered. (758-2833). After waiting for a while, I went by the Court House and met a person by the name of Junior Wilson, a citizenship school teacher. He wasthere to vouch for residence of Negro applicants. I learned from him that Friday was to have been the last day for registration.(I assumed from this the last day fro registration before November). But a local judge died and registration was extended for another day, Monday.

I talked to two Citizenship shool teahchers, who each had about 60 pupils, and were responsible for them to apply for registration. 16 of these classes have been set up. Mr. Ross Bonner 752-8877 isthe director of the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action registrationp program.

Hx I was finally able to catch T.Y. Rodgers. It had been a problem to communicate tothe Negro community the fact of extension of registration for one day, despite the efforts of the teacher s telephone committee. He had been out and was ready to go out again with Wilson, each going in dirfferent direction, to Negro areas inorder to get more Negro response. When I had been at the Court house, only 4 Negroes out of a line of 20 were standing.

It seems that the registrar has been "friendly". But the registrar had been reading October questions for the month of September, thereby confusing the efforts of the Citizenship School teachers. Also, the registrar has recently been taking a book, opan any page, and ask the applicnat the question, thereby effectively turning back both white and Negro applicants.

In general they feel that 550 have been registered out of their program. They have sent a report to Edwina of SCLC .

In Selma, I went by the Court House. Two Negroes along with 4 Whites were standing in line, no activity because it was the lunch hour. The registrar opened his office at about 10:00 A.M. , closed at Noon untill 2:00 and then remain open untill about 4:00. I went by the office of the Dallas County Voter's League, and no one was the e except Mrs. Boynton s secretary for her insurance business. She called Mrs Boynton who came by along w ith her daugher-in- law who acted as the League s secretary. Mrs. Boynton then shortly returned to the Court House to vouch for residence of the Negro applicants.

I learned that the registrar has been unfair, disqualifying applicants for frivoulous reasons. Boynton has the affidavit of Miss Beard Moorer - to whom the registrar read a section of the Constitution, made her sit for five minutes in another room, and then asked her to repeat word by word what he had read to her.

Also, she feelsthat the injunction of last July restraining her from holding Mass Meetings destroys her effectiveness in communicating to the Negro Community. She said that 17 Negroes were in line that morning, whcih is about the average. As to how many have registered, she has asked John Doar of the Justice Dept to find this out for her. She is also hoping that the Justice Department will find out whehher the bookds will be open in October. It is this kind of information she can not get out of the Justice Department.

They hope to conduct mass meetings thfough other people in September if there is dny days in October. Ogherwise, they feel that is hard to get results because of real fear and intimidation. I learned thatthey have not received any assistance from SNCC in canvassing or community organization. I taldked to John Love of SNCC, the new director. He said that they have been busy in organizang a library and the yOuth. But they intedn to continue an ongoing programon voter education and voter registration.

I then went by the Court House in Montgonery. There were no more registration days in September, but the days in October will be the 6th,7th, 8th, 9th, and 13th. I called the Montgomery Improvement Association and found that the person in charge of the office, Mrs. Durgee, was leaving and could not wait for me. I then was aboe to get in touch with Mrs. Idesssa Williams, who was at home, 1010 Bragg Street. Her secretary, she said, was in the hospital. She stated that she has found that the most part of the Negro community which is unregistered is in the slum areas and in the County. She is busy organizing the people in these areas, as the "books" wull come into these precincts in October.

Nevertheless, she feels that she needs more SCLC assistance, at least two other cars, and Mr. James Orange and Aaron Arms, the SCLC staff people were so affective during the Summer. She feels thatthe transportaion pool on a volunbary basis was not reliable, and so was the people they were willing to oay, the undertaker and the cab-drivers. If what she says is true, VEP shall not have much to show for its investment unless more investement is made in human resources, particulary SCLC staff people.

Having to go through Tuskegee, I stopped there to talk to Mr. W.P. Mitchell, the office being open at the late hour of 8 P.M. They have been quite satisfied with the results of Negro Political Action in concert with White Community Conservationists. I learned from him that registration will continue from October 1 through December; and that one may register for the Fall Elections lo days before the Elections. As in Montgomery, he stated that the large unregistered Negroes are in the slum and rural areas. He too, indiaated that he needs mofe assistance, but only financial, like a supplementary grant. They have not planned a budget or a program which justify a supplementary grant but they plan todo so immediatley. Since they have demonstrated competnece- a supplementary grant may should be approved.

WB
JBM

TO: WAB

FR: JD

RE: FIELD TRIP -VIRGINIA
Sept 26-Oct 1, L964.

Arriving in Richmand, I called WAB. He asked me to see Mr. Lester Banks , Executive Secretary of the Va. State Conference of tne NAACP. I was to ask him about his financial reporting and his VEP program in 21 areas. I was to ask him for the names and addressees of the people in charge . I was to also explain to him that no VEP money should be used in any Court litigation.

I was directed to see Dr. Thorton to investigate the projects in Richmond and also inquire from him also about the financial reports. Later, I was to to research the so-called "White" VEP project, and Dr. Larsen, and to see Atty. Herman Benn of the Va. Voter's League.

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I arrived in Mr. Bank's office and he had time to discuss with me generally Vifginia politics and voter registration=problems , although he said that I was lucky to catch him in the office becaue generally he is in the field. I l

I learned from him that the Conferecne budget for Voter registration is $10,000 and for Legal work, $15,000. He indicated that his secretary worked late Friday Evening to finish the financial rep ort and probably sent the report then. He aslo said that most assuredly, no funds were used in legal activity.

VEP I asked for the names and addresses of his project directors , stating that I needed them for informational purposes and he provided them. (See attachment).

I asked him whther he and any of the projects have received any support from any other group such as COPE. He said that a Mr. Ernie Davis had been involved personnally in Richmand, but as a volonteer, and COPE has not been involved officially.

He was very happy in receiving a favorable Court decision Saturday, requiring an uniform registration form whichdad been adopted by the Federal Court for use. He said that he had run off 10,000 o of these forms and have sent them to his project directors. Each applicant is to be instructed to attempt to use themse these forms in the presence of the registrar and if refused, to proceed to fill out the form offer the completed form and retain the duplicate.

Mr. Banks also indicated that a direct mailing had been sent t o each Mason and member of Negro PTA's. The PTA form was interesting because it too included the registration form.

JD Field trip Reports

Possibly anticipating my conveying WAB's criticism of his supporting an Alexandria Va project becaue VEP is supporting a CORE project in the same area, he explained that the NAACP has had an on-going active program which the Conference was bound to support. He said that CORE just started last week and were local people coming from D.C., and came only after the D.C. books closed. I saw a copy of the Alexandria report which indicated student and wide-community support.

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I then had an appointment with Dr. Thornton.

The local projects in the Richmond area are in the two Counties and in the City of Richmand . (Richmond is without a County governemtn by statute). Dr. Thornton, on lunch hour, accompanied me to visit th precinct registration places, described as the "Moss" buildin , the "East-side Sub P.O2", Main Post Office, and Forrest Place. (I later learned that one can retister in any precinct).

He stated that he uses 7 cars, with each driver being paid $10 a day(one car is a volkswagen bus which holds 10 persons). On occasion, the "Crusdade for Voters" uses a City-wide Bus, using it last Monday and plans to use it this coming Friday. The rent of the Bus has been paid by Mr. Reynolds of the Reynodd Aluminum Company. It was said that he is a Johnson rsupporter.

At the East-side P.O., there were about 50 persons in double linsw- all NEGRO!. The branch station was incredibly crowded and Dr. Thornton and I did not crowd inside because we would be inconveniencing. Nor did we stand around auside because it was raining- which didnt prevent the large number of Negro applicants to appear. There were at least 4 registrants and an extra typist. While observing - one of the transportation cars had dropped a load and passed us. The rate of retistration seemed to be about the same tempo as in Atlanta last Spring.

We then went to the Main Post Office - were "just" 15 or so applicants only including just 7 Negroes. Here there were 3 registrars and one secretary. Nothing seemed to be out of order. we then went to the "Moss" building. This is the office of the chief registrar, with whom Mr. Thornton has had dialogue and problems. (See attachments). About 80 persons were crowded in the hall way. Only about 5 or six were White- standing near the end of the line.(Is this reverse submissiveness?) Eveyone was stopped at a door to another room,the registration room, were only a few that could sit down befors the table to be allowed in. When Dr. Thornton and I entered this room by another door. The registrars shooed us out- telling us us that we must come by another door. We had no way to determine whether there was a deliberate slow-down.

At the "Forrest Place", only a few white applicants were there; althogh there were hree registrars.

Thornton said that the registrar has be n cooperative.(See enclosed newspaper clipping). On the first day of the program, 200 Negros were registered.Thornton held that then the Election Board held a meeting and decided that too many were being registered. By slow down tactics only 119 were registered and more than 400 were turned away. After complaints to the Justice Department and the F.B. I., the registrar again "Speeded Up". Thornton

indicated th t he was appreciative in going around with me because the registrars knew him and probably knew that I was from out of town and therefore xx speculated that I was from the Justice Department.

Later that Evening, I met Mr. Pannell over at the home of Dr. Thornton. Mr. Pannell is the day by day director of the Crusade's program. We had a long discusssion which was enlighting xxx personally. It seemed that Richmond xxxxxxxxxxxx no longer fit the image I had of it when I used to xx wait in their bus stations -waiting for the Bus to Washington D.C. Richmand seemed to be similar to Atlanta in the directiono of desegregation.

Pannell indicated that in the adjoining counties the Crusade Program covers, the potential is 2000 Negroes in Henrico and 4000 Negroes in Chesterfield.

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Earlier that same day, I had an appointment with Atty. Benn. He said that he thought that Rev. Winbush, the President, sent the xx VEP financial reports to WAB. He indicated that the "Voters League" was doing little other than Educative and Informative methods in encouraging Negroes to register.

He xxxxxxxxxxxx admitted that Voter Leagues have declined in general- especially the Virginia Voters League, al hough independent Leagues seemed to carry on effectively. He said that th s coming week-end, there was to be a State Wide meeting in Richmond of the Formal Voter League affiliates and the independent leagues, with Riddick of Suffolk to preside. The discussion is to be on the subject of whther a state-wide xxxxxx Voters League could be effective today.

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The next morning, I called Dr. W. Larsen , President of the Virginia xxxxx Voters and Registration League. I x communicated to him about WAB's desires for a financial report . He stated that he would attempt to complete it this weekend. He did indicate that they have rented 4 buses and used much xxxxx space in the newspaper and on the radio on the question of registration. Unfortunatley, he was to be busy untill about 4:00 P.M.

I then went to their office which is on Broad St., a main street of Richmand. I had hoped to meet Jim Scott- the active which WAB had heard about. He was not there. x two white xxxxx workers were there- a Mrs. Betty xxxx slean who was apparently in charge and another young man. She indicated that Jim comes in late in the afternoon and stays late at night.

Unfortunatley, our communication levels(Mine with Mrs. Slaan) were at variance. Her evasiveness and ther fore frustration

of my efforts began to cause impatience on my part(and anger), and therefore I had to make a conscious effort not to allow this to show and to ask more innocuous questions or those questions which she had pre-determined to respond to.

I still was unalbe to underatand why they worked so late at night when the books closed at 5 P.M. For research purposes, I had hoped to investigate the program as to white registration problems. All I was able to learn is that they have been provided a list of white persons, including telephone numbers, from a mystical (mystical to me!) Reverend Heslup Lee. It seemed that this list contained about several thousand names. In a manner that seemed to be like boasting, she stated that not one of these names is a name of a person that made less than $10,000 a year. This statement expained to me why she was unalbe to respond to my interest of learning their program or registration low-income whites.

By more specific questions, I was able to find that the source of this list is the Third District Democratic Association , and its White leader, Mr. Harry Cohn. I had also learned that Betty Sloan was an active worker on behalf of the election President Kennedy. But a wall between us prevented more effective communication. From apparant indications, they seem to serve as an information center. While I was there an hour, at least 12 persons, all Negroes, would come there and aske whether they could regeister. Miss Sloan would tell them No, but would ask their address, tell them where they could register that is nearest their address and give them a few materials which indicated that for Good Citizenship, one should register. None of these materials seemed tobe partisan. She explaimed to me that they inform both Negroes and "hites. She said that If a person calling them asking for transportation, they would send their one car to pick the person up. The other part of their program isthat they calling aevery person on the list to find out whether the party is registered and offer them to assist by transportation if necessary. She is also keeping count of the persons who come in askeing whether this is the place to register. She is claiming credit for registering each person who does this.

It bothered why this group seemed, (by The list) to be concerned only with upper middle-class white persons, but I didn't raise the point because the question was hostile and the answer seemed to be obvious. It is my opinion that the answer is obvious because this group had no real program in registering low- income white persons because the "back lash" issue would motivate "poor whites" to vote for the Republican Senator Goldwater; It is my opinion that this group is a defacto loyalist Democratic group seeking to capitalize on the "Front Lash" theory- assuming that secure economic classes would be concerned about the more supposedly "radical" Goldwater.

Because "On its Face", this is a non-partisan group, the only problem is that the names of persons not making less than $10,000 are generally more "registered" than not.

This same morning, I had called WAB. He indicated the areas I was to visit, which were #8, #3, #5, #4, #7 , #7a, and #9, in that order. These were xxx of the 21 areas of the VEP-NAACP Mr. Banks program.

WAB indicated that I should find the following:

(1) The Program of each co-ordinator and what he or she is doing;
(2) The areas covered by the program;
(3) What funds they have recxed;
(4) From whom;
(5) Is there anybody elese to xxxx work with?(groups)or, xxxxis there any other groups active in voter registration.

.....

Ashland.

The town of Ashland is in Area "#8, the xxxxxx County of Hanover. I found from the twon clerk the address of the regis- trar . It seemed xxx that her telephone was unlisted in that she works out of her home rather htan at the Court House.

I was able to find Mr. Anderson , the co-ordinator of the area, at home. I told me that the main r gistrar, Mrs. Campbell, is available each evening, between 7 P.M. and 9 P.M., and all day this coming Saturday. Also, there is a registrar in each precinct, these being 11 precincts, who are xxxx also open between 7P.M. and 9 P.M. on Wednesdays and Thursday.

Here is a strictly an NAACP program; there being 3 districts xxxx (voting districts), the Committee on registration is constituted of 3 district chairman. The general chairman being Mr. Anderson. He xxx told me that he can depend upon at least 14 district workers. He said that more than 17 Negroes were registered a week before last, 46 last week and 80 should be registered this week.

He stated xxxxx that he has received the $105, but that every body who has been working will not be paid out of this money, just gas and oil receipts of those who will turn theirs in for re-imbursement.

Mr. Anderson said that he did not know of anyother groups or persons working in voter registration .

He said that some young college students during the summer came from Maryland State, including a Mr. Tallifero, but left because they were not really needed in the area.

Mr. Anderson stated that the Registrarsxx are not as liberal as before because of the large number of Negroes appearing but the Women remain liberal .

Mr. Anderson xxx stated that they have received no other funds from any source. It appeared to me that they could really do without the funds they did receive.

Fredericksburg

The town of Fredericksburg ia in area #3. Mr. B.T. Johnson isthe co-ordinator in the area. He is an insurance man by profession in the field. Therefore he is difficult to to catch. His office is in Fredericksburg, and his home is in King George, a community no more than 20 miles away.

I learned from his secretary , Citizens United for Action, was the group that was active in voter registration last Summer. The chairman of this group is Rev. Laurence Davies, whose phone number is E.S. 7-6226 or E.S. 3-8701, 1207 Cardwell St., or 801 Sophia St. She said that this group worked with some Negro College Students from MOrgan State. She said that she understood that this group had a meeting with local White Democrats on how to push N egro registration, but heard of no other meetings. I was not able of catch Rev. Davies who was out of town.

I then went to King George to Mr. Johnson's home. Again, I was unsuccessful in catching him, but I was able to meet an assistant of his in the King George area. He did not know anything about Fredericksburg except that groups other than the NAACP were working in the City of Ffedericksburg.

I understood that in Area #3, there is a registrar in each precinct and one may register anytime, as long it is "reasonable hour". Mr. Johnson's assistant, Mr. Stubb, said that in the rural area, in response to my question, that there is no real need for transportation. with about 8 workers, they suse a door to door approach and speak in churches. He said that they can not rely upon the ministers because they are not too enthusiastic.

Early the next morning, when I was in Charlottesville, I called Johnson at his home . I learned of no new information other than that one of the most effiective students that worked in the area from Morgan State was named McDougal- he worked with 3 others. He said that the Citizesn United For Action originally organized to support a Negro for election and organized in each Block , and the NAACPiks working through his group inorder to work on the grass-roots level. It seems that no other funds have been reveived other than the $105.00, which has not yet been decided how to be spent.

Charlottesville

This College town seemed to be a Metropolis compared to he small towns I had just left.It is in area #5. Mrs. Drewy Brown is listed as the co-ordiantor, but the real day to day worker is Miss Ann Dolson, 413 Ridtw Road and whose phone number is 296-6997, chaim an of all the workds, the Committee of the Local NAACP in political action being brokend down to ward chairmn.

Mr. Brown is past chairman of the Politica Action Committee of the local NAACP and an officer of the local branch. Actually, he h d more to say than Mrs. Drewry. I learned from them that the program motor-caravans, which they have had la t Thursday, Friday, and Saturday which are going to be resumed Thursday. It was interesting to find that registration in the Wards can also be on Sundays. The program also includees Ward Meetings and Street Block parties.

She spoke very highly of a Mr. Taliaferro and a Hugo Scott who represented themselves as members of CORE and helped them organize last August. They were also very effective in voter education-seeming to know all the political fordes and persons in the State.

They also stated that the registrars have been very cooperative, even allowing the workers to assist the applicants or to allow the applicnats to take their forms home. She stated 200 were registered in one day.

She said that in the SLums and on the street of lost dreams, she has hired a WINO Captain, who isto be paid for registering by a jug of $1.69 wine. They also a telephone Committee and and a Transportation Committee.

The area covered is Albermarle County.

It seems that they too have difficulty to find what to do with the $105.00 They do intend to spend it for their past expenses, gas, oil, and entertainment, but they do not yet know how to distribute among the other workers- about 12 have just donated their cars and expenses to the movement. Each Ward Captain, for example, has at least 12 workers.

Other goups who are asssiting them in voter registration is the League for Women's Voters and the Charlotte Council of Human Relations. The League is integrated on a joint basis. They have had one mass meeting, and are assisting them on a door to door canvassing. hey aslo provide poll watchers to encourage Negroes and provide cookies and donunts, nd coffee. The Council has loaned cars, including a Volkswagen Bus, are attending Negro churches, and are integrating the teams which engage in Door to door canvassing. The Student Groups which have been assisting them also isthe Virginia Young Democrats and the Thomas Jefferson Chapter Society of the Council. She estimates that more than 600 have already b en registered in the short campaign and 2000 will be on the books by Sunday.

.....

The next morning, I visted one of he registration places. It was a very wet day. In the office, I saw 3 Negroes(it being about 9 A.M.) waiting to be be registered and a white person wanting an absentee application).

City of Staunton

Mrs. Bertie Huggard is the coodinator of Area # 4 which includes this town. Not only is she a young wife, she is also a traffic Cop(at the Negro school) and a switch board operator at the "white" college. She was very gracious. in receiving me.

She is working in Harrisburg Staunton, and Waynesboro in the counties of Augusta and Rockingham. She has received $105 plus expenses, therefore the is for her compensation. No other funds have been received by her.

She is chairlady of the Political Action Committee of the local NAACP. Her Program really began around August 14. Her Main helpers were a Mr. Shue, a white person, who was very effective in The County, but is now attending School, and a White woman(I failed to get her name) who is her co-worker at the Police Station and is co-chairman of the telephone Committee. There technique is to go into an area after Church annoucments and word of mouth annoucements to conduct a work-shop, appoint a chaiman form the meeting who are then responsible in getting more workers. She has 3 in Stanton and 7 in the rest of the County.

Here, also, the registrars are cooperative. The Rockingham registrar even took her form which Mr. Banks provided her and had it printed as the official form of the County.

She stated that no other groups are in the area, and the #105 is the only funds she has received from any other source.

When I went to the Court House, I saw no Negroes in line-but did see 3 white persons. It was still a wet day.

Buckingham

This is area #7a and Mr. Allen Gooden is the coordinator. He is principal of the Dillegan Elementary School and school had just let out when I found him. Before arriving , I had stopped at the Court House and saw that the Registrar is in the Court House ev ry econd Monday only, b t for the conveneince of people who desired to register before the Fall elections, she was riding "cicuit" , being in a precinct each day before October 3, befofe 5 at an address. The schedule was posted on the Court House door

After talking to Mr. Gooden, it was too late to vist the place where registration was occuring.

I learned that Mr. Frank Harris, President of ghe local NAACP is also principal of the adjoining Negro High school, and Mr. Gooden is chaimmand of the polstical action committee. Mr. Gooden said tha t he has 8 workers , eac in charge of a precinct. He also uses the shcool bus for transportaiton purposes, along with the transportation committee(3 cars). Also the Seniors are required to canvass.

Mr. Gooden explained that the registration program is really not a program of the NAACP but that the local NAAXCP is assisting the local "Buckingham Improvement Association". He said that the Association haa other goals, such as health and neighborhood improvement etc. But it has a committee in each precinte. The presidnet of the Association is Mr. Stanley Jeffrey, the County Agent.

He contends that the act of registration is not hard, and all though the hours are inconveneint, the registrar will also work out her home at 8:30 P.M.

Other groups in registration is the Buckingham Voters League-which do only "informative" things, the Masonic Lodges and the chuches, which afe working with the Association and the NAACP.

He said that ~~more than~~ 50% of the County is Negro and out of 12,000 potential, 634 Negroes are registered . He belives that the program shall double this amount and approach ½ of the 3000 Whites who are registered.

~~Buckingham County~~

~~When I arrived in Cunningham~~

CUMBERALAND COUNTY

"hen I arrived in this area, area #7, I learned ~~that~~ from the Co-ordiantor, Mrs. Bernetta West, a haridresser and owner of a beauty parlor, that in fact, Mr. R. L. Scales was the director of voter registration, chairman of the committee of the NAACP. here. Mrs. Goodsden isthe President.

Mr. Scales is a a highschool vocational teacher and serves the Negro New Farmers of America. Hde was busy directing the setting up the structure for the Negro Carnival that was going to be held the coming weekend.

We went back to his office at the school, and he explained to me how the program is set up in his county. He has a church chairman in eqach of the 16 Negro churches in the County. Each meber has a geal of getting two other members registered. Each of the chairman or chairlady reports to him.

There is unfortunatley only one registrar who is open only on Thursday. There had been 4 but this was done away with since the May Supreme Court decision. However, the registrar has promised Scales that he wo ld be open Saturday andto use the new official forms sent by Mr. Banks. Scales has ah appointment with the Commonwealth Atty who the Negroes helped put in in order to to procure his influence in getting the books open late in the evenings in the remainder of the week. Scales says that 700 have been registered, and at their present rate, should have anothe 100 registered by Sunday. There are 1647 Adult Negroes and 1700 adult whites. Scales said that 1200 whites voted at the last time.

Scales says that he about knows every one in the Area, which includees ~~xx~~ just Cumberland County. However, he has been going into a district to a home he knows very well, sit down with the person and ~~xix xixkx~~ write the names of every one they know in th area. He would then assign the names to one of his leaders or workers in the area.

He, too, seems to be lost for what to do with the 4$105 but vaguely believes that the NAACP will decide what to with the moeny. They have raised more than ~~$7~~ $600 on behalf of Tucker. I was quick to explain to him that the present NAACP program on behalf ~~of~~ registration must be on a non-partisan basis.

Attachments:

VIRGINIA
AREA COORDINATORS

AREA 1 - Loudoun, Prince William and Fauquier Counties

Coordinators:

Mr. William Jackson
Middleburg, Virginia

Mr. James P. Russell
Route 1, Box 135, Woodbridge, Virginia

Mrs. Doris Grant
Upperville, Virginia

AREA 2 - City Alexandria

Coordinator:

Mr. Jim Dugan
423 Queen Street, Alexandria, Virginia

AREA 3 - City of Fredericksburg and Stafford, Spotsylvania, King George and Caroline Counties

Coordinator:

Mr. B. T. Johnson
P O Box 686, Fredericksburg, Virginia
[Rykl-aide - Rykl Hamma Hotel]

AREA 4 - City of Staunton and Augusta and Rockingham Counties

Coordinator:

Mrs. Bertie Huggard
409 Gooch Street, Staunton, Virginia

AREA 5 - City of Charlottesville and Albermarle County

Coordinator:

Mrs. Drewry Brown
1201 Rosser Street, Charlottesville, Virginia

AREA 6 - City of Roanoke and Roanoke County

Coordinator:

Mr. A. Byron Smith
P O Box 312, Roanoke, Virginia

AREA 7 - Cumberland County

Coordinator:

Mrs. Bernetta B. West
Route 3, Box 163, Cumberland, Virginia

AREA 7 A - Buckingham County

Coordinator:

Mr. Allen Gooden, Jr.
Route 1, Box 44, Buckingham, Virginia

AREA 8 - Hanover County

Coordinator:

Mr. Ralph Anderson
Route 2, Ashland, Virginia

VIRGINIA AREA COORDINATORS

AREA 9 - Powhatan County

Coordinator:

Mr. Paul Bell
Route 1, Powhatan, Virginia

AREA 10 - Prince Edward County

Coordinator:

Rev. L. Francis Griffin
P O Box 464, Farmville, Virginia

HE IS IN ACTION

EX 2-5504

MON & FRIDAY REGISTRATION

AREA 11 - Dinwiddie County

Coordinator:

Mr. A. G. Edwards
Dinwiddie, Virginia

AREA 12 - Sussex County

Coordinator:

Mr. Joseph F. Newsom, Jr.
RFD Route 4, Waverly, Virginia

AREA 13 - Southampton County

Coordinator:

Mr. Charles E. Higgins
RFD Route 1, Box 153, Capron, Virginia

VIRGINIA AREA COORDINATORS

AREA 14 - Surry County

Coordinator:

Mr. Solon Wooden
Route 3, Box 17, Spring Grove, Virginia

AREA 15 - Mecklenburg County

Coordinator:

Mrs. Julia E. Tucker
111 East Atlantic Street, Emporia, Virginia

AREA 16 - City of South Boston and Halifax County

Coordinator:

Mr. J. B. Coleman
RFD, Halifax, Virginia

AREA 17 - City of Danville

Coordinator:

Mrs. Doyle Thomas
352 Ross Street, Danville, Virginia

AREA 18 - Pittsylvania County

Coordinator:

Irvin Burton
Route 360, Danville, Virginia

VIRGINIA AREA COORDINATORS

AREA 19 - City of Williamsburg and York, James City, New Kent and Charles City Counties

Coordinator:

Mr. Charles E. Brown
P O Box 471, Yorktown, Virginia

AREA 20 - Middlesex County

Coordinator:

Mr. John Hollis Jordan
Box 226, Saluda, Virginia

AREA 21 - Accomac County

Coordinator:

Mr. Ernest P. Beckett
Accomac, Virginia

Pay-1

10/14/64

WB-
JBM

Field Trip to Nortg Carolina-Part I.
-NAACP-VEP 20 County Areas:

I arrived into the Durham-Raleigh Airport fromx fromna flight from Atlanta and was met there by Rev. Charles Ward, our coordinator for the VEP-NAACP project. He was quite distraought becase of illness in the family.

His wife had been acting as his secretary, voluntarily, for his xxR VEP work xxdx but was now seriousily ill. He therefore intends to to hire a part-time secretary to be in the offic e, as he is in the field most of the time.

REv. Ward last week visited about ten areas.He and John Edwards had divided xxx up the 20 County VEP-NAACP project, JOhn taking the We stern Portion and Ward the Eastern portion. It was his eastern part Ward had visited. From the results of his trip, he was able to provide us the list of his co=ordinators.(See attacment I).

I then called John Edwards in Durham and he provided both me and R v. W ard the list of his cooridnators xd and contacts.(See attacmentII). John admitted that he had not yet made his tour as was done by Rev. Ward but planned to do so after the NAACP convention this coming week-end. As a general rule Rev. Ward had established his coordianators only after contacting community leaders in the County. Basically, xxrhe preferred the local NAACP organization and its people if it was active and effective in community organization, but if said REv. Ward, if the local NAACL was not effedtive, or, if other people are more effeective, gh these other people would be used. He said that forcMartincandcPittsçchecisccakcc Martin and Pitts Counties, he is calling upon Mr. "Goldie " Frinks(an officer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) to work in these areas. His list of names he indicates as coordinators includes people that are not active with the LOCAL Naacp. Bxyh Both WARD and EDWARDS use a State-wide NAACP xxxt list of NAACp officers , but it seems that John Edware, from his own admissions xxx had not yet composed his lis t of co-ordda tors from personal investigation.

.....:.....

After disposing of the xx 20 County-VEP NAACP problem, Rev. Ward tpok time to discussxxxxpax the program in Wake(Raleigh) County. Here, he has three co-oridanators : Mr. James Shepherd, 424 Bloodworth, TE xxxxxxxxx 2-8777; Bartel W. Lane, Rock Quarry Rodd, 833-6967; Ruth Morgan, Windel, North Carolina, 365 - 7117. The latter two are the xxxth County co-ordianatora. They work through the Negro schools in the area, their local PTA's. xxxh with students, compete ing with each other. In the city, Mr. Shepherd, the Presddent of the local NAACP, Mr. Campbell and Bloodworth, have been working through h the bfanch and the Yo uth Gxp Chapter In both areas, the procedure is for their workers to go door to door to make contacts, make appointments , and to bring to the xxxxx people the retistrars.

The Hallifax movement

I arrived here , Enfield N.C., later than I planned, Havind had problems in finding a place to stay, eating etc.

VEP 4-14

Behind the Colfield Funeral Homes I found the office of the Hallifax movement. Mr. Reed Johnson, the treasuerer, and a Miss Smith was there , talking to another man about the organization of a precinct A Mrs. Deloris Ward then came into the office to report about a road and bridge that had been washed out from the rain of the week before.

Mr. Johsnon explained that the county-wide registration program had been set back a week because of the rain and wetness- and now everyone was frantically playing "catch up".

He admitted that his last report was sent Sept 12 , 1964. I explained to him the seriousness of the need for him to send in current reports-or weekly reports. He answered that the last check was written September 11, 1964, and therefore he thought there was no need to send into Atlanta empty reports. I replied that it made no difference- VEP obligations in its own files is to show current financil responses as long as a grant is remaining active. I asked him howmuch he had in the VEP account, and he said, $140.93, the amount he had already indicated to WAB, but was already charged out.

He then indicated the disperate need for more VEP funds. We had a long discussion about this. But in essence, I explained that for VEP funds, there must be a promise and fulfillment of financil reporting, which VEP goes unsatisfied, concerning the Hallifax movemnt. Johnson then indicated that he would make the sufficdnt reporting. As for supplementary grants, I told him he should submit a budget as for a supplementary grant, but then explained to him VEP's separate account which VEP may decide to apply in his case. I did n ot promise VEP would satisfy their expenditures, but indicated that only with making and application and making a report, could this be quid pro quo for VEP.

We had been so busy talking about the finances, that I had no real opportunity to talk about the Hallifax Movement relationship with SCEF before John Saltedr entered the building. But Idid learn thazt there are two accounts. One is in the name of the Hallifax VEP which VEP account. The other account is in the name of the " Hallifax County Voter Registration Movement".In this account is only $18. Only the Community supports this(collections from Negro churches etc., althyough at times, they may receive in the mail some checks. He told me that the Hallifax Movement had not ever received any money from SCEF. He said that the Hallifax Movement, on response to my inquiry,is not associated with SCEF; rather, it is an affiliate of the SCLC.

(Earlier I had stopped by a Negro Cleaners. The Negro business owner, a young man in his late 30's, indicated that he had been and is active with the Hallifax movemnt, such as providing transportation and some contributions. I introduced my self as as a person intereseted in voter registration. From his information and belief, he feels that the program has been very active dispite the hostility in the area towards Negroes, and has been effective in voter registration. Becausd of the movement, there are now Negro children attending The White schools. He alwayss said "Our" organization etc. I then asked him about JOhn Salter and SCEF. He knew that JOhn Salther did work for SCEF. He said that he understood that SCEF is supposed to be or have been Communist controlled-but that he didn't

(The Communists)
believe it. He said that he thought that "they" believed in fighting to take over the governement or infiltraating good organizations and taking them over. He felt however that John Salther is a nice boy- who has been working with them, telling them how is the best way of doing things, but not what to do. He felt that Hohn Salter never told them about unchristian ways etc.(While talking to him, I almost began to believe that John Salter was a Negro because of the lack of deferential attitude towwrds him because of his being white.)

Not having been able to bring SCEF involvement with the Hallifax movement as I wanted to before John Salter arrived, when he did come, we had a tense disussion aboit SCef vis-a-vis the Voter Educat90n Project.

I was the first to raise the question. I indicated that VEP, being a research organization, must be able to measure results of VEP activity in a given area. With SCEf in the area, it is difficult to determine results due to VEP activity and results due to SCEF activity. John Salter took the position that VEP is against SCEF because of its alledged "Redness" etc. I responded that VEP would be concerned regardless of the other organization, whether the other organization is NAACP in Savannah, Urban League in Miami , or what have you. VEP possibly find that "its" activity registered 10,000 and the other organizations will alos claim to have registered the same number. It is necessa ry for VEP to determine who did what.

John Salter then said that we should stop "pussy footing around", the real issue is the red-baiting issue, by the Southe rn REgional Council. He said that he is not responsible for what individuals in SCEF may have done 20 years ago, that he is only responsible for him self to the people in Hallifax Connty. He said thazt he is not a Communist nor ever was one. Johnson then said, concurred with by Mrs. Smith, that they almost did not accept the grant and brought the quwestion before the County Organizstion. They all claime tha t the letters that they have received from WAB have been offensive to them in relation to JOhn Salter.

I answered them tha t I can not claim to know the present position of VEP in relation to SCEFas they asserted. I told them that I have been instructed to find the manner of involvement of any group in Hallifax County, oyher than VEP, so that we can measure our results. JOhn Salter then daid that SCEF had spent several times more than the chicken feed VEP has sent them.I indicated thazt I am aware of the fund raising by SCEF for the Hallifax movement. John Salter said that expenditures to be used in the area comes out of the general operations fund of SCEF. There is no separate Hallifax fund. He said that SCEF, rather than giving a"grant", has no special budgett for Hallifax . SCEF expenditures in the area, have been the payment of his salary, milage, and printing costs, other than assuming the legal costs .(I know from mh own personal information hta legal costs can r un quite jigh).

John ~~Salter Salter tehn left for the Meeting of the district chairman in the Funeral Parlor. But before he left, I indicated that VEP is concerned wither~~

I indicated thazt VEP is concerned whether the local movemtn is a viable independent local movement. Every one hastened to tell that it was and re-invited me to attend the meeting of all the local preceinct chairman. I said that I had planned to go to Warrenton and Durham this evening-but I would stay to see how viable the movement is. I then asked that if this was an independent local movement, should not SCEF in its publicity point this up that this was an independent movement rather than as a SCEF movemnt. Again John Sather thought that this raising tbe "Red-baiting" point, and said that SCEF is now ready to fight VEP or anybody else over the issue. I quickly replied that I thought SCEF , like VEP, is interested in developing indigenlus local leddership and community orgainization. I said thazt Mississippi COFO is an example of Civil Rights Groups subsiding their publicity identity to this concept. I believe that John Salter was over-responsive towards VEP negatively in relation to the "Red" issue, but understood.

After John left, I discussed with Johnson agbout what he should do again about receiving more assistance from VEP. We then went to the meeting. There were about 50 people sitting there, including 15 County Precinct chairmen. Wehn I was there, the President had given the floor to JOhn Salter who explainedwhat was to happen next weekend. At the prewsent time, the books afe open on the 10th, 17th, and 24th.But they anticiapate some form of "slow down", which in such a case, they will immediately go the very liberal U.S. Distt Court JUdge, and will get the books open during the week. IN order to effect this, they shall have attorneys and law students at each precinct(which shall be imported by John Salter into the area). Also, as in the last massive registration when 2200 were put on the books, they shall have a Poll Watcher and a poll watcher assistant at each Poll. In key precincts, John reported that he has organized 8 cars. There was a fine, well paticipated discussion about their proceudures. One person, who ReV. Dunlap, a person assoceated with SCLC and assisted H.Colton in Danville Va, during the demonstrations and voting registraztion, asked one quewstion, about what to do with the wek precincts. REv. Dunlap suggested that experienced people from the other strong precincts should assist the wek precincts. Salter suggested that no precinct has achieved more 30% , and therefore each precinct should be responsible for its own. (Later, in my few remakes, I indicated that I believed that John was right that in developing a grass roots organization, one must build from the lowest kevel- but that in Daytone BEach, I saw the director effectively use a "task Force" to clean up precincts). Another person asked a question about those who ask the workers whether to register "REpublican" or "Democrat". Salter indicated that since the group is non=partisan, it can not suggest to peopoe with which party to register. However, he believed that the people should be informed hthat the present president is a Democrat and that Goldwater is a REp8blican.

Here, John Salter has the trust of the Negro People in the community. Again, not because of "defefence". At the meeting, strong Negro leader types would not be dominated or allowed to be dominated. The Hallifax Movement was strong before Salter arrived, I understand. He has been useful because his facilities with techniques. They are using him in that sense. Is a community organization with local leaders.

Johnson, is only the treasurer. Dunlap seems to be as equally strong, although he is only the City leader. They all seem to be aware of difficulty withn VEP. But at the same time, theyb wuld like to use more assistance and use VEP as they are using JOHN Salter. From the information and experience I had , I would conlude that this group should be supported.

To: WAB
Fr: JD

MEMORANDUM

- Preliminary Report

WB/
JMY
JTV

Field Trip to Gadsden, Alabama October 15, 1964.

WAB insturcted me to visit the two areas inorder to investigate activities in voter registration. In the latter, I was to consider, particularaly, whtether the inflow of more VEP assistance wouod change the character of voter registration . lso, in that same area, I was to insist upon the receipt of research data resulting from VEP assistance last Septemeber. Because f bad driving weather and the entailment of driving in the hours of darkness, I procured a companaion that was of great assistacne to my research but who proved to be an expense by ingesting dsome quantities of food.

I arrived in Gadsden , Alabama at abo t 1:45 and went to the modernized Court House. There was a well placed sign indicating where the registrar's office was. I observed 3 persons who appeared to be the officials register applicants. They were sitting behind a tabae facing the public. In the matter of 10 to 15 minutes, I obsrved no public, either Negro or white, interested ih applying to register. Remaining there longer for research purposes did not present any value better than the alternative of arousing official suspicion and an arrest for loitering. Tehefore, I chose to leave in order to interview Mr. Quincy Adams, the VEP-coordianator for Gadsden.

I conveyed to Mr. Adams in the setting of his cleaning establishment, greetings vrom WAB and WAB inquiry as to why M . Adams had not conveyed to WAB a report of registration research. I was later to determkne, with assistance of Mr. Adams Secretary, that there was sent to WAB financial information which included research information. Posssession of all this is now acknowledged by WAB.

I saw WAS well equipped office which is supported by VEP funds. From information provided by Mr. Adams, it is used as a community center or meetingplace for the "Citizens Improvement League", which he admits is a "front" for the NAACP(Mrs. Johnson and Mr, Patton etc.), or the Gadsden Citizen's Committee, which is an aff liate of the S.C.L.C. and to which Mr. Adams is chairman of the registration committee. Also the Etowah County Democratic Club meets there , to which Mr. Adams has notitle. By the available literature and displays, the meeting hall shows no political parfisanship. I am satisified that VEP in Gadsden is not engaged in any partisan politics.

I and Mr. Admas then had a long discusssion about low registration in Gadsden County and abo t a role for VEP in order to effect the factor. I pointed up the fact that for September, Gadsden County received $200.00 and the result is, that for the September program, only 110 applied, 48 passed and 62 failed. I stated that this is very poor when only 3300 Negroes are registered out a potential based upon of being 19.6% of the 58,000 total population, which he himself estimates to be about 8,000 to 10,000 . I then said that 1000 to 2000 should have applied and asked why this had not beendone and what could he do to effect this.

He then discussed violence and terror- which even he had suffered and I rejoined that this happens many other places in South. He also said thag the $200.00 alloted was too little to motivate workers and

was sufficient to pay only rent and office help. I answered that it woh,d seem that money should be spent knocking on doors and transporting people because his office didn't do the registering, tnat was doen ine the Court house.(I felt it a big too harsh to ask him that if the community can raise $25,000 for legal fees, as he had said, why could it not at least match VEP funds -$200.00; I neglected to indicate to him that it was he who drew up a low budget of $200.00). He also indicated that it was amost impossible to get people to apply because it entailed personal sacrifices and the shame of having flunked the test. I discussed then with him why negroes have been flunking which seem to result from thd absurd so-called "constitutional " questions which are pulled from a loose-leaf book; such as " how many representatives were there to the first Legislarure?"

I re plied that he alre dy indicated the interest of the Justice Department and the F.B.I. and that they just might get an order which will effect registration of all those who have been standing in line to register, and if this is a possiblity, they should get people down there to apply.

He then indicated to me that he can trust 10 people who are willing wrkers and who are not to be intimidated by the psyche of fear. We arrived at a consensus that the main expenses of the personnel would be the payment of gas and oil expenses. He estimeates that this wo ld be about $50 at the minimum. He wojld also like to use a "G t out and register which costs $98.00 for 35 times. (ON October 16, he called the VEP Atlanta office- and while tlaking with me indicated that a Sound Truck at about $35.00 a day wo ld be more efficient thant the radio time spots because the radio spots might be at a time of low listener levels I think that both could be used).

We then discussed the matter of research. I indicated that the summary report- so-many applied, soOmany registered, so-many failed was insufficeint. I then discussed the whole purpose and background VEP which I find, more and mofe in my field activities, that all our project directors believe that VEP exists to incr ase Negro registration, this belief has been so intense that even I began to believe this despite my other information(See September Staff Conference). I expalined to him that VEP interest is to find the cause of low voter registration in the South and the factors which may effect the cause of low voter registration. I indicated that to say "racial discfimination" as a cause of low voter registration is a mere conclusion or opinion. He must indicate in the research report the particular acts which result in the low voter registration. I gave examples, such as how many stand in line, how long, how long does it take for me to apply, and etc.

At the VEP supported office, I met Bennie Luchion(Little john), a S.C.L.C. worker who was answering the phone and phoneing people to find wheher people are registe ed. He is now no longer assisting in the registration program, saying that the SCLC staff is to concentrate on the "Freedom Ballot", He was to leave for Montgon ry, Ala. Frday. Ihshall explain more about this in the Anniston report.

Although there issome hesitancy which is personal rather than valid, I recommend that VEP through the Southth rn Voter Project Account give support

to a three day effortO- Oct. 19, 20, and 21st, specifying approved items, Sound truck, Radio Annoucements for 35 times, and transportation exepenses for 10 workers. I believe that the potential for VEP effectiveness istoo great - ~~if~~ if only by getting people to present themselves. Therefore this should be the condition of the grant - that the Coordinator be able to state who did present themselves to the registrar.

WB
JM

MEMORANDUM 11/2/64

To: WAB

From: JD

Re: Field Trip: East North Carolina "Little Mississippi"
October 20-21, 1964

East North Carolina, comprised of the First, Second, and Third Congressional Districts, can be described as the Black Belt of North Carolina. It is a low-land lying in front of the foot hills (Piedmont) of Smoky Mountain. It formerly was a rich area suitable for cotton but only tobacco remains to be its principal crop. It is an area that is 40% or more Negro whose value is primarily as an unskilled farm laborer and also an area which could be classified as "poverty stricken" because the average income is less than $3,000.

Because of the rough, general principle that in areas of high Negro population vis-a-vis white population, there is white resistance to Negro participation in political activity, one would expect low Negro voter registration. Indeed, one county, Halifax, has been described as "Little Mississippi". Yet, at the same time, the North Carolina Fund, a state-wide agency with nine million dollars in the business of stimulating community development of all the people, in order to increase economic opportunity and to fight poverty, has been able to stimulate two multi-county communities to break the "racial barrier" so as to receive assistance from the Fund. One of these non-racial community-action organizations include Halifax County.

VEP, during its existence, has been particularly interested in this area. For the last registration period in North Carolina, VEP approved a grant to the State Conference of the North Carolina NAACP in order to conduct registration among Negroes in 20 counties. Ten of these counties lie in the Piedmont and the mountain area where the Negro population is comparatively low except in the urbanized areas.

Mr. Joe Tucker, representative of VEP, studied these 10 areas and his findings are in a separate report. The remaining 10 counties lie in East North Carolina as already described, the subject of this report.

This report is operating under the following premises. Low voter registration among Negroes in North Carolina in the past has been caused by state action which has the effect of denial of the Negro of the opportunity to register to vote. Recent court decisions and the U.S. Civil Rights Law now give the Negro a greater opportunity to register to vote. All he needs to prove is his ability to read and write.

I therefore hope to answer two questions in this report. Is there remaining in East North Carolina official local action which effects denial of the opportunity to register by the Negro? Is there private action which effects denial of the opportunity to register by the Negro? Has the state-wide NAACP through Rev. Charles Ward been able to cause Negroes to take advantage of a greater opportunity to vote by VEP assistance? How?

I left Atlanta and arrived in Durham Tuesday Morning at 10:00 a.m., planning to spend two days for the field trip. I was surprised to meet there Rev. Charles Ward, our co-ordinator. I had not planned to request that he accompany me on my trip because I anticipated that to do so would interfere with his role in our research experiment, and I wanted to be assured of objectiveness on both his and my part. I hesitated when he requested that we should make the trip together for the aforesaid reasons and because he had a speaking engagement in Pollacksville at a mass meeting in Jones County, Southeast North Carolina, at 8:00 p.m., which was not included in the areas I had planned to visit. But I decided that this should be good for our resource purposes because the engagement was for a three-county area which Rev. Ward may decide to give VEP assistance in voter registration, and because the trip would be much easier in that he knew the way of travel and it would be less of a hardship on both of us.

Onslow, Jones, and Craven County Area

After a repast with Rev. Brown in Trenton, Jones County, we went to the mass meeting held in Pollacksville, Jones County, North Carolina. There was concern that the mass meeting would not really be "mass" because of a competing meeting of the local Parent Teacher Association. But at the proper time, it seemed to be at least 40 people there in attendance distributed equally from the three counties.

After the proper speeches and introduction, Rev. Ward spoke. His talk was a combination of voter registration and sermon which proved to be quite effective. He lauded the role of the Voter Education Project and was so extreme in praise that it embarassed me. I was given an opportunity to speak and I explained the function of the Voter Education Project as a research group and its mode of operation. I lauded the role of the Negro ministry in North Carolina, explaining how today their leadership contradicts John Dollard's class and caste in Southerntown. I threw the floor open for questioning, and we were swamped with questions. There was quite an intense inter-action which both Rev. Ward and I appreciated.

In this area, there are three viable NAACP chapters and voters league whose leaders were present at the meeting. There has been no official or private interference with present registration efforts; it is that a history of intimidation has produced a fearful apathy.

But the enthusiastic response of these people made everyone know that because VEP as an outside group is interested in them, because the state conference of the NAACP is interested in them, because white people of "good will" and money are interested in them, there shall be a new positive attitude. For the remaining week of registration, Rev. Ward instructed the leaders about the manner of reporting to him and VEP. Their questions seemed to show that they understood. Rev. Ward and I left with a good feeling. We both felt that we saw the rebirth of community spirit, which, if not in one week, some day, show up in qualitatively high registration figures.

The names of the leaders are as follows:

Rev. T. D. Walker
Oslow County NAACP
148 Kerr St.
Jacksonville, N.C.

Mrs. Eunice Lamarr
1815 Hargett St.
Jacksonville, N.C.
Telephone: 346-6516

Mr. Hurtis Coleman
Onslow County Voters League
664 County Club Road
Jacksonville, N. C.

Rev. W. G. Hickman
Craven County NAACP
Rte. 4, Box 263 B
New Bern, N. C.

Freddy Hill, President
Jones County NAACP
Rte. 4, Box 274
Pollacksville, N.C.

Additional information about this area:

(A guide merely to be used for research purposes from the County and City Data Book, U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Onslow is a county which in 1960 had a total population of 82,706, which is 13.3% non-white. The total vote out of this area in 1960 for the presidency was 8,376, 66.4% going Democratic.

Jones County is a county with a total population of 11,005, which is 47.0% non-white. The total vote for the presidency in 1960 was 2,505, 76.6% going Democratic.

Craven County is a county with a total population of 58,773, which is 28.9% non-white. The total vote for the presidency in 1960 was 10,838, 66% of which went Democratic.

Therefore, in numbers, the Negro population in Onslow County is roughly 10,750. In the county is the city of Jacksonville with a population of 13,491, 6640 white and the remainder non-white (6,241 Negro). Also in the county is the city of Swansboro with a total population of 1,104 with no Negroes recorded.

In Jones County, the principal city is Morehead, with a total population of 5,583 of which 4,615 being Negro. There are several other small towns in this county, including Pollacksville which has a total population of 2,708, with 1,284 being white and 1,423 being Negro; and Trenton which has a total population of 2,060, with 962 being white and 1,098 being Negro.

In Craven County, the principal city is Newbern, which has a total population of 15,717 of which 6,481 are Negro. But in the adjoining city of James, the total population is 1,474 of which 874 are Negro. Para. Thus, in this area, the white population approximates a little more than 100,000, and the Negro population approximates 30,000, but holds a potential controlling influence in the principal towns in the area.

Greenville, Pitt County

Greenville is a town of about 22,860, of which about 7,642 are non-white. The population of the county is 69,942 and is 43.6% non-white.

We visited the coordinator, Rev. James O'Rook, whose principal occupation is that of being a tailor. He is a personable man in his early 50's who lives simply and as a bachelor. He was personally appointed by Rev. Ward and has worked with NAACP Field Secretary, McCain. The latter was just there recently in order to deliver some NAACP materials pertaining to voter registration. In the current effort, he has been busy speaking at social clubs, such as the local "Good News Club" and the "Progressive Council", the local defacto NAACP group here. He has been saving his speaking for night time, and in the day time, he furnishes transportation to the registrar's office, assisted by three other persons, a Mr. Nofleet, an insurance man, and an owner of a taxi-cab.

There is only one registrar but whose office is open every day until 5 p.m., but the books close Saturday, October 24. Rev. O'Rook says that people can go to the home of the registrar after 5 p.m., but it is not necessary because most of the Negro labor has staggered hours and can register during the day.

He has no idea as to how many Negroes have registered since the drive, but before the drive, 2,200 Negroes were registered in the city before October. An interesting point Rev. O'Rook stated is that in the last election for City Council, a Negro attorney ran for office, where 750 Negroes voted and 900 whites voted. Rev. O'Rook stated that the Negro, Atty. Richard Powell, lost by nine votes.

Rev. O'Rook said that his mode of operation was to reach and put into action the various clubs, and through his personal contact, stimulate volunteer activity as was done when Powell ran for office.

He had no plans to coordinate door-to-door canvassing efforts, which I advised as what I believed was a flaw because canvassing seems indispensable to me in order to build a grass-root organization. I asked

whether local youth are available and he answered yes, who in the recent past have been active. But we both considered it impracticable to change or re-direct his program at this late date. I advised that for the last few days, announcements on TV and radio could be done. Rev. Ward and he thought it was a good idea and they both planned how this was to be accomplished.

On leaving Greenville, I told Ward that it was my belief that one person, no matter how good he is, should have a group to which he is responsible to in order to develop an effective registration program. I suggested that he contact Atty. Powell in the future merely on the information we had, for one interested in politics should also be interested in voter registration.

Martin, Washington, and Tyrell County Areas

The principal town in this area is Williamstown, which has a total population of 6,924, situated in Martin County which has a total population of 27,139. Both town and county are at least 50% Negro. Rev. Ward explained to me that the NAACP-VEP has no project there. He had contacted Rev. Golden Frinks, the young, militant minister who is an SCLC representative, to direct a drive but learned that SCLC was already conducting an effort there.

We thus proceeded from Williamston to the town of Plymouth in the county of Washington, and Columbia in Tyrell County. It is in Plymouth that I had a let-down because the effort there was certainly of low quality. The director here is Rev. A. R. Winborne. He has a large church and parsonage. Rev. Ward and I were both uncomfortable because it was a cold night and the parsonage was unheated.

From Rev. Winborne, I learned about the problem of voter registration in this county. He is not actively involved, although he is the named county coordinator, except urging other Negro ministers (there are five in the city) to announce from their pulpits urging their congregations to register. Physically, it seems that he would be incapable to exert much effort. He has appointed as a volunteer assistant, Mrs. Bertha Spurwill, who is working the city section by section and doing door-to-door canvasssing.

Surprisingly, in this last registration period, whites are conducting a registration campaign among both whites and Negroes, but with special emphasis on Negroes because of the State School Bond Issue which is on the ballot in November. They have paid-Negro workers in this drive. Unfortunately, Rev. Winborne had no other information about this white group and about their sponsors.

There is no longer an active NAACP chapter, there having been no meetings for two years, although Rev. Winborne stated that he has been conducting "citizenship classes" on his own with no assistance from

SCLC, which is effective in this area, (although I doubted whether he requested it).

Other than tobacco, there is a large North Carolina Pulp Company which hires many Negro women but few Negro men. Social organization here seems to be slight with only five churches. He also stated that the local Masons and Elks are also sluggish. Consequently, I was not too surprised when he said that as of last May, 600 Negroes were registered and he hopes to increase it to 1,200. Of course, this is a very low figure to shoot for because according to the U.S. Census Reports, the total population of the county is 13,488, which is 45.1% non-white. Therefore, a figure of 1200 total Negro registration would be only about 20% of the potential. This low figure is not excused if there is no state or local denial right to vote, and rather than there being private interference, there was white private support! It was my opinion that VEP was not having its presence felt here in any efficient manner and I expressed this opinion to Rev. Ward.

On my previous trip to North Carolina in Rev. Ward's office, Rev. Ward had identified Rev. Winborne as very active. Yet, if he is a leader, he has failed to form a group on a community basis interested in voter registration.

We next visited Tyrell County. In all of these counties, Rev. Ward was asking whether his county coordinators knew their duty in reporting and explaining the way to make financial reports. Tyrell County, which is mostly a swamp, has a total population of 4,520, 43.7% non-white. Rev. Ward designated Rev. Dallis Spruill as county coordinator, and it was he who we went to see. He stated that the county is divided into four districts and that he has 11 to 15 workers upon which he depends to work. There is no resistance either private or local to Negro registration, the problem here being fearful apathy. There is also a dearth of local leadership, even the ministers, other than himself, reside outside the county. Spruill believes that the total registration at the present time is 500. He has no idea what the final effort will result to.

<u>Chowan, Pequimans, and Pasquotank County Areas (Elizabeth City)</u>
Chowan County has a population of 11,729 and is 46.6% non-white. The principal town is Edenton, and it is here that Rev. Ward and I visited Mr. Norman Brinkley, 207 East Third Street, the local coordinator. He is also president of the local NAACP. He calls himself a retired carpenter, but with WWI pension. He still remains quite active. He was available to see us and it was about 11 a.m. He stated that he had been working both the county and town, but he does not do the actual working because his ~~the~~ working coordinator. Here, in this county, the books are opened only on Saturday, and the coming Saturday, October 25, is the last Saturday. But there shall be six persons working in registration, three in the courthouse and three in the Memorial Building and both places will be opened from sunrise to sunset.

Mr. Brinkley said to me that most Negroes in the city are registered; so the effort has to be made in the county. The official attitude towards voter registration seems to be sympathetic. No Negro applicant has been disqualified, although according to Brinkley, one had to apply again for the second time. It seemed that one of the registrars felt that the Negro applicant was not "reading right", but after Mr. Brinkley called the chairman of the Board of Elections, it seemed that everything was made "allright"! Brinkley had information that the registrar has been giving the Negro applicants the hardest section of the Constitution to copy, but they have no information to suggest the white applicants have been treated easier. In fact, with my pressing of this point, Brinkley and Rev. Griffin, a man assisting Brinkley in the county and who had just stopped by to plan a meeting for that night, insist that the chairman of the Board of Elections "bends over backward" to be helpful so that therw will be Negro support behind the school bond issue.

Rev. Griffin said that SCLC and Rev. Goldie Frinks started the basic structure of the voter registration movement which is broken down to the block and precinct level, and is presently assisting (the NAACP) them. SCLC itself in this joint effort is assisting in the county, providing citizenship classes and is working at a "get-out-the-vote" campaign.

Mr. Brinkley said that only about 500 Negroes are registered but he wants to double this figure this coming weekend.

From Chowan County, we arrived in Hertford, Perquimans County. This is another small county with a total population of 9,178 which is 46.9% non-white. There, we arrived at the home of Rev. F. L. Andrews, a young minister. From his air and certain way about him, he didn't show much militancy, which reminded me that we were in the area that has been described as "Little Mississippi". But the way he described the attitude of the registrars, this seemed to be an area also easier in giving the Negro an opportunity to register, except that the books are opened only on Saturdays from 9 to 5.

Although the group which is working in voter registration is nothing but the officers and members of the local NAACP, they call themselves the "Citizens Group", avoiding use of the name NAACP. The reason as explained to me is that otherwise the community would be reluctant to cooperate because Negroes have lost jobs for being members of the NAACP in the last membership drive. Rev. Andrews told me that the over-all chairman is Mr. Joseph Spruil, who owns a community store, but that he, (Rev. Andrews) is the assigned coordinator.

An interesting manner in the way they have been working is through a community structured school and Block-Captain basis. At the only Negro school, each pupil is given a card to be filled out and returned which

must indicate whether his parents are registered or not. With this part of the effort coordinated by the principal, these names are placed on the bulletin board and a gold star for the registered. On a block-captain basis, there are co-block captains, set up this way because no one can work full-time. Each of the block captains has six volunteers, and this effort is to canvass. The block captains are responsible to the section leaders. He stated that he feels that 500 are registered out of the Negro adult population which he guesses to be about 1,500.

Here, the registrar just gives an applicant one line to read and requires the applicant to copy the line. Rev. Andrews feels that there is no discrimination in the rejection.

Elizabeth City has a total population of 14,062, of which 5,197 being non-white, and is situated in Pasquotank County which has a total population of 25,030 and is 39.5% Negro.

Here in Elizabeth City, I found two young militant leaders who have organized a formidable organization. These leaders are the young Rev. John Trotman, president of the local NAACP, (a Baptist), and the young Rev. Carroll M. Felton, Jr., 325 Culpper St., (AME Zion minister), and a Nashville and Atlanta civil rights jail veteran. The effort is coordinated out of the three offices of Rev. Felton in his very large and impressive church. But unfortunately, one can register only on Saturdays, but despite the handicap, Trotman stated that the PAC of which he is chairman, has registered more than 1,235 Negroes. At least there is a registrar in each precinct, open officially from 6 to 6, but in their homes will work any time. As a general rule, they said that the registrars are quite cooperative, some not even administering any tests.

In total, organized on the precinct level (14 precinct chairmen), they have an organization of 100 or more active workers. Further broken down into groups, they also have "cruisers", a worker with a car every two blocks to transport. I saw schedules posted and he explained to me that at 5:30, the workers convene at the church, are assigned streets, go to their tasks, and then return at 10:00 p.m. for a critique. There is a special force at Elizabeth College comprised of students who are assigned "special tasks", such as follow-up and initial contacting. He said that their group is inter-racial and this has proven to be successful because "Negroes tend to obey white folks".

Currituck County

Currituck County, the most extreme northeast county in North Carolina, is a few miles from Norfolk, Virginia, but it certainly does not share an "urbanness". It is a small county of 6,601 of which 31.6% is non-white. We visited here Mrs. Jennie L. Ferebee, the local coordinator, who was at her home.

Here, the books are open only on Saturdays from 8 a.m to 5 p.m. Only she and her husband do any voter registration work, people otherwise "promising" but not carrying through. She believes that she has registered 18 but no more. During the week, she and her husband make appointments by going door to door. But this way, they only see each about four people a day. They have one car, and her husband, although on staggered shifts, works at the Norfolk ship yards during the daytime many days, as the day of the visit.

Rev. Ward lost his patience with her because she seemed quite uncooperative when he indicated the need for her to report. She said that she has been working on her own in voter registration since 1943 without any money, but if anybody else is getting it, she wants her share.

There is a local NAACP of a few members with which she is active, but meets only once a week and the meeting in October was before the grant to her. But it was apparent to Rev. Ward and me that the effort here was being poorly conducted and did not need any VEP assistance at the present level of activity. Here, there seems to be no problem concerning voter registration, etc., as effected by the local registrars, etc.

Gates, Hertford, and Bertie County Areas

Towards evening, we visited Gates County. The total population of the county is 9,254 and is 54.3% non-white. The effort here is coordinated by Mrs. Elsie T. Mitchell, with whom and with her husband we visited. She stated that only about 1,000 whites are registered and 400 Negroes are registered. She also said that the official time for registration is all day Saturday, and then anytime at the registrar's home if it is "convenient". Rev. Ward advised her that under the law that the registrars must register anytime if caught at their homes or residences.

The name of the group conducting the registration work is the Gates County Citizens Improvement League which is nothing but a defacto NAACP using the same officers. There have been no reports of interference, and in fact, the registrars have been most helpful, not even applying the reading and writing part of the test.

Her method is to hold a mass meeting every Sunday. At the meetings, the program consists of a known speaker, business registration clinic (for the benefit of those who are timid), and then a separate meeting with the volunteers. Volunteers are on the district level. At the separate meeting, separate reporting sheets are passed out. Publicity sheets and materials and reports are received including mileage; then they are paid $.07 per mile. She said that they have been assisted by the white students at Albemarle College in the Adult Education classes. There has been no intimidation although she is an employee at the library and her husband is a county agent.

We then visited Hertford County and visited Rev. John L. Scott, NAACP president in Ahoskie. This is a large county compared with the others and has a total population of 22,718 of which 59% is non-white. We also were to meet there Rev. Petteway of Bertie County, but we were behind four hours and he had to return to Bertie for his registration work in the county.

The name of the group working in registration is the Better Citizens of Hertford, another name for the local NAACP. It seems that there has been a past history of discrimination, but at the present time, there is none. There are eight registrars.

The organization here is broken into communities, Scott's job being that of coordinating 12 county chairmen. Each chairman has a co-chairman, and then each community, corresponding as a general rule to the townships, is further sub-divided to precinct level. Each division is keyed to a local church. The community division is autonomous from the central coordinator. But hereto, registration occurs only on Saturdays where official hours are from 9 to 6.

It seems that in this community there is a Negro middle class which dampens open militancy. He has found it difficult to organize the youth because of this.

I concluded that the free autonomity prevents his directing, his role being merely that of a report receiver, but local Negro politics probably will allow no other or more central control. He is an "outsider" and probably has to engrain himself into the community fabric.

CONCLUSION

My impression from my trip in North Carolina is that anti-Negro violence seems to be controlled and hidden. There seemed to be no active fear among Negroes, nor does there seem to be any active white fear or concern. The local newspapers do not belabor the "Negro question" or "civil rights" as do the Mississippi papers. Therefore, there is no intimidation by white persons on a private basis to discourage registration.

Also, it seems that registration officials intend to obey the present construction of the U.S. Civil Rights Bill.

Therefore, what does this mean in light of the general principle?: There is a high Negro population vis-a-bis white population. There shall be white resistance to Negro participation in political activity.

I do not believe that the principle is destroyed. East North Carolina is a depressed and poverty-stricken area, as far as the Negro is concerned. It might be assumed that the white power structure has determined that the Negro vote is no longer the threat as it was during

the 1890's and 1930's when it could combine with the poor white vote, (Populist Movement). Also, statistics show that poor people of any race tend not to register or be involved in political activity. Also, the power structure may have determined that because of being deprived for centuries of developing organization skills, the Negro may produce "self-appointed" leaders, but no group consciousness or organization technique.

If VEP, after assistance, fails to make a dent in the level of Negroes registered, their conclusions may be right. Information gathered from this trip shows that in some areas, there are indeed "self-appointed" leaders, and in others, "community organizations". There is a strong possibility that a new bi-racial Populist Movement might evolve again.

JD:bs

January 29, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: John Due, Jr.

Re: Field Trip to Panola County, Mississippi, December 18, 1964

Mr. Beittel let me out in front of the COFO office on Friday, December 18. It was a cold, cloudy day, or seemed cloudy because of the sun's short rays. But the office even looked more unattractive than last summer, with its plywood boarded windows, indicating that the landlord could no longer afford to repair windows always being broken by hoodlums assaulting the place with bricks as when I was there. Even the office and its occupants were dirtier, as if wearing coal soot.

I saw Lawrence Guyot and one of his workers, and was able to obtain information and materials about the Mississippi Freedom Party for Leslie Dunbar. That very night, Guyot was having a meeting near Tougaloo College, and plans were going to be explained about the challenge of the Mississippi Congressional delegation. He said that he needed financial assistance to organize voter educational workshops. I told him that VEP has terminated all grants, but suggested SCLC Citizenship schools might be able to adopt this as a project.

I talked with Jesse Morris, who ostensibly is in charge of the COFO central office, but it seemed that no one was actually in charge. He was then on his way towards South of Jackson, Mississippi, to start on a federalkfarm program project.

But here, there was no real excitement. No envision yet of a new summer project. The former "Awake America" ideas are old. Even the MFDP Congressional challenge is too similar to the MFDP challenge in Atlantic City. So, the people in the COFO office were frantic, not because of a purpose as like last Spring's, but because of fear of becoming nothing but history.

I was quite surprised when we found the COFO office in Panola County Friday evening. It was a massive one-story brick building. In front of the building were two COFO cars, one, a new Plymouth. It just didn't fit the image created by Maggie Long and Howard Zinn about SNCC. It seems that the revolutionary army of SNCC no longer fighting a guerilla war, but a conventional war with sufficient re-

sources, and with power vis a vis the power of their enemy.

Louis Grant, project director, is a husky Negro about 5'11" of tan complexion. He has completed his masters at the New School of Social Research in New York. I met Grant at the Freedom Center, and from there, we went to Mr. Robert Miles' home. Miles is the defacto president of the Panola County Voters League, and there are nine members in the league.

Rev. Will Middleton is the dejure president of the Panola County Voters League. His address is Route 5, Box 13, but surely, Rev. Miles is the articulate one, and the younger one. Rev. Middleton, although probably only in his 60's, looked feeble already from the southern diet of corn pone and pork.

I was told that after the court decision _____ v. _____, eight COFO workers had begun to work in voter registration. During the summer, between 4 to 7 volunteers were present. Until the fall, Claude Weaver was the county director. They had contacted 90% of the Negro people by door-to-door canvassing. A total of 900 registered since the court order. Without having to answer sections 18 and 19 of the application to register, only 1 out of 10 of those who applied didn't pass. (372 registered since the court order, but before VEP assistance. See VEP 4-34.)

With over a 7,000 potential, I asked their opinion as to why only one-eighth of the potential have been registered in 6 months. From the discussion, I learned that they have met with many problems. For one thing, a substantial number of adult Negroes live on plantations owned by hostile whites. At least 10 times, the workers have been physically run off the plantation. When the workers are not run off, they either have the doors slammed in their faces, or are treated in an obsequious manner, invited in, sympathetically listened to, and when the worker goes through his bit about "his duty as an American citizen," they are promised faithfully they would register. But, it should be obvious that 6 months is not sufficient time to overcome a fear of a hundred years.

Then, the registrar is not cooperative, although he is under a court order. The registrar, Ike Shinkle, expresses publicly that he is under a "court order." Louis Grant stated that it seems that his strategy is to obey Judge Clayton, but slow down the rate of registration, but, he does have an abiding fear of Judge Clayton. Grant articulated the prevailing view that Judge Clayton is a segregationist, but when the law is clear and unmistakable, he will do his duty as a federal judge, and he is used to having his orders obeyed in the spirit he gives them. I have no way to check this out, but Grant claims that Clayton is commander of the Mississippi National Guard, and is a major general.

So, Ike Shinkle has been a problem. His policy, with one eye looking back over his shoulder at Judge Clayton, is to slow down the rate of registration. He used to have two places of voter registration, but since the court order, the other court has been closed, leaving only the one in Batesville. Of course, he has not appointed any deputy registrars, and when requested to do so by Mr. Miles, his answer has been that he can't because he is afraid that the deputy will be "messing up" and he (Shinkle) is under a $28,000 bond.

Shinkle has official hours of 8 to 4 ~~and will take~~ three applicants at a time, then officially close from 12 to 1. This is regardless of whether 20 to 25 people are standing in line. When the line seems to get constant and heavier, the deputy will take off on mysterious "vacations" that last three to four days, or close the courthouse on account of "court." Because of this indeterminate opening and closing of the office, this effectively crimps the COFO workers' plans. They and the Voters League have complained to John Doar, but they said he claimed that he couldn't do anything about it.

Another problem is that ~~by~~ the law enforcement officers, Sheriff Hubbard and his deputies, and the town marshall. At every large mass meeting, where sometimes they have as many as 700 people, Sheriff Hubbard and his men will also be gathered at each road crossing, to check driver's licenses and checking for improper mufflers. Yet, despite the motive for their presence, very few have been arrested for violations.

Then, at the courthouse, Claude Weaver and the white volunteer Graham have been involved in a couple of indidents at the courthouse where they have been ordered off the grounds, and they have refused. They were, of course, arrested.

The COFO workers have not been able to keep track of the people who have been run off, although they say many have been, because of voter registration activities. But Rev. Miles, the defacto chairman of the Panola County Voters League, has had a recent problem. It seems that he has been late in making his payments on a loan from the Batesville Security Bank, and because of his being late, he will not be able to procure another loan for the next year so that he can put in his crop. The point is, that it is customary for one to be late until after November, after the cotton is picked, and one normally only has to pay a late charge.

Results of the Election - In Panola County, the total vote for Goldwater was 3,987. Louis Grant, and others, from the breakdown in the

newspapers by sections have determined that all of these votes were white votes; Johnson received 403 votes, and of this number, 150 were Negro. Since the books closed for registration for voting in the November elections on July 1, 1964, this means 150 out of approximately 372, or no more than 372 were eligible to vote in the general elections. In the unofficial Freedom Democratic Party ballot, all the votes went for Johnson, 3,500 Negro votes and 4 white votes (Panola residents who became friends with COFO workers in jail.) If the Freedom Democratic ballot was official, Goldwater would have only only by 84 rather than by 3584 votes out of 3987 cast.

As of December, the Panola project staff consisted of Louis Grant, Penny Patch, of the SNCC staff, the white Buz Graham, who was leaving for school in January, Chris Williams, who needed subsistence; Joe Jackson, who was self supporting; Sylvia Jacques, who was there for one month only and leaving December 17, and Aretha Henderson, who also needed subsistence. The cars of the project were a 1964 white Plymouth, mentioned above, and a 1954 Pontiac.

The election is over, Goldwater defeated; the Civil Rights Bill has passed. Now the funds have dried up, and SNCC is struggling to carry on. While everyone's eyes are on the Great Society, the same old problems are remaining in Mississippi.

JDD, Jr./js

Third Congressional District Voter Educational Project

Time and Place

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1. Devotional services
2. Welcome by host county
3. Recognizing visitors and new members
4. County chairmen' reports *
5. District worker's report
6. New business
7. Remarks
8. Offering
9. Dismission

* a. Number registered in 1964 and how accomplished
b. Total number registered in county
c. Success in primary election
d. Plans for further registration
e. Precinct workers' reports
f. Plans for getting negroes in some county positions (board of education, police force and etc.)
g. S. C. Constitution, how made available to negroes or taught
h. Travel and expenses

Rev. S. L. McCain, Chairman
Mrs. Mary Rearden, McCain, Sect.

Rev. Gauldman
Assist. Chairman

COMPLIMENTARY SAMPLE APPLICATION

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION FORM

Ward No._____

OFFICE OF REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

Prect. No._____

Parish of State of Louisiana

Cert. No._____

I am a citizen of the United States and of the State of Louisiana.

My name is Mr.—Mrs.—Miss _____ I was born in the State (or country) of_____, Parish (or county) of_____, on the_____day of _____, in the year_____. I am now_____years,_____months and_____days of age. I have resided in this State since_____, in this Parish since_____, and in Precinct No._____, in Ward No._____of this Parish continuously since_____. I am not disfranchised by any provisions of the Constitution of this State. The name of the householder at my present address is _____. My occupation is_____My color is_____My sex is_____I am not now registered as a voter in any other Ward or Precinct of this State, except_____ My last registration was in Ward_____ Precinct_____ Parish_____. I am now affiliated with the_____Party.

In each of the following items the applicant shall mark through the word "have" or the words "have not" so that each item will show a true statement about the applicant:

I have (have not) been convicted of a felony without receiving a full pardon and restoration of franchise.

I have (have not) been convicted of more than one misdemeanor and sentenced to a term of ninety (90) days or more in jail for each such conviction, other than traffic and/or game law violations, within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector.

I have (have not) been convicted of any misdemeanor and sentenced to a term of six (6) months or more in jail, other than traffic and/or game law violations, within one year before the date of making this application for registration as an elector.

I have (have not) lived with another in "common law" marriage within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector.

TURN CARD OVER

I have (have not) given birth to an illegitimate child within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector. (The provisions hereof shall not apply to the birth of any illegitimate child conceived as a consequence of rape or forced carnal knowledge.)

I have (have not) acknowledged myself to be the father of an illegitimate child within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector. I do hereby solemnly swear or affirm that I will faithfully and fully abide by all the laws of the State of Louisiana, so help me God.

Signature _____

Sworn to and subscribed before me: _____

(Deputy) Registrar

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Date_____ Address_____ Ward No._____ Prect. No._____ Cert. No._____

Date_____ Address_____ Ward No._____ Prect. No._____ Cert. No._____

Date_____ Address_____ Ward No._____ Prect. No._____ Cert. No._____

CHANGE OF NAME

I am now Mr.—Mrs.—Miss _____ Date of change_____

Nature of change _____

REMARKS

_____

_____

The following information forms no part of the application but is for use of the registration records:

Parish of_____, State of Louisiana. Date_____, 19____.

Address _____. Color of eyes_____.

Mother's first or maiden name_____. Name of employer_____

Property owner_____. Tenant_____. Boarder_____.

Mr. Thomas
Orangeburg, S.C.

1st CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT - NON-WHITE POP. - APPORTIONMENT

Allendale County	7,169	103.00	
Beaufort "	17,158	248.00	
Berkeley "	18,981	275.00	
Charleston "	78,911	1,114.00	
Clarendon "	20,154	292.00	
Colleton "	14,226	206.00	
Dorchester "	11,943	173.00	
Hampton "	9,400	136.00	
Jasper "	7,633	110.00	$ 2,657.00

2nd CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Aiken County	21,391	310.00	
Bamberg "	9,079	131.00	
Barnwell "	7,666	110.00	
Calhoun "	8,232	119.00	
Lexington "	10,504	152.00	
Orangeburg "	41,221	597.00	
Richland "	65,175	945.00	
Sumter "	35,151	509.00	2,874.00

3rd CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Abbeville County	6,854	148.00	
Anderson "	19,242	279.00	
Edgefield "	9,154	132.00	
Greenwood "	13,119	190.00	
McCormick "	5,330	77.00	
Newberry "	10,437	151.00	
Oconee "	4,283	62.00	
Pickens "	4,642	67.00	
Saluda "	5,350	77.00	1,183.00

4th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Greenville County	36,978	536.00	
Laurens "	14,039	203.00	
Spartanburg "	34,729	503.00	1,242.00

5th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Cherokee County	7,440	107.00	
Chester "	12,378	179.00	
Chesterfield "	12,504	181.00	
Fairfield "	12,328	178.00	
Kershaw "	13,366	193.00	
Lancaster "	10,617	153.00	
Union "	8,887	128.00	
York "	22,554	327.00	1,446.00

6th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Darlington	County	23,496	340.00	
Dillon	"	14,218	206.00	
Florence	"	36,467	528.00	
Georgetown	"	18,144	263.00	
Horry	"	18,264	264.00	
Lee	"	14,351	208.00	
Marion	"	17,615	255.00	
Marlboro	"	13,953	202.00	
Williamsburg	"	27,229	394.00	2,660.00
TOTAL:				$12,062.00

Total Population (Non-White) by congressional districts:

1st.	185,575	
2nd.	198,419	
3rd.	78,411	
4th.	85,746	
5th.	100,074	
6th.	183,737	
TOTAL:		831,962

26 C

MISSISSIPPI FACES HARD RIGHTS PUSH

2,000 Workers to Conduct South's Widest Program

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., March 15 —The most extensive program of Negro education and political action seen in the South was outlined for Mississippi today by civil rights organizations.

Plans for the program, named the Mississippi Freedom Summer, call for an effort by 2,000 full-time workers, including 1,000 white and Negro college students from both the North and the South.

Detailed proposals for the campaign, which is expected to reach into every corner of this Deep South state, were approved at a conference of the Council of Federated Organizations in the Masonic Building.

The council has been pressing a voter registration drive in Mississippi since the spring of 1962. It is made up of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

2 to Direct Program

The Freedom Summer program will be headed by Robert P. Moses, a student committee field secretary who will be the project director, and David Dennis, a CORE field representative, who will be assistant project director. It provides for the following:

¶Freedom schools that will offer intensive instruction in a broad curriculum ranging from remedial reading to political science.

¶Community centers that will provide job retraining, instruction in prenatal care, nutrition and other health problems, recreation facilities, art and craft classes and drama groups, organized sports and folk festivals.

¶A "freedom registration" designed to place 400,000 Negroes on mock voter lists and thus demonstrate their desire to obtain the franchise.

¶A "freedom election" to be held during the regular Mississippi Democratic primary on June 2.

¶Campaigns supporting two Negro "freedom party" Congressional candidates.

¶Challenges on the floor of the House of Representatives to the right of Mississippi's delegation to hold seats on the ground that many Negroes in the state are denied the franchise.

Civil rights leaders who described the program at a news conference said considerable preparatory work had already been done.

Mississippi Negroes Plan To Enter 2 in House Races

By United Press International

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The announcement was made at Jackson by the "Council of Federated Organizations" COFO — a group of various major civil rights organizations.

COFO said Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville plans to run for Congress in the 2nd District and Rev. John Cameron of Hattiesburg in the 5th District. Spokesmen said the two would seek to get their names on the June Democratic primary ballot.

Aaron Henry, Mississippi president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said if Mrs. Hamer and Cameron lost, they would go to Washington anyway and try to unseat the winning white candidates.

"We intend to challenge these congressmen for their seats on the floor of Congress because they cannot be legally elected where so many Negroes are deprived of voting," Henry said.

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Civil rights leaders who described the program at a news conference said considerable preparatory work had already been done.

Seven "freedom centers" are recruiting white and Negro college students. The volunteers will be asked to pay the cost of their transportation to and from Mississippi and their expenses, expected to range from $180 to $200, for the summer. Local Negro families will provide housing for them.

The college centers are at the University of Oregon, Oberlin College, Stanford University, the University of Illinois, the University of North Carolina, Harvard University and Yale University. Thirteen off-campus recruiting centers are operating in other areas.

2 Community Centers

Two of the community centers are already in operation in Meridian and Greenwood, according to council spokesmen. And the National Council of Churches has promised to set up 15 others in the Mississippi River Delta.

In reply to questions, Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale druggist who is state president of the N.A.A.C.P., said the association and the three other civil rights groups that belong to the council would finance the Freedom Summer campaign.

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has provided funds for the voter registration drive in Mississippi since 1962. But it withdrew its support recently, after spending more than $50,000, on the ground that white resistance to registration at this point made further effort almost futile.

Mr. Moses said much of the campaign would be keyed to political action. He said the "freedom registration" drive would be designed to show that white resistance rather than apathy was responsible for the fact that only 20,000 to 28,000 Negroes, according to varying estimates, are registered.

The voting provisions of the civil rights bill now being debated in the Senate will do little to change the situation if they remain in their present form, the project director asserted.

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REGISTRATION KICK-OFF RALLY

SPEAKER
BRAILEY ODHAM

SUN., AUG. 30

5 P. M.

QUARTER BACK CLUB

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519 W. South Street - Orlando

FREE DINNER!

Sponsor: N.A.A.C.P. Crusade for Voters-

You are Invited!

Council Of Federated Organizations

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

Freedom Schools

FREEDOM SCHOOLS will be during the summer. They are schools where high school students will be able to talk about things they can't talk about in regular school. They will learn about civil rights.

There will be classes for students who:

1. have trouble with their lessons in regular school and want to do better,

2. like to read and want to learn more than they are taught in regular school.

There will be singing, dancing, sports, hikes and many other things for <u>all</u> students.

Some of the FREEDOM SCHOOLS will be for people who spend 6 weeks away from home to live at them.

ALL OF THE FREEDOM SCHOOLS WILL BE <u>FREE</u>.

Voter Registration

ARE YOU A REGISTERED VOTER?

If we were all voting then things would be better in Mississippi.

We would have:

- enough food
- more jobs
- better schools
- better houses
- paved sidewalks

People coming here this summer can work with you on VOTER REGISTRATION. They can knock on doors, teach the registration forms and drive people to the courthouse. They can help in any way you want them to.

Community Centers

A COMMUNITY CENTER is a place where <u>everyone</u> can do many different things. It will be mostly for adults and will offer many chances for them to learn things to help them live better.

COMMUNITY CENTERS will have:

- job training programs
- classes for people who cannot read or write
- classes on child care
- health programs
- adult education and Negro history classes
- music, drama, and arts and crafts workshops

If you have small children, they will be taken care of while you enjoy the COMMUNITY CENTER.

EVERYTHING AT THE COMMUNITY CENTER WILL BE <u>FREE</u>.

What You Can Do:

This is your FREEDOM SUMMER. It will not work without your help.

COFO is asking you to:
- provide housing for the people who are coming to work here.
- look for buildings which can be used for Freedom Schools and Community Centers.
- get names of students who want to go to Freedom Schools.
- let us know when you have meetings or arrange meetings so we can come answer questions about the FREEDOM SUMMER.

Many people are coming here to work during our FREEDOM SUMMER. They want to learn about Mississippi. They feel that the problems here are the problems of people all over the country. Most of them will be college students, both Negro and white.

COFO is your organization. The things it is trying to do should be done by the state. The people who have been elected to run the state say that they do not have to do things for Negroes.

IT IS THE FAULT OF THE STATE that you cannot:
- find work
- read and write
- send your children to better schools.

If you work with COFO you will be working to get yourself the better conditions you deserve.

What Is COFO?

COFO is an organization made up of all the civil rights and local citizenship groups in Mississippi which decided they must work together to improve conditions in Mississippi.

Aaron Henry

Bob Moses

Annelle Bell

For more information:

Write to - COFO STATE OFFICE
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Or call - 352-9605

Other offices near you:

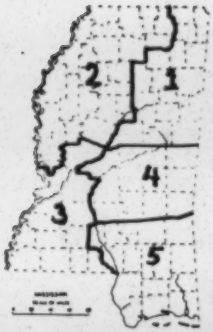
CLARKSDALE - 213 4th Street
phone - 624-2913

COLUMBUS - 1323 6th Ave. North
phone - 328-8916

GREENWOOD - 708 Avenue N
phone - 453-1282

HATTIESBURG - 507 Mobile Street
phone - 584-7670

MERIDIAN - 2505 1/2 5th Street
phone - 485-9286



Council Of Federated Organizations

FREEDOM REGISTRATION is a chance for Negroes in Mississippi to show the world that they want to register and vote.

It is a chance for Negroes in the state to show the government that they will register to vote if they are given a chance.

Here is how it will work:

FREEDOM REGISTRARS will register qualified Negroes in every county;

PEOPLE WHO REGISTER in the FREEDOM REGISTRATION will be able to vote in the FREEDOM VOTE.

(tear along the dotted line and send the filled out form to the COFO office near you)

Freedom Registration Form

(1) Write today's date: _____

(2) Write your full name: _____

(3) How old are you today: _____

(4) Are you a United States citizen: _____

(5) How long have you lived in Mississippi: _____

(6) What county do you live in: _____

(7) How long have you lived in that county: _____

(8) What is your address now: _____

(9) Are you a minister or the wife of a minister:

Freedom Registration Form

(1) Write today's date: _____

(2) Write your full name: _____

(3) How old are you today: _____

(4) Are you a United States citizen: _____

(5) How long have you lived in Mississippi: _____

(6) What county do you live in: _____

(7) How long have you lived in that county: _____

(8) What is your address now: _____

(9) Are you a minister or the wife of a minister: _____

All of the statements above are true: _____
(signature of applicant)

- - - - - - - - - - - - (do not write below this line) - - - - - - - - - - - -

State of Mississippi, County of: _____

Sworn to and subscribed before me by the above named _____

on this, the ____ day of _____, 196__.

_____

_____

_____

_____

WHO CAN REGISTER:

anyone, who is:

a citizen of the United States;

21 years old or over (or who will be 21 by the date of the FREEDOM VOTE)

a citizen of Mississippi.

WHERE CAN YOU REGISTER:

wherever a FREEDOM REGISTRAR is located;

at FREEDOM REGISTRATION-mobiles;

at the COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS office nearest your home;

by sending in a blank like the one on this folder.

(look on the back for a list of COFO offices)

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS
SCLC
NAACP
SNCC
CORE

write: COFO STATE OFFICE
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Miss.
or call: 352-9605

or contact the office near you:

COFO
1323 6th Avenue N.
Columbus, Miss.
328-8916

COFO
213 4th Street
Clarksdale, Miss.
624-2913

COFO
708 Avenue N
Greenwood, Miss.
453-1282

COFO
507 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Miss.
584-7670

COFO
2505 1/2 5th Street
Meridian, Miss.
485-9286

Meridian Community Center--Later Report

I. Programs in operation

1. The library, from which children, teenagers, and adults have all drawn books. There are about 10,000 volumes now up, and additional shelving is being put up for more books not yet received. Shelves were built by local young men: Marshall and David Sims, and James Chaney. The books have been catalogued on a simple basis, and books are therefore checked out in a systematic way. No fines are charged for overdue books, yet books have been coming back on time. The reasons for not fining are that if children especially, have overdue books we do not want to discourage their coming to the center by having a fine due. Some people, too, have never owned a book, and if they want a book that badly (not many, of course), it is felt that it would help them more than it would hurt the library. All books but the reference works may be taken out.

2. Story hour, held every Saturday afternoon for children five-ten years old. At this time children have stories read to them, songs are sung, refreshments served, and time is given for them to wander around and pick out their own books to take out. Children are given transportation to and from the center where necessary. Growth of this program has been due to leaflet distribution and word of mouth.

3. For those people who need voter registration instruction, evening classes have been set up twice a week. The center will also serve as a training location for those who wish to teach others to fill out registration forms. Publicity due to posters, leaflet distribution and word of mouth.

4. Teen room: One of the rooms in the center has been set aside for teens and young adults. A ping-pong table has been constructed by the boys previously mentioned. A phonograph is in the room and records are being collected. Games and other activities for teens will be provided We now have a movie projector and are in the process of obtaining films. Aside from the recreational and social activities, we hope to involve teens in educational and civil rights participation. Publicity through leaflets distributed at high school basketball game, and largel word of mouth.

4. Reading and remedial help for all that want it. Although this is primarily aimed at the child still in school, anyone can use the service. After numbers of people become involved, regular classes will be set up on a more formal basis.

II. Projected Programs

1. Sewing classes for girls who would like to make their own clothes are now being set up. Material will be obtained through national CORE from the ILGWU, and a machine is being solicited from various sources. The need for this is apparent and can probably expand into a highly successful program. If patterns are needed, the girls will be asked to purchase that and everything else will be available free.

2. Because of high infant mortality rates, a prenatal class for expectant mothers and mothers of infants will be given by a trained nurse. General health problems will also be discussed.

Meridian Community Center, continued

3. Films will be shown once a week--discussed above.

4. Other programs which are projected for the future would include arts and crafts programs with good materials and trained instructors, work corps to assist people in repairing their homes, job retraining and training programs which might be handled by interested unions. Many of these ideas fall into the realm of summer programs, depending upon how much staff is assigned to us here in Meridian. We might also have use for someone trained in teaching foreign language, as none is taught at the local high school and we have had several requests; no one on the present staff can give such lessons.

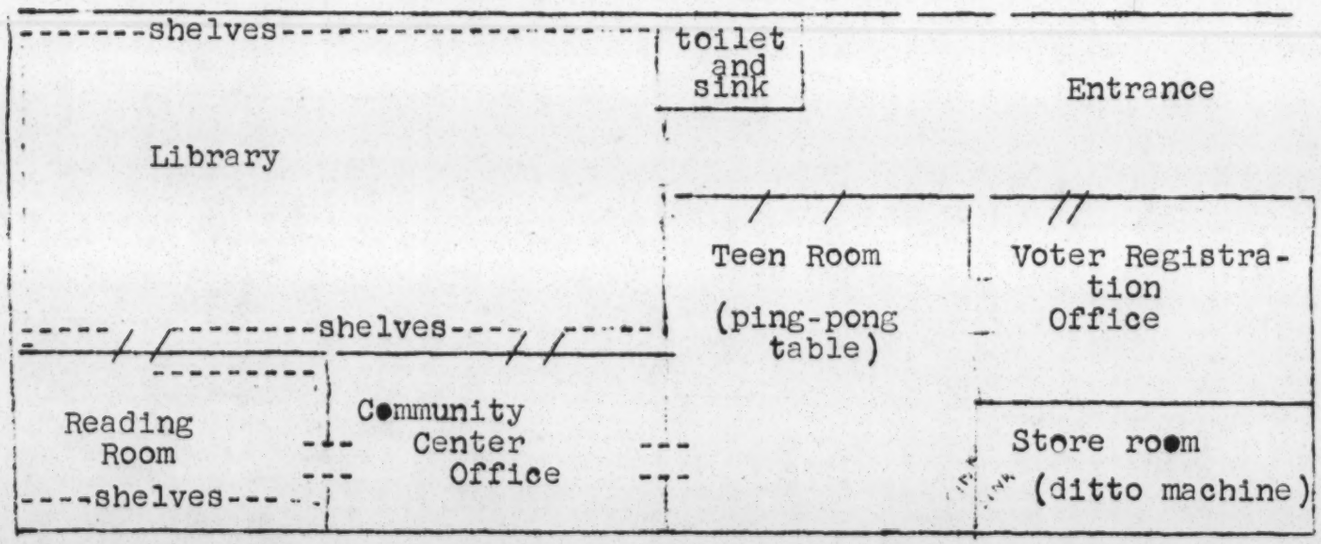
Because of the utter lack of almost all social services within the city, one could go on and on. As for expansion into churches and other facilities, more research will have to be done.

IV. Publicity has been carried out by several means:

1. Ministers were contacted by letter, and attempts made to speak with as many as possible personally.
2. Church services have been attended.
3. NAACP youth council has been involved in door-to-door canvassing for voter registration.
4. Leaflets have been distributed on the street and at a local high school basketball game.
5. Posters have been placed in store windows.
6. Our greatest publicity has come from people who have come up to see the center and then told their friends about it.

Psychologically the center is filling a need among the people for recognition, for a place to come and talk, for something that is for them. At first there was some suspicion of us as whites, but we believe that most of this has passed. Before we came there had been other workers in and out of Meridian, and the people are anxious to know that we intend to stay. They feel important to have workers assigned to their city. We believe that the Negroes will accept more white workers in the summer program, though the white community is already jumpy--but this is to be expected, and does not bother us.

IV. Sketch of the physical layout of the center:



PROSPECTUS FOR SUMMER FREEDOM SCHOOL PROGRAM IN MISSISSIPPI

The Proposal

It is, I think, just about universally recognized that Mississippi education, for black or white, is grossly inadequate in comparison with education around the country. Negro education in Mississippi is the most inadequate and inferior in the state. Mississippi's impoverished educational system is also burdened with virtually a complete absence of academic freedom, and students forced to live in an environment that is geared to squash intellectual curiosity, and differe thinking. University of Mississippi Professor James Silver, in a recent speech, talked of "social paralysis....where nonconformity is forbidden, where the white man is not free, where he does not dare express a deviating opinion without looking over his shoulder." This "social paralysis" is not limited to the white community, however. Ther are Negro students who have been thrown out of classes for asking about voting, or the freedom rides. Negro teachers have been fired for saying the wrong thing. The State of Mississippi destroys "smart niggers" and its classrooms remain intellectual wastelands.

In our work, we have several concerns oriented around Mississippi Negro students:
1. The need to get into the schools around the state and organize the students, with the possibility of a statewide coordinated student movement developing.
2. A student force to work with us in our efforts around the state and
3. the responsibility to fill an intellectual and creative vacum in the lives of young Negro Mississippians, and to get them to articulate their own desires, demands and questions. More students need to stand up in classrooms around the state, and ask their teachers a real question.

As the summer program for Mississippi now shapes up, it seems as if hundreds of students as well as professional educators from some of the best universities and colleges in the North will be coming to Mississippi to lend themselves to the movement. These are some of the best minds in the country, and their academic value ought to be recognized, and taken advantage of.

I would like to propose summer Freedom Schools during the months of July and August, for tenth and eleventh-grade high school students, in order to:
1. supplement what they aren't learning in high schools around the state,
2. give them a broad intellectual and academic experience during the summer to bring back to fellow students in classrooms in the state, and,
3. form the basis for statewide student action such as school boycotts, based on their increased awareness.

I emphasize tenth and eleventh-grade students, because of the need to be assured of having a working force that remains in the state high schools putting to use what it has learned.

The curriculum of this school would fall into several groupings:
1. supplementary education, such as basic grammar, reading, math, typing, history, etc. The use of some of the already-developed programmed educational materials might be used experimentally.
2. cultural programs such as art and music appreciation, dance (both folk and modern), music (both folk and classical), drama, possibly creative writing workshops, for it is important that the art of effective communication through the written word be developed in Mississipp students,
3. political and social science, relating their studies to their society. This should be a prominent part of the curriculum.
4. literature
5. film programs.

Special projects, such as a student newspaper, voicing student opinion, or the laying of plans for a statewide student conference, could play a vital role in the program. Special attention should be given to the development of a close student-teacher relationship. Four or five students to one teacher might be good, as it offers the chance of dialogue. The overall theme of the school would be the student as a force for social change in Mississippi.

The Freedom Schools should have a special for many of the students planning to come to Mississippi this summer, as this would be a project they could follow through from the beginning to the end - watch develop and would have some definition. Some of the newer ideas, now circulating in educational circles, whatever they are, might be incorporated into this program.

If we are concerned about breaking the power structure, then we have to be concerned about building our own institutions to replace the old, unjust, decadent ones which mak up the existing power structure. Education in Mississippi is an institution which can be validly replaced, s most of the educational institutions in the state are not recognized around the country anyway.

The Program

The Freedom School concenpt will be carried out on two levels:

1. a boarding school concenpt involving 150 to 250 students selected from a statewide student population. The students will come together in a campus-dormitory type of situation where they will live with the staff.

Preferably the boarding schools will be held in the state , tho gh it may be necessary to take the students to a site in some nearby state. The boarding school will start July 12 and continue straight through until August 22.

The following sites are being considered as possibilities:

a. Mary Holmes College
Presbyterian Church School
West Point, Mississippi

c. Gulfside Methodist Church Conference Site
Waveland, Mississippi

d. All Saints College
Holmes County, Mississippi

2. A number of smaller, less intensive day schools will be held in the communities listed below. The day Freedom Schools will operate on a 10:00 AM to 4:00 PM schedule. These schools will run in two sessions, the first session from July 8-30 and the second session from August 8-31.

In the areas where the facilities are available on a long-term basis and local citizens are interested in the project, the day school should be thought of as a first step toward a community center.

Day School Sites (by Congressional District)

1. Columbus
2. Ruleville
   Greenville
   Greenwood
   Holmes County
   Mound Bayou
   Clarksdale
3. Jackson
   Natchez
   Vicksburg
4. Carthage
   Canton
   Meridian
5. Biloxi
   Pascagoula
   Gulfport
   Hattiesburg
   Laurel

The Freedom School Curriculum

It is considered that the curriculum should cover the material listed in the following outline as thoroughly as possible.

1. Leadership Development

   a. to give students the perspective of being in a long line of protest and pressure for social and economic justice (i.e. to teach Negro history and the history of the movement).
   b. to educate students in the general goals of the movement, give them wider perspectives (enlarged social objectives, nonviolence, etc.).
   c. to train students in specific organizational skills that they need to develop Southern Negro communities.
      1. public speaking
      2. handling of press and publicity
      3. getting other people to work
      4. organizing mass meetings and workshops, getting speakers, etc.

5. keeping financial records, affidavits, reports, etc.
6. developing skill in dealing with people in the community
7. canvassing
8. duplicating techniques, typing, etc.

d. to plan with each other future action of the student movement.

11. Remedial Academic Work

a. to improve comprehension in reading, fluency and expressiveness in writing.
b. to improve mathematical skill (general arithmetic and basic algebra and geometry).
c. to fill the gaps in knowledge of basic history and sociology, especially American.
d. to give a general picture of the American economic and politic system.
e. to introduce students to art, music and literature of various classical periods, emphasizing distinctive features of each style, and
f. to add to knowledge of and ability to use the scientific method

111. contemporary Issues

a. to give students more sophisticated views of some current issues
b. to introduce students to thinking of local difficulties in a context of national problems, and
c. to acquaint students with procedures of investigating a problem - rudimentary research.

1V. Non-academic Curriculum

a. to allow students to meet each other as completely as possible- to form a network of student leaders who know each other. (i.e. Recreation - sports, dances, etc., besides academic side)
b. to give students experience in organization and leadership
   1. field - voter registration
   2. student publications
   3. student government
c. to improve their ability to express themselves informally (through creative writing, drama, talent shows, semi-spontaneous discussions, etc.)

Conference on the Curriculum

On the third week-end in March (March 21-22) a working conference wil be held in New York City under the sponsorship of the Natioanl Council of Churches for the purpose of defining specific curriculum for the Freedom Schools and the educational program of the Community Centers for these target populations:

1. The usual high school student, who reads and writes poorly, has trouble even with basic arithmetic, and whose general knowledge of science, social studies and humanities is sketchy.

2. The poor student who may be intelligent , but whose verbal and mathematical skills are rudimentary, and who has very little knowledge of "cultural" subjects taught in school.

3. The student with adequate verbal and mathematical skills who usually does well in Mississippi schools, but who has gaps in his general cultural knowledge, and who has had no opportunity to take his education farther than basic skills and subjects, or to discuss controversial subjects in an investigative and honest spirit.

4. The functionally illiterate adult

5. The school-age child presently attending elementary school, but not learning the basic reading, writing and mathematical skills. These children come, often, from homes where their parents are uneducated and cannot teach them what they miss in school.

From the curricula developed at this conference, specific, detailed lists of necessary equipment will be made for purposes of solicitation.

Staff of the Freedom Schools

A high student-teacher ratio is sought in the summer educational program, on the assumption that this will facilitate the overall program. Both professionals and non-professionals will participate as staff in the program. Professional staff will come from the professional teachers associations, the National Council of Churches, the Presbyterian Church and various other institutions with educational resources. The non-professional staff will be selected from among the applications for the summer project.

The boarding school staff and staff for the first session of the day schools will go through a general orientation program with the community centers staff. This orientation program will run July8-12. On July 13, the boarding school and first session of the day schools will receive students. Orientations for the teaching staff of the second session of the day schools will be held August 5-9. On August 10, the second session of the day schools will start receiving classes.

Students

Students for these projects will be recruited through established contacts with ministers, educators, and other organizational contacts in the state. Several applications have already been returned. A statewide student organization, the Mississippi Student Union, is now being developed and will be important in the recruitment of students.

Budget*

Day Schools - expenses per school for one session (20 schools are projected - of 50 students with staff of 15).

Rent for facility	$ 75.00
Food (one meal per day)	75.00
Field trips (one big one)	500.00
Room and Board for staff (10.00$ per week apiece)	100.00
Personal expense money for staff	1000.00
Administrative overhead	250.00
Total per school	$ 2900.00
Total for summer	$116,000.00

(20 schools in two sessions).

* Budget for rent of boarding schools still pending receipt of figures from possible sites.

VJ
PA
PW
SB

Prospectus for the Summer

"It can be argued that in the history of the United States democracy has produced great leaders in great crises. Sad as it may be, the opposite has been true in Mississippi. As yet there is little evidence that the society of the closed mind will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination."

from Mississippi: The Closed Society
by James W. Silver

It has become evident to the civil rights groups involved in the struggle for freedom in Mississippi that political and social justice cannot be won without massive aid from the country as a whole, backed by the power and authority of the federal government. Almost no hope exists that the political leaders of Mississippi will steer even a moderate course in the near future; in fact, the contrary seems true: as the winds of change grow stronger, the threatened political elite of Mississippi become more intransigent and fanatical in their support of the status quo. The closed society of Mississippi is as Professor Silver asserts, without the moral resources to reform itself. And Negro efforts to win the right to vote cannot succeed agains the extensive legal weapons and police powers of local and state officials without a nationwide mobilization of support.

Therefore, a program is being planned for this summer which will involve the massive participation of Americans dedicated to the elimination of racial oppression. Scores of students, teachers, professors, ministers, technicians, artists and legal advisors are now being recruited from all over the country to work in Mississippi this summer. Within the state intensive preparations have been underway since mid-January to develop structured programs which will put to creative use the talents and energies of the hundreds of expected summer volunteers These programs can be divided generally into four main areas: Freedom Schools, Community Centers, voter registration and special projects.

Freedom Schools: Plans are being made to set up as many Freedom Schools as can be realistically made to work. The number will ultimately vary according to the amount of housing that can be found in an area, the presence of facilities, and the recruitment of qualified staff personnel. Recent projections call for roughly ten day Freedom Schools and two or three away-from-home schools. The day Freedom Schools will for the most part draw 10th, 11th and 12th grade students from the locale. Each school will have a high student-teacher ratio, perhaps one teacher for every four students, so that instruction can be as individual as possible. It can be estimated that day Freedom Schools will have approximately fifty students and fifteen teachers each. Curriculum for these schools will cover a wide area: remedial work in reading, math, and basic grammar; seminars in politica science and the humanities, journalism and creative writing; recreational programs such as dramatics, music appreciation, arts and crafts, organized athletics, and movies; and voter registration field work. In addition, students will be encouraged to develop a school newspaper and organize a student government. Whenever possible, studies will be related to the society in which the students live. Away-from-home Freedom Schools will draw particular students from around the state. At present, two such schools are planned: one for high school drop-outs with a curriculum

especially designed to prepare them for the State's high school equivalency test, the other for advanced high school students, possibly college students also, emphasizing political science and economics.

The Freedom Schools represent an integral part of COFO's voter registration activities. They will provide politically emerging communities with new young leadership, and will constitute a real attack on the present stifling system of education existing in the State. By the end of the summer, it is hoped that the basis will have been laid throughout the state of Mississippi for a cadre of student leadership committed to critical thought and social action.

Community Centers: The Community Centers program projects a network of educational and recreational centers across the State. Conceived as a long-range project, the Centers will provide a variety of programs geared to serve the basic needs of the Negro communities presently ignored by the State's racist political structure. In addition, a dynamic focus for the development of community organization will be formed. The educational features of the Centers will include job training programs for the unskilled and unemployed, literacy and remedial programs for adults and young people, public health program such as prenatal and infant care, basic nutrition, etc. to attempt to alleviate some of the serious health problems of Negro Mississippians. (For example, the Negro infant mortality rate in some counties is so high as to invite comparison with "underdeveloped nations".) Centers would also provide adult education workshops which would offer seminars on such topics as family relations, federal service programs, home improvement, and other information vital to the needs of Negro communities. Extracurricular programs for grade and high school students,which will supplement educational deficiencies as well as provide opportunity for critical thought and creative expression, are to be offered. Each Center will provide a well-rounded library -- to which Negroes in many communities have no access at the present time.

Though the Community Center program is primarily educational, some of each Center's resources will be used to provide much needed recreational facilities for the Negro community. Other than taverns, movies are the only recreational facility in most Mississippi communities, and for the Negro, this means segregated movies. If there is a movie theater in the Negro section of the community, it is inevitably old, run-down, and generally features out-of-date, third-rate Hollywood films. The film program of the Centers will provide a more agreeable atmosphere for movies, and will offer films of serious content, which are rarely shown in Mississippi, where ideas are rigily controlled. Other recreational programming will be music appreciation workshops. arts and crafts classes, drama groups, discussion sessions on current events, literature, Negro history and achievement, etc., pen pal clubs, organized sports (where equipment permits), and occasional special performances by outside entertainers, folk festivals, jazz concerts, etc. Organized story telling for young children will be offered as entertainment, and will introduce them to the resources of the library and to pleasure reading.

Voter Registration: Workers will mobilize the Negro communities and assist in developing local leadership and organization. They will

be involved in an effort to encourage as many Negroes as possible to attempt to register on the county books and will assist in a campaign, launched in February, to register over 400,000 Negroes on Freedom registration books. The Freedom registration campaign will involve establishing local registrars in every precinct in Mississippi with registration books resembling as much as possible the official books of the state. The Freedom registration books will serve as the basis for challenging the official books of the state and the validity of "official" elections this fall. Finally, voter registration workers will assist in the summer campaigns of Freedom candidates who will be running for congress.

The voter registration workers will be deployed around the state in a number of ways: 1) every rural county will have a four man team. Wherever possible, attempts will be made to find housing in the county, but if housing cannot be found, the four man team could work the county while based in a nearby urban area; 2) there will be large numbers of students working in each fair-sized city; 3) saturation areas: there will be two, or possibly three, cities where a massive number of students, roughly 100 will be concentrated. Three possible areas would be Jackson, Meridian, and Greenville; 4) mobile units of four men and a car would fill gaps in the state political program and would move into crisis areas if the need develops.

Special Projects:

a. Research Project: A number of summer workers will devote themselves entirely to research on the economic and political life of Mississippi. Some of this work will be done from out of the state, but much will need resources which can only be found in Mississippi. In addition, a number of people will be asked to live in white communities to survey attitudes and record reactions to summer happenings.

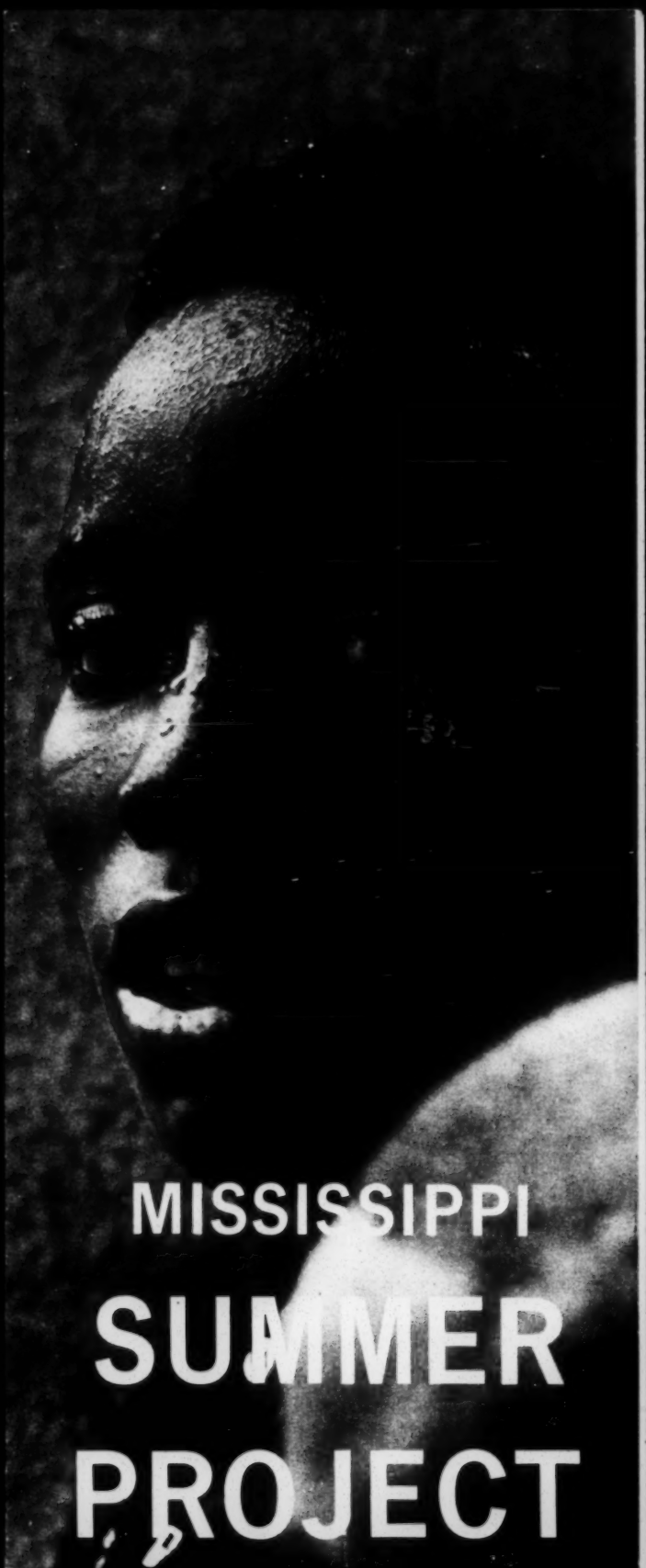
b. Legal Project: A team of lawyers and at least 100 law students are expected to come to Mississippi to launch a massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the state of Mississippi. Law students will be dispersed to projects around the state to serve as legal advisors to voter registration workers and to local people. Others will be concentrated in key areas where they will engage in legal research and begin to prepare suits against the state and local Officials and to challenge every law that deprives Negroes of their freedom.

c. White Communities: Until now there has been no systematic attempt by people interested in the elimination of hate and bigotry to work within the white communities of the deep South. It is the intention of the Mississippi Summer Project to do just that. In the past year, a significant number of Southern white students have been drawn to the Movement. Using students from upper Southern states like Tennessee, and occasionally native Mississippians, SNCC hopes to develop programs within Mississippi's white community. These programs will deal directly with the problems of the white people. While almost all Negroes in Mississippi are denied the right to vote, statistics clearly indicate that a majority of whites are excluded as well. On addition, poverty and illiteracy can be found in abundance among Mississippi whites. There is in fact a clear area for Southern white students to work in, for in many ways Mississippi has imprisoned

her white people along with her blacks. This project will be pilot and experimental and the results are unpredictable. But the effort to organize and educate whites in the direction of democracy and decency can no longer be delayed.

d. The Theater Project: Sponsored by the Tougaloo Drama Department. This summer will also mark the beginning of a repertory theater in Jackson, Mississippi. The actors will be Negro Mississippians; the plays will dramatize the experience of the Negro in Mississippi and in America; the stage will be the churches, community centers and fields of rural Mississippi.

Using the theater as an instrument of education as well as a source of entertainment, a new area of protest will be opened.



MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

VOTER REGISTRATION

The struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won by a combination of action within the state and a heightened awareness throughout the country of the need for massive federal intervention to ensure the voting rights of Negroes. This summer's program will work toward both objectives.

Voter registration workers will operate in every rural county and important urban area in the state. These workers will be involved in a summer-long drive to mobilize the Negro community of Mississippi and assist in developing local leadership and organization.

Forty thousand dollars must be raised for a Freedom Registration campaign. The registration campaign which was launched in February will be implemented by summer workers. Freedom Registrars will be established in every precinct, with registration books closely resembling the official books of the state. The Freedom Registration books will serve as a basis for challenging the official books and the validity of "official" federal elections this fall.

Finally, voter registration workers will assist in the summer campaigns of Freedom Candidates who will be running for congressional office.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

An integral part of SNCC's voter registration work is the development of leadership for politically emerging communities. Freedom Schools will begin to supply the political education which the existing system does not provide for Negroes in Mississippi.

The summer project will establish ten daytime Freedom Schools and three resident schools. The daytime schools will be attend-

ed by 10th, 11th, and 12th grade pupils; the schools will operate five days a week in the students' home towns. Instruction will be highly individualized—each school will have about fifteen teachers and fifty students. The program will include remedial work in reading, math and basic grammar, as well as seminars in political science, the humanities, journalism and creative writing. Wherever possible, studies will be related to problems in the students' own society.

The three resident schools will be attended by more advance students from throughout the state. The program will be essentially the same as that of the day schools, with emphasis on political studies.

The students who attend the schools will provide Mississippi with a nucleus of leadership committed to critical thought and social action.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

In addition to the Freedom Schools, Community Centers will provide services normally denied the Negro community in Mississippi. Staffed by experienced social workers, nurses, librarians and teachers in the arts and crafts, the centers will provide educational and cultural programs for the community. Instruction will be given in pre-natal and infant care, and general hygiene; programs will provide adult literacy and vocational training. The thirty thousand books now in SNCC's Greenwood office library will be distributed to these centers, and others will be obtained. The centers will serve as places of political education and organization, and will provide a structure to channel a wide range of programs into the Negro community in the future.

RESEARCH PROJECT

The program of voter registration and political organization will attempt to change the fundamental structure of political and economic activity in Mississippi. In order to accurately picture this structure, extensive research must be done into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic life. Skilled personnel are needed to carry out this program both from within and outside the state.

WHITE COMMUNITY PROJECT

The effort to organize and educate Mississippi whites in the direction of democracy and decency can no longer be delayed. About thirty students, Southern whites who have recently joined the civil rights movement, will begin pilot projects in white communities. An attempt will be made to organize poor white areas to make steps toward eliminating bigotry, poverty and ignorance.

LAW STUDENT PROJECT

A large number of law students will come to Mississippi to launch a massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the state. The time has come to challenge every Mississippi law which deprives Negroes of their rights, and to bring suit against every state and local official who commits crimes in the name of his office.

Trained Personnel Are Needed

For applications write:
MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT
1017 Lynch Street — Room 10
Jackson, Mississippi
(applications must be received by mid-April)

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI PROJECT

Although the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has active projects in thirteen Southern states, it has achieved its most dynamic success in the state of Mississippi. A state where individual political life is nonexistant, where the economic condition of a vast majority of the population is appalling, the home of white supremacy, Mississippi has become the main target of SNCC's staff and resources.

In August, 1961, SNCC went into Mississippi under the leadership of Project Director Robert Moses. Overcoming violence and hardship, SNCC workers have been able to expand their activity into all five of Mississippi's congressional districts. By fall, 1963, SNCC had joined with CORE, SCLC, the NAACP and many voting and civic groups in forming a statewide organization, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and through COFO conducted a Freedom Vote campaign in which 80,000 disenfranchised Negroes cast ballots for Aaron Henry for Governor.

Preparation for real democracy calls for additional programs in the state. Literacy projects have been instituted, and food and clothing drives. But much more comprehensive programs are needed to combat the terrible cultural and economic deprivation of Negro communities in Mississippi.

This summer, SNCC, in cooperation with COFO, is launching a massive Peace Corps-type operation in Mississippi. Students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide range of programs that include voter registration, freedom schools, community centers and special projects.

All photographs were taken during Freedom Day at Hattiesburg, Mississippi, on January 22, 1964. Above photo by Norris McNamara; other photos by Danny Lyon.

PROGRESS IN MISSISSIPPI DEPENDS ON YOU

The Mississippi Summer Project needs money now to establish and support the activities described in this pamphlet. We are asking the people of America—individuals as well as institutions—to contribute now to assist SNCC in its commitment to the struggle for justice in the state of Mississippi.

A contribution in any amount will be of help. For example:

$5 will supply school materials for one day-student for the entire summer.

$25 will pay the utility bills for one Freedom School for the summer.

$50 will buy office materials for one voter registration field office.

$100 will buy materials for a home nursing and baby care class for one Community Center.

$125 will buy one tape recorder for a Freedom School.

$400 will provide scholarship money for one Southern Negro college student, enabling him to return to school after working in Mississippi for the summer.

$2000 will rent and remodel a building for one Community Center.

$3000 will buy one used bus for transporting vote workers and registrants.

Send your contribution to:

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

8½ Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta 14, Georgia

FREEDOM SCHOOL APPLICATION

Name_____ Age_____ Date of birth_____

Address_____ _____phone_____

Mother's name_____ Her Address_____ Phone_____

Father's name_____ His address_____ Phone_____

Mother's occupation_____

Father's occupation_____

If you are in high school_____ Grade_____
(Name)

School Address_____
(street, town and county)

If not, why did you drop out_____

In what grade_____

List your high school activities

_____

_____

_____

What do you want to study in the Freedom Schools?

_____

_____

_____

What are your hobbies?

_____

_____

List three books that you have read:

_____

_____

_____

(over)

Do you want to go to college?_____

If so, what do you want to study?_____

If not, what do you want to do?_____

If you are able to attend, have your parent(or guardian) sign here:

_____ Date:_____
(signature)

Please bring or mail this application to:

COFO
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

12/16/63

REPORT OF THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON UNITY

We, the members of the Citizens Committee, in an attempt to maintain human dignity in the gigantic struggle for human rights and civil liberties as prescribed in the United States Constitution, present the following report:

This report is the results of a meeting of community citizens who met at Butler Presbyterian Church in November and discussed ways and means of unifying factional civil rights groups in Savannah. A Committee of seven citizens was formed to work out a possible solution to our immediate community problems. The need for some degree of cooperation between the various civil rights groups is exemplified by the holding of two civil rights meetings at the same time on Sundays, by one organization encouraging the citizens to invoke a selective boycott and another organization telling the citizens it has nothing to do with a boycott. It is alsc exemplified by the operation of two separate Negotiation committees each justifiably proud of its accomplishment; but you can easily see the problem when the same individual is contacted by two separate groups. It is further exemplified by one group asking public support in demonstrations, while another group has nothing to do with it. Now we have reached the point where one organization publicly demonstrates against the other. We, the Committee on Unity, feel that no individual or group of individuals representing the Negroes of Savannah should do or say anything that does not represent the opinion of the masses or is for the betterment of the community.

The following proposals from the Citizens Committee on Unity are what we feel will be for the good of all in this comminity:

1. That joint weekly meetings of the N.A.A.C.P. and Crusade For Voters be held, presided over alternately. Proceeds from these meetings are to be divided equally. If they do not decide to hold joint meetings, then they will hold individual meetings every other Sunday.
2. To enhance public support and confidence we request a public financial statement every three to six months from each organization.
3. That each organization operate within its charter and that neither will engage in any controversial activities (boycotts,

sit-ins, wade-ins, etc.) in the community without the majority vote by secret ballot of the respective board of directors. In the event of a deadlock the Citizens Committee would cast the deciding vote.

4. That the parent body of each organization be held responsible for the actions of their youth groups.

5. That each organization cease and desist as of now from making public statements that will be construded as against the other. That they refrain from alienating Negroes against each other on the basis of differences in economic or social status.

6. That this Committee be maintained as a permanent group to see that the adopted proposals are adhered to and serve as a grievance committee and nediation body.

7. That these recommendations must be accepted or rejected by the N.A.A.C.P., Crusade For Voters, The various Ministerial Alliances, labor groups, The Mid-Town Chamber of Commerce, and other civic groups within thirty days. In the event it is ratified by all groups mentioned except the first two mentioned, it would become binding on the first two.

8. That all previous negotiations made in good faith by representative groups become binding on the part of all concerned.

9. That joint committees representing the N.A.A.C.P., Crusade For Voters, Ministerial Alliance, Mid-Town Chamber of Commerce, and Organized Labor be maintained for negotation. job placement, and training opportunities.

10. That in the event the N.A.A.C.P. or the Crusade For Voters refuse to accept and abide by the adopted proposals on unity, without satisfying this committee and the community at large with a valid reason, then these proposals will be made public in the News media and the community will be asked to with-hold their support from the group or groups not accepting them, until such a time that a workable, acceptable agreement can be reached that will do justice to the community and citizens at large. WE, will further ask the pastors and members of the various churches not to open their doors to that group or

groups which will not abide by the adopted proposals.

Respectfully submitted in good faith:

Dr. Philip W. Cooper, Chairman

Rev. L. G. Gibbs

Atty. B. Clarence Mayfield

Mr. W. J. Bogan, Sr.

Dr. H. M. Collier, Jr.

Mr. Will Judson

Rev. P. A. Patterson

Mr. J. Tyson

Mr. T. J. Hopkins

Rev. Wm. Franklin Stokes, II, Secretary

Done at Savannah, Georgia,

this the 16th day of December, 1963.

WBV
RTBV

December 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton and Randolph T. Blackwell

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

RE: Field Trip to Savannah, Georgia, on December 15-17

The Savannah situation can hardly be reported without some history and background of the civil rights movement there. Historically, Savannah has been an NAACP town. This was the case prior to the sit-in movement and subsequent thereto, except for the division that has presently come to a head between the NAACP and the Crusade for Voters.

The Savannah branch, under the leadership of W. W. Law, president, and Hosea L. Williams, vice-president, followed up sit-ins by the Savannah State College Chapter, and the Youth Council with an intensive, successful 15-month boycott that resulted in the desegregation of the downtown lunch counters. During this period, the entire Negro community was united behind Law as the leader, and Williams as Law's right-hand man. According to reliable persons in the community, Williams was also considered as Law's "hatchet man."

The Crusade for Voters was organized to engage in political activity and voter registration. The organization in its early stages, was considered a subsidiary of the NAACP. Williams was elected president and many of the NAACP board members served on the Crusade for Voters board. A monthly budget item for the NAACP was $100 for the Crusade. It is reported that much of the present difficulty was precipitated when Law, through committee action, cut off the support. The reason for the cutting off of funds is not clearly understood, but the speculation is that Williams and Law had come to a parting of the ways about other matters involving the two groups, and the personal ambitions of both.

Law, for a long time, has been well aware of Williams' ambitions to be in the spotlight. Actually, Williams planned to contest Law for the NAACP state presidency at Columbus, Georgia, in 1961. Williams decided later that because of Law's nationwide publicity, resulting from his suspension by the U. S. Post Office, the time was not ripe to run against him. Williams was right because at that time, Law was the Georgia NAACP's hero.

The differences between Law and Williams were accentuated during the NAACP's national convention inAtlanta during 1962. Williams maneuvered his name into nomination as a candidate for the National Board of Directors from Georgia to represent the southeast region. Williams was pitted against Jesse Turner, Memphis, Tennessee; Floyd McKissick, Durham, North Carolina; and Theodore Gibson, of Miami, Florida.

The unit rule was voted by the various delegations. Under the unit rule, the state president generally speaks for his state, and does the "horse trading" and political maneuvering. Law has some political weight at NAACP conventions in the southeastern region. Said weight is derived from control of a unit vote and the ability to influence other state prexys to block vote with him on certain issues.

As a result, and much to the anger of Williams, Law threw his weight behind Gibson of Florida and thereby Georgia failed to support Williams, even as a favorite son. Two reasons might be cited for Law's action: (1) His feeling that Williams had not been faithfully active on the state NAACP level, and (2) There was no board member from Florida. Indirectly involved was a North Carolina move to stop McKissick who was stronger with delegations than his own.

Williams took the course of events here to be a personal renunciation of him by Law as well as the Georgia State Conference. I venture an opinion here that Williams has never forgiven Law for this. Law said to me at the airport Sunday that he believes Williams has wanted to be president of the Savannah NAACP for some time, and still does. Law did not respond to my inquiry, "Can you blame him?"

There is no question but that much of their difficulty stems from the fact that they are very much alike. What they learned about the movement, motivating people, direct action, and getting the job done, they learned together and from each other. Both are fighters from within and without. Both can be cruel and ruthless if that's what it takes to get the job done. Both have tremendous pride and boundless ego with Williams' probably taking the lead in the latter.

When working for the NAACP, I was in Savannah to attempt to reconcile some minor differences between them. Somewhere in the process, they forgot differences, and I was the target, and there's no experience like having the joint venom of Law and Williams spewed on you, especially when you are trying to help. One gets the feeling that they teamed up on the arbitrator (me) in order to get a new lease on disagreeing with each other.

Sunday, December 15, Law and Mr. E. H. Gadsden, attorney, met me at the airport and took me immediately to the Desoto Hotel, Savannah's oldest and largest. They said they wanted me to go there rather than the Manger Hotel because the Desoto, though desegregated, needed the presence of Negroes to better facilitate the transition. I was cordially received at the Desota.

I addressed the NAACP mass meeting at 4 p. m. The church, medium in size, was filled to its downstairs capacity with approximately 250 persons. The audience consisted primarily of senior citizens. There were, however, some young people present. This came as somewhat a surprise, because heretofore, the branch mass meetings have been fairly evenly balanced.

During the course of my rantings and ravings about freedom and voter registration, I paused long enough to make the following points without referring directly to the factional fight. (1) Freedom is everyone's business, and no one person or organization has all the answers or techniques; (2) It takes more energy than we have to fight the white people, therefore we should not waste time fighting each other; (3) That leaders have to recognize that their primary responsibility is to the people rather than vindication of personal grievances. The response to these points came loud and fervent - "Amen!" - "Preach the Word!" - "Now, that's the truth!"

Also at 4 p. m., the Crusade was holding its weekly mass meeting where Andy Young of SCLC held forth. I understand from Williams that his crowd was larger than Westley's and had more young people. The public collection at each meeting was between $80 and $85.

Immediately after the meeting, Law confronted Curtis Cooper, chairman of the branch public relations committee, and gave him hell for not being up front and taking notes on my speech. Cooper took Law's remarks jokingly at first, and said that he had recorded certain pertinent facts in his head. Law persisted to the point that Cooper cursed him and said, "Leave me alone, man. Leave me alone." The implication was that Law was a chronic complainer. Cooper has remained faithful to Law throughout the NAACP-Crusade confusion, but his expression, his anger, and hasty departure might have led him either away from the movement altogether or directly to the Crusade office to volunteer his services.

Law told me later that he had called Cooper several times and had gone to his home to get things straight. I never felt, however, that Law was going to apologize, but rather convince Cooper that he should have been up front.

Mercedes Wright, the sweetheart of the NAACP, and an excellent leader of women during the long Savannah boycott, was quite disturbed by the Law-Cooper incident. She expressed more concern about the possibility of Law alienating good people from the branch than about the Law-Williams feud. She is, however, gravely concerned about the latter because of her loyalty and cooperation over the years with both. She indicated that Williams was no doubt engaging tactics similar to the Law-Cooper incident. Mrs. Wright has pledged to chair the NAACP Freedom Fund dinner scheduled for early next year. She may well, at a later date, do a similar project for the Crusade with the same degree of success. Mrs. Wright, who works part-time for the NAACP national office in Jackson, Mississippi, is soundly convinced that Law and Williams have a personal feud, that both have psychiatric problems, and that the wounds will never be healed, nor will peace ever prevail.

I visited the Crusade office shortly after the mass meeting. Williams was not in. Ben Clarke greeted me cordially and indicated that Williams and Andy Young were out looking for me. There were several clean-cut, well dressed youths sitting around the office, all sporting a foot long blue and white freedom streamer with Crusade for Voters written thereon. Later in the evening, Williams called, and we made a breakfast date for 8:30 the following morning.

Williams assured me that the Crusade for Voters registration program had started. I inquired about a kick-off meeting and publicity, and was assured that both were in the mill. He expressed hopes of having Martin King to officially kick-off the campaign.

Williams said he is getting 2000 block workers, each of whom would be asked to take one person to the courthouse to register once a week. His theory was that if only half of the 2000 block workers were successful, 1000 persons would be registered each week. The block workers are recruited at weekly mass meetings.

Overseeing these 2000 block workers are 10 area chairmen who are to be paid not more than $25 per week. Block workers are volunteers. In addition to the 10 area chairmen and 2000 block workers, there are seven committee chairmen of the following committees: (1) Non-Baptist churches, Rev. A. S. Richards; (2) Baptist churches, Rev. F. Grant; (3) Schools, Mrs. Henrietta Santos (Mrs. Santos is a past president of the PTA Council); (4) Low Rent Housing Projects, Mrs. Lillian Robinson; (5) Civic Organizations, Mrs. Ida Mack; (6) Organized Labor, Mr. James Tyson or his wife; (7) Negro Businesses, no chairman as yet. Williams had these names on the tip of his tongue and rattled them off with ease. I kind of got the feeling that these were anticipated appointments rather than personal commitments.

Committee chairmen are not paid, but they get expenses for dinners, cokes, and other expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

Social action committees have been set up in seven churches and registration activities are in process through church organizations, according to Williams.

The Crusade has an automobile and a transportation chairman on duty daily to transport prospective registrants. Paid office personnel totals three, and beginning January 1, one person will be on full-time duty at the courthouse for $25 per week.

Williams reported that 10 citizenship schools are presently operating.

After Williams' long discussion of the foregoing, I raised the question of the boycott. Williams stated that he and Law had a private meeting at the former's insistence wherein the pros and cons of the proposed boycott were discussed, in addition to the feud between them. Williams said he suggested a Williams-Law letter calling for a summit meeting. Law, I gathered, never assented or dissented, but failed to attend the summit meeting. The joint meeting failed.

Negotiations were in process with downtown merchants on the employment issue and progress was evident. Williams, however, raised the point of Christmas employment. When Christmas employment appeared unlikely through negotiations, Williams threatened a boycott. Law took the position that the negotiations were geared to permanent employment which, to him, was more important than seasonal employment.

The Crusade for Voters thereupon announced a Christmas boycott and immediately thereafter, the NAACP executive committee issued a statement saying that the NAACP was not supporting a downtown boycott.

I suggested to Williams that the boycott constituted action which was contra to the conditions of the VEP grants. He denied that the Crusade was involved in action by saying that they merely announced the boycott and thereby took no action. I would not argue the point and proceeded to inquire as to the success of the boycott. He said 62 jobs had resulted directly from their efforts. Attached hereto are leaflets put out by the Chatham County Crusade for Voters.

Williams informed me that the Crusade was moving into the Guaranty Builcing at 458½ West Broad Street where it will share offices and expenses with Mrs. Hosea Williams, who operates a collection and bookkeeping agency. The entire setup includes two rather small offices with considerable equipment of every description, and is much smaller than the old Crusade office on West Park Avenue. The old office has not yet been closed, the equipment moved, nor the telephone cut off.

The boycott leaflet lists the old and the new address.

Williams and I finished our discussions and he was to have departed for Albany, Georgia, to fill a speaking engagement. Later, however, he called me at Atty. E. H. Gadsden's office and invited me upstairs to see the new Crusade office.

I talked later in the day with Dr. Phillip W. Cooper, as suggested by Williams. Cooper received me cordially. When I told him who I was, who I represented, and what I wanted to talk about, he immediately pulled the needle out of his patient's gum and said, "Man, let's talk!" He then spent 30 minutes with me to the detriment of his patient who, I'm sure by that time, needed more novacaine.

Phillips explained that he had respect for both Williams and Law, had worked with them through the years, and that both had done commendable jobs in the community. He indicated that the feud was making both ineffective because they spent more time fighting each other than the cause. Phillips and others have organized a Citizens Committee on Unity. They met and drafted the attached report making recommendations for settling factional differences.

I failed to mention above that the NAACP conducted a voter registration drive from August through November. Less than 300 persons were registered, according to Williams. Law admits that the branch made a poor showing which he attributes to the minister who directed the drive.

One final item is that Williams said that he had only received $100 petty cash from SCLC toward his project.

VEJ

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Asst. Project Director

VEJ,Jr:js

Attachments: 3

Augusta, Ga.

Field Report (~~SOUTH CAROLINA~~ - 3/20-21/64)
From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
To: VEP Staff

I attended the joint meeting of the South Carolina-Georgia Council on Human Relations at the Town House Motor Hotel, March 20-21, in Augusta, Georgia.

While there I contacted, at the request of BW and WB, Rev. Stokes who is the director of the VEP sponsored voter registration drive in Augusta in cooperation with Augusta branch NAACP. Rev. Stokes attended the Council meeting also, accompanied by Mrs. Stokes. I saw him on Friday evening and suggested that we get together early the next morning. He agreed.

I called Rev. Stokes about 8:00 a.m. on Saturday and suggested that we have breakfast together. He indicated that he planned to attend the morning session of the CHR Meeting and suggested that we talk there. I was scheduled as a consultant and therefore suggested that he save me a seat next to him at the luncheon. The crowd however was such that he could not do so. We finally got together following the luncheon and had to talk hurriedly because his wife was waiting and the Georgia Council Board was pressuring me to hurry into its meeting so people could leave Augusta before dark.

In a rushed conversation, I gathered the following facts from Rev. Stokes. The present voter registration program has been in process two weeks or so and in that period, approximately 200 persons have been registered. Rev. Stokes operates out of offices located in the Tabernacle Baptist Church. Tabernacle is pastored by Rev. C. S. Hamilton, local NAACP President, and is the center of civil rights activity in Augusta. The office is opened from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday thru Friday and a half day on Saturday.

There has beenno formal beginning of the campaign such as a kickoff mass meeting, publicity stunt or the like. Contrary to the last VEP-NAACP campaign in Augusta, there is not a sign at Tabernacle Church advertising that the voter registration headquarters is there.

Rev. Stokes has about 30 workers who are to be paid as of this week. The going rate for each worker is 50¢ per registrant. The big problem facing Stokes is that he cannot get workers without paying them. Paid workers has been the traditional modus operandi in voter registration in the Augusta community. I suggested to Stokes that young people could be used, if properly motivated, without pay and better results. He agreed and said he would initiate efforts in this direction. I suggested the NAACP Youth Council which has been extremely active in Augusta when properly programmed.

In addition to the problem of paid workers, Rev. Stokes says that he has very little community support. Much of this he attributes to the age-old split between the two Negro Voter's Leagues. WB is familiar with this problem having gone to Augusta when the two factions were at war during the last VEP sponsored campaign.

Trip Reports
Vernon Jordan

Rev. Stokes reported that the attitude of the registrars is good and that persons seeking to register have encountered no difficulty. He pointed out that community registration was in process at community or branch banks, except the bank located in the heart of the Negro community. No complaints have been filed regarding the exclusion of the bank in the Negro community, but Atty. John Watkins, president of one of the Voter Leagues is investigating the matter.

There is a request for mobile registration pending before the registrars who claim that the City Council has the final say-so.

Because of the time limit on our conversation, Rev. Stokes said that he would write up additional information and get it to us this week.

2 EW LOW B O M P

WB

May 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Re: Jackson, Tennessee

I visited Jackson, Tennessee, May 1 and 2 to speak to a student assembly at Lane College at the invitation of Kay Jones, director of the Tennessee Council. While there, I took the opportunity to consult with Mrs. Mattie Darnell, director of the VEP-NAACP voter registration in Jackson and Madison County, Dr. W. M. Bell, president of the local NAACP branch, Mr. Joe Merry, president of the Jackson-Madison County Voters League; Mr. Albert Porter of Lane College, and Mrs. Mattie Merry, secretary of the local NAACP.

Upon arrival, I went directly to Merry's Grocery, operated by Mr. and Mrs. Joe Merry. The market is located in the heart of the Negro community, and a part of a small business area, consisting of the branch office of Universal Life Insurance Company, Dr. W. M. Bell's dental office, a barber shop, and one other business. Signs advertising voter registration were quite conspicious at the front of the market, and throughout the store. Pasted at the top of Mr. Merry's well-stocked meat counter were two bright signs reading, "Be a First Class Citizen - Register to Vote."

These signs all over Merry's market, in addition to Merry's constant conversation about voter registration to his customers, has proven a real incentive to the program in Jackson. Mr. Merry is chairman of the branch political action committee, and has been president of the voters league for the past ten years. His contact with the Negro community is more personal and extensive than any in the community because of his market where he has tremendous Negro patronage. This patronage is accounted for by Mr. Merry's popularity (the Negro high school is named for his father), his well-stocked medium-priced market, and most importantly, his unusual credit account for customers. This man's influence, because of his location and work, has a very positive effect on the voter registration campaigns of Jackson.

After talking with Mr. Merry, I visited Dr. Bell, president of the NAACP. Dr. Bell expressed some disappointment in the current drive which is in its fifth week. He compared it with the fall campaign, point-

ing out that 1,142 were registered in the latter, while only 452 persons had been registered in the current campaign. He expressed hope for a big push in the final week of the drive. Dr. Bell invited me to attend a call meeting of the Executive Committee of the NAACP that evening. I accepted.

I went from Dr. Bell's office to the voter registration headquarters. The structure is huge, antiquated, and badly in need of paint. This two-story building is the Masonic Hall. The voter registration headquarters occupies one room on the left as you enter. The room is clean, furnished with a desk, three chairs, and a telephone. The walls are decorated with voter registration honor rolls carrying the names, addresses, and precinct of newly registered voters. The waste basket is a large brown envelope. Mrs. Darnell, the director, refuses to spend funds for an office waste basket. She says she can put the money to better use.

Mrs. Darnell generally closes the office at 4 p. m., but waited at the office until the "VEP man from Atlanta" got there. A warm and kindly lady, Mrs. Darnell welcomed me to the office, told me to make myself at home. "What do you want to know about the voter drive?", she asked. "Ask me, and I'll tell you the story," she said, smiling.

Mrs. Darnell reported 452 persons registered up to that time, but she was waiting to hear from her man working out in the county for additional figures. She is paid a weekly salary by Mr. Patton, and has 33 unpaid field workers. Mrs. Darnell directed the fall campaign also. The following methods were employed in the Jackson campaign:

1. Door-to-door canvassing.
2. Poster, signs, bumper stickers.
3. Check list of lists of non-registered voters from fall campaign.
4. Stationed workers in the courthouse during tag purchasing time who encouraged people to register before leaving the courthouse. (The most effective.)
5. Parades in the late afternoon through "Fite's Bottom", the "Buttermilk Bottom of Jackson, which was heretofore never touched by registration workers. When people gathered on the street to see the band and hear the music, workers would inquire as to whether they were registered to vote. If not, the names, addresses, phone numbers and availability to be taken to the registration office would be written up by the worker and followed through.
6. Mass meetings, church publicity.

Mrs. Darnell related that she personally took a family of three white persons to register when they inquired of her as to where and how to

register. The names of these people are listed on the honor rolls displayed in the voter registration office.

At Dr. Bell's invitation, I attended the Executive Committee meeting of the NAACP. The only item of business was in response to a letter from Roy Wilkins requesting all Tennessee branches to send representatives to Washington to confer with the Tennessee senators or the civil rights bill. The committee acted swiftly and decisively. Dr. Bell and Mr. Merry were elected t go. The committee felt that there would be real political meaning f the senators met two community leaders from the Jackson-Madison County area. The consensus was that two representatives to this meeting was more important that delegates to the national convention. Hence, the leadership in Jackson, Tennessee, has led not only in adding Negroes to the voting rolls, but is acutely aware that these voters must be spoken for and the power of their vote communicated to those who may at some time seek same.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Director

VEJ, Jr./js

PS My notes reveal also that Mrs. Darnell said they had absolutely no problem with the registrars. "Our problem is Negroes," she said.

WB
JM
JV

August 11, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Re: FIELD TRIP TO CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

I visited Charlotte, North Carolina, July 6 and 7 on SRC business, but took the opportunity to talk with persons interested in the VEP project in Charlotte at WAB's request.

I talked first with Mr. Fred Alexander, an SRC board member, and a prominent figure in Charlotte civic affairs. Mr. Alexander is the brother of Mr. Kelly Alexander, President of the North Carolina State Conference of NAACP branches.

We talked for two hours. Mr. Alexander responded to my initial inquiry as to his thoughts about the Charlotte VEP program by stating in unequivocal words that the VEP program got off to a wrong start there.

Prior to any VEP grant in that community, the NAACP and the Charlotte Council on Human Relations had made plans for a large scale registration program depending on VEP support, according to Mr. Alexander. "We had counted on VEP funds," he said. But when the grant was made to Dr. Hawkins' group for registration, the above mentioned groups did not follow through with their plans.

Mr. Alexander expressed some disappointment that WAB came to Charlotte and made a grant without consulting with persons like himself. He never made it clear to me whether he felt WAB should have done this because he was on the SRC board, or for some other reason. He admitted however, that his group had not put a formal proposal to VEP for funds. If I may interpret here a bit, I think Mr. Alexander's reaction was that of the traditional established Negro leader who thinks he must be consulted about any project in his community. No consultation and non-cooperation with his group equals failure and negative programming.

Moving to other matter, Mr. Alexander indicated that at no time had the Election Board been difficult to deal with in regard to Negro registration. The implication here being that whatever troubles Dr. Hawkins encountered resulted from Hawkins' own efforts rather than

FILE VEJ Field Trip Reports
Cross reference: Research file, VEP 3-23

blue

Board policy or procedures.

Motivation was described as the big problem with Negro registration. Mr. Alexander related that traditionally, Charlotte has had no strong race problem. Such is the case today, in his opinion. Nothing has happened or been made to happen to show the relationship of and need for strong political action. Not a job in town is controlled by politics. People in Charlotte, black and white, are politically naive, opinioned Mr. Alexander.

Special emphasis was put on the necessity for a cause for action to garner registered voters. Voter education is vital to our community. I did not press Mr. Alexander as to what would constitute a cause of action to get new voters registered.

We then got around to Dr. Hawkins. "Hawkins didn't do much," concluded Mr. Alexander. He questioned Dr. Hawkins' motives and indicated that if Dr. Hawkins had not been in the forefront in voter registration, it would be someone else. I indicated that I would hope so.

Other charges leveled at Dr. Hawkins were: 1) There is no evidence that the money was spent for what it was purported to be spent for; 2) Not more than 3,000 persons were added to the books during the entire Hawkins effort, despite claims of a much larger number; 3) Used initial grant to buy himself into the local Democratic party; 4) Has only a paper organization; 5) Uses teenagers to do his work.

Mr. Alexander made it quite clear that he was not interested in exposing Dr. Hawkins on the theory that it would be detrimental to the Negro. "The white folks want division among Negro leaders," he said. Therefore, there is no need to expose him, he continued.

Mr. Alexander offered the candidacy of a Negro for the Board of Education as evidence that Dr. Hawkins has registered very few people. The candidate, according to Alexander, received a total of 6,000 votes, Negro and white included. The contention is that had Hawkins' program been more successful, it would have reflected in this particular race.

Finally, Mr. Alexander was quick to say that he readily comes to Dr. Hawkins' defense when the latter is attacked by the white community. He indciated, however, that there was nothing he could do about the Hawkins difficulty with the Election Board. He commended Hawkins highly for his actions in hospital desegregation.

I then visited Dr. Hawkins in his office, where I was cordially received. Dr. Hawkins said that from Sept. 16 to Nov. 18, 1963, his group registered 5,236 persons, and from March 16 to May 8, 1964,

6,000 persons. These registration programs were VEP sponsored.

Dr. Hawkins said that he plans to request another VEP grant for September. Also, that Negroes outvoted whites percentage-wise in the North Carolina primary.

He answered questions concerning his group's organizational structure in vague terms. I couldn't pin him down as to who did what exactly. He did say that a Mrs. Garvin had been put in the Democratic office and that she was paid by him with VEP funds. Her job was to go through the records and make records for registration purposes. Dr. Hawkins pruchased the list of registered Democrats from the local party for use in checking on unregistered voters.

During the night registration period, Dr. Hawkins contended that they registered on some nights as many as 1,000 people.

The doctor considered the charges of the Election Board against him as an effort to intimidate him personally, and to discourage registration programs in the Negro community. He expressed the hope that he would be indited and convicted. He indicated that he had counsel.

Dr. Hawkins accused Mr. Kelly Alexander of refusing to cooperate with his program. He also accused Fred Alexander and a Mr. Bishop of being paid to frame him. Somehow in this part of the monologue, Hawkins said that he thought Pat Watters would be fired because he told the truth on Charlotte.

The mayor, according to Hawkins, is really no good, but he has found that it is popular to be liberal.

Finally, Dr. Hawkins, contrary to the Alexander opinion, said that the Election Board had given him a hard time in that they stopped night registration and Saturday registration, among other things.

VEJ,Jr/js

File - VEJ, Jr. Field Trip Reports - Blue
Cross reference - NAACP Narrative research file

WB
JMV
JTV

August 17, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Re: Memphis, Tennessee

I was in Memphis, Tennessee, on the day of the Democratic primary, August 6, and the day after for a couple of hours each day. I spent that time in and around the Shelby County Democratic Club headquarters, and talked with Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary of NAACP; Russell Sugarman, Esq.; Earl Davis, COPE; A. W. Willis, Esq; Mr. W. C. Patton's secretary, and several poll watchers and youth campaign workers.

In preparation for the election, there were numerous meetings with candidates. Earl Davis said that for three days, prior to the election, they had 19 telephones operating with persons calling registered voters in order to get out a big vote. The calls were made from lists of registered voters on a precinct basis. Davis had been working there for a week or so primarily, I think, in the interest of Ross Bass, senatorial candidate opposing Governor Clement. Davis' efforts, however, were beneficial to the entire Negro community in terms of getting out a big Negro vote, and electing candidates favorable to the Negro.

When I arrived at the headquarters at 6 p. m., an hour before the polls closed, several people were on the phones calling voters urging them to get out and vote. There was some concern on election day that the vote was light or not as heavy as desired by the leaders. On the basis of reports from poll watchers, the leaders predicted about a 49% turn out. They thought at the time that said turn out would not be sufficient to elect the Negro candidates. The Negro candidates were:

Jesse Turner, NAACP prexy - Constitutional convention
A. W. Willis, Atty. - State representative
Russell Sugarman, Atty. - State Senator
Charles E. Ware, Businessman - Constable, District 2

When I returned to Memphis the next day, the leaders were delirously happy and hoarse as a result of the election returns. The returns were not complete, but the winners were clearly determined except in the Sugarman race. Turner was leading in his race with a total vote of approximately 22,000. Willis led with about 24,000. Sugarman polled

nearly 30,000 votes, but was trailing by a very slim marjin with three precincts to be counted. Ware's victory was assured, but I have no figures on the votes cast for him.

The jubilation at the Shelby County headquarters stemmed from more than the apparent success of the Negro candidates. More important to the Negro community statewide was the sound defeat of Gov. Clement by Rep. Ross Bass in the U. S. Senate race. This victory was especially important to the Memphis people because of their strength in the Tennessee voters Council which had endorsed Bass, despite some opposition among other Negro leaders. In addition to the Bass victory, there was great eleation over the defeat of Cliff Davis, Congressman for 25 years or so, by George W. Grider, who had the backing of the Negro community. Davis was quoted in the Press-Scimitar as he watched the votes come in, saying, "The Negroes are clobbering me." W. N. Morris, candidate for sheriff, was successful and had the endorsement and backing of the Negro community. Practically all of the candidates endorsed by the Shelby County Democratic Club were victorious.

The success of the Memphis election may be attributed to the tremendous organization, hard work, and interest of the NAACP branch. For the most part, the same persons active with the NAACP voter registration and the desegregation process in Memphis were hard at work during this campaign.

As an example, 50 or more of the youth council's group worked from sun-up till sun down on election day in an intensive get-out-the-vote campaign. Their enthusiasm was high, and their motives sincere, for they worked without pay. The headquarters was so organized that at certain hours of the day, there was a report as to how many people in a given precinct had voted. Poll watchers were on full time duty, automobiles, driven by doctors, lawyers, and other Indian chiefs, were available to get the people to the polls. There was organization and interest such that I've never witnessed anywhere in the Negro community.

Attached is a sample ballot distributed by the Shelby County Democratic Club with their candidate preferences.

js
Attachment (on NAACP research narrative file copy)

SAMPLE BALLOT

The Shelby County Democratic Club Ticket

RUSSELL SUGARMON, JR., Chairman — A. W. WILLIS, JR., Vice-Chairman
JESSE TURNER and CHARLES WARE, Co-ordinators

We Must Elect These Candidates To

Stop Senator Goldwater

THE FREEDOM SEVEN

Morris — Ware — Turner — Bass — Grider — Sugarmon — Willis

GENERAL ELECTION

OFFICE	CANDIDATE	NUMBER
Sheriff	William N. (Bill) Morris	13
Constable, District 2	Charles E. Ware*	28
Constitutional Convention	Jesse H. Turner	41

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

United States Senate	Ross Bass	82
United States Representative	George W. Grider	86
State Senator	Russell Sugarmon	96
State Representative	A. W. Willis	108

*On Machines South of Poplar Avenue ONLY

Please Vote This Entire Ticket

FULL SLATE OF CANDIDATES ENDORSED BY THE SHELBY COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

GENERAL ELECTION

OFFICE	CANDIDATE	NUMBER
Sheriff	WILLIAM N. (BILL) MORRIS	13
County Tax Assessor	BOB HAWKS	16
General Sessions Court Clerk	MRS. CLAIBORNE (ONIE) HALL	19
Constable, District 2	CHARLES E. WARE*	28
Constitutional Convention	JESSE H. TURNER	41
Constitutional Convention	WILLIAM M. MORROW	45
Constitutional Convention	JOHN W. SPENCE	49
Constitutional Convention	MRS. ANNE W. SHAFER	53
Constitutional Convention	CHARLES EDWARD POOL	59
Constitutional Convention	E. GARY MAPLES	67
Constitutional Convention	J. A. McDANIEL	75

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

United States Senate	ROSS BASS	82
United States Representative	GEORGE W. GRIDER	86
Public Service Commissioner	Z. D. ATKINS	88
Public Service Commissioner	JERRE JORDAN	92
State Senator	R. B. SUGARMON, JR.	96
State Representative	A. W. WILLIS, JR.	108
State Representative	CHARLES C. BURCH	109
State Representative	JAMES E. WILLIAMS	112
State Representative	CATHERINE B. TAYLOR	114
State Representative	RALPH W. FARMER	115
State Representative	JACK D. HYDRICK	120

Morris Ware Turner Bass Grider Sugarmon Willis

GENERAL ELECTION

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Sheriff	William N. (Bill) Morris	13
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State Representative	CHARLES C. BURCH	109
State Representative	JAMES E. WILLIAMS	112
State Representative	CATHERINE B. TAYLOR	114
State Representative	RALPH W. FARMER	115
State Representative	JACK D. HYDRICK	120
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Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	CLIFF TUCK	139
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Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	HENRY V. SUTTON	149
Shelby County Democratic Executive Committee	HAL GERBER	152

*On Machines South of Poplar Avenue ONLY

Stop Goldwater

KNOW YOUR LEADERS **VOTE THIS BALLOT**

SHELBY COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

FILE - NAACP Research file - Narrative
Cross Reference - VEJ Field Trip Reports

WD
JM
LWD
VEP

August 18, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

RE: Jackson, Tennessee, Election Results

Attached is one writer's analysis of the Bass Clement election in Tennessee with particular emphasis on Madison County at Jackson, Tennessee.

VEP has sponsored two registration programs in this area through the NAACP. Note particularly the results of Joe S. Merry's race, even though he lost. Merry is chairman of the NAACP Political Action Committee, and president of the Madison County Voters League, and a hard worker in our campaigns there.

Undoubtedly, VEP programs in that area have had a very positive effect.

js
Attachments: News article
cc of letter to Mrs. Mattie Merry, sender of article.

arch
- Elec

Cook

August 18, 1964

Mrs. Mattie Merry
412 Church Street
Jackson, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Merry:

Thank you for the news article by John Parrish which analyzes the election returns for Jackson and Madison counties. The article will be very valuable to us here in our research on voter registration. If at all possible, we would like to have the name of the paper in which the article appeared, and the date of same.

Please commend Joe on his very fine showing in his race.

Very truly yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Director

VEJ.Jr/js

Note: Mrs. Merry subsequently sent additional news clips, which are attached, from the ~~Jackson Sun~~, August 2, 1964. The article just earlier is also from the Jackson Sun, but date is still not indicated.

County Judge's 'Valuable Gift' Shows Surprise At State Political Showdown

By JOHN PARISH

County Judge Leroy Pope received an anonymous but appropriate gift following Thursday's election upsets.

Pope, an enthusiastic supporter of Gov. Frank Clement, found on his desk Saturday a bottle of 1,000 aspirins marked "with compliments of a friend of Ross Bass."

"It's a valuable gift . . . and I may need them," Pope remarked with a somewhat hollow laugh.

Locally and statewide, the election was filled with surprises, shocks and interesting political consequences. The results will be carefully studied by Democrats and Republicans alike as they prepare for the November showdown.

When two undefeated candidates clash headon something has to give. But many political observers logically argued that Rep. Ross Bass was untested as a statewide campaigner.

Clement backers, in post-election analysis, explain the governor's first campaign loss was due to a combination of factors. The Bass camp compares their candidate's support to the strong silent vote always handed the late Sen. Estes Kefauver.

The loss of endorsement by labor and Negro groups was doubly felt by Clement when this vote went to Bass. The 1962 general election showing by independent William Anderson indicated a strong anti-Clement bloc.

Clement's tax program apparently was a bigger issue than Civil Rights in the election. Bass hammered away effectively on the governor's legislative program which broadened the sales tax coverage and brought about a $30 million surplus in the state treasury.

Both Clement and Newport

(Continued on Page 8)

County Judge's - -

(Continued from Page 1)

farmer-businessman M. M. Bullard attacked Bass for his support of the Civil Rights Act. There was little evidence that this had much effect on the election.

Bass' success with Negro voters is illustrated by four city precincts in Jackson where Negro registration ranges from 40 to 70 per cent.

Bass received 44.4 per cent of the vote in the Senate race in Madison County, but was given 83 per cent at the Third Ward's fourth precinct (Whitehall School) where 70 per cent of the voters are Negroes.

The First Ward, with 62 per cent Negro vote, counted 69 per cent of the ballots for Bass. The Second Ward precincts, with 40 per cent Negro vote, gave Bass 64 per cent of the total.

With endorsement of a Negro state political group Clement made a strong showing at these precincts in the 1962 governor's race. He received 80 per cent of the vote in the First Ward, 64 per cent in the Second Ward and 82 per cent at the Whitehall box.

On the other side of the ledger, Sen. Albert Gore, who voted against the Civil Rights Act, had a 4-1 margin over his three opponents.

Rep. Tom Murray had 73 per cent of the Madison County vote in his race, but his opponent (W. K. Brooks) ran well in the Negro dominated precincts.

State Rep. Gene Stewart finished 1,220 vote ahead of State Sen. Billy J. Goodrich to win Democratic nomination for the 25th Senatorial District. He carried Crockett and Henderson counties by small margins and had a 1,084 vote edge in Madison, home of both candidates.

Final unofficial returns in this race:

Stewart — Madison County 6,938, Henderson 1,131, Crockett 886; total 8,955.

Goodrich — Madison 5,854, Henderson 1,027, Crockett 854; total 7,735.

House Speaker W. L. (Dick) Barry was well in front of Jackson attorney Joe Morris in each of three counties in 27th Floterial District to win nomination to a sixth term. Morris made his strongest bid in Jackson precincts where he trailed by less than 200 votes.

Unofficial and incomplete returns:

Barry — Madison County 7,294, Henderson 2,226, Decatur (one small precinct missing) 1,440; total 10,960.

Morris — Madison 4,957, Henderson 1,189, Decatur 669; total 6,815.

Earle Midyett led a field of four candidates to win nomination for a third term as direct representative from Madison County. The second General Assembly seat went to Magistrate J. Carl Davis.

Midyett led Davis by more than 1,300 votes and was top man in 25 of the county's 45 precincts. Retired businessman F. Smiley Keaton missed the runnerup spot by less than 400 votes.

Negro businessman Joe S. Merry, the first of his race to seek election to the legislature in this century, got 3,743 votes—1,851 behind Keaton—and led the field in nine precincts.

Merry's showing in some Fourth Ward boxes was a surprise to many. He received 61 votes in the fifth and sixth precincts where only two Negroes are registered. His 33 votes in the fourth precinct is three times the potential Negro vote there.

Final unofficial results in the Direct Representative race:

Midyett—county 3,236, city 4,058; total 7,294.

Davis—county 2,801, city 3,187; total 5,988.

Keaton—county 2,274, city 3,320; total 5,594.

Merry—county 1,020, city 2,723; total 3,743.

Though the vote was the lightest in any state election since 1956, counting was not completed in Madison County late Friday.

The last report—from the Fifth District—listed these results in the primary:

U. S. Senate (short term)—Bass 268, Bullard 215, Clement 284.

U. S. Senate (long term)—Galloway 88, Gore 487, McKinney 46, Vick 22.

Public Service Commission (Middle Division)—Atkins 179, Brown 38, Evans 121, Griffin 156.

Public Service Commission (Western Division)—Jordan 162, Pentecost 456.

Congress—Brooks 214, Murray 484.

State Senate—Goodrich 307, Stewart 428.

Direct Representative—Davis 434, Keaton 394, Merry 39, Midyett 431.

Floterial Representative—Barry 399, Morris 294.

Almost half of the county's eligible voters stayed away from the polls, but one Jackson-

ian demonstrated a keen sense of civic duty.

Brents Jones, 23 Laurel Lane, was confined to bed due to a recent operation. He went to Highland Park School in an ambulance and cast his vote.

THE FOLLOWING STORES HIRED NEGROES

IF YOU MUST SHOP FOR XMAS - SHOP IN THESE STORES

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT - JIMMIE WELLS, DIR.
THE CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS
*416 WEST PARK AVENUE
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA
ADAMS 6-5727

*VOTER-REIGRATION HEADQUARTERS
458 1/2 WEST BROAD STREET

BROUGHTON STREET

1. JOSEPH'S
2. BUDDY DALE
3. LEARNERS
4. KAYS DRESS SHOP
5. NAT'S MENS AND BOYS
6. LEADS CLOTHING STORE
7. DAYS CLOTHING STORE
8. HARRIS THE HUB
9. KRESS 5$ 10
10. ELEANORS
11. H.L. GREEN
12. MC-CORY'S
13. THE SHOE BAR
14. ALAN BARRY'S
15. REGAL'S
16. PUNCH AND JUDY
17. ALLIED
18. LESTER'S
20. LEVY'S
21. BUCK'S FURNITURE
22. CATHERINE'S TAILOR SHOP
23. HAROLD'S

WEST BROAD STREET

STILES DRY GOOD SHOP

HILL'S BEAUTY SUPPLY

ROBBINS

FEILDMAN'S MEN WEAR

S & G MEN SHOP

NATIONAL TAILOR

JOE LEVIN

THRIFTY $&10

YACHUM AND YACHUM

A.B.C. FURITURE

SOUTHERN AUTO

BEN SHEFFTALL

B & B LOAN CO.

PADEREWSKY THE TAILOR

MOXY'S CLOTHING STORE

THE TRAFFIC CIRCLE SHOPPING CENTER

1. NIFTY CENTER DISCOUNT

WEST SIDE SHOPPING CENTER

1. WOOLWORTH'S 5&10
2. DIANA SHOP

VICTORY DRIVE SHOPPING PLAZA

1. JOSEPH'S

EAST BROAD STREET

1. SIEGAL'S CLOTHING

MONTGOMERTY STREET

1. STOKE'S SHOE SHOP

OTHERS

WHITE'S READY TO WEAR
621 EAST 33RD STREET

Jacob T. Zuckerman

NYT 6-5-63

Recommendations will [illegible] to the Mayor-President, wh[illegible] turn will present them to the City Parish Counci, which appointed the committee.

Mr Winfree, a bluff Texan, who has lived here for more than a quarter of a century, said his group did not hope to settle the race problem in a day or a year. But he promised consideration of all matters brought before the group.

Meanwhile, there were report that a halt had been called for 30 days in attempts to hold racial demonstrations here. The Rev. Arthur C. Jelks, president of the Baton Rouge branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who has failed over the past several weeks to develop demonstrations, threatened in a registered letter to Mr. Winfree, to resume them if his demands were not met.

Mr. Jelks has boycotted the biracial commission because Mayro-President Jack Christian, who heads the city government, ignored Mr. Jelk's demands that certain Negro citizens be appointed.

The 30-member committee is c9mposed of 15 whites and 15 Negroes. Mr. Winfree was named president at an organization meeting last week, and Leon Netterville, vice president of Southern University, the nation's largest institution of higher learning for Negroes, was made vice president.

Baton Rouge Group Meets

Special to The New York Times

BATON ROUGE, June 4—The first biracial committee settling the touchy race probever organized in Louisiana tackled today methods of settling the touchy race problem in Louisiana's capital city.

The committee met in executive session this afternoon, and the chairman, Jim Winfree, a Baton Rouge oil executive, said work would begin immediately on some aspects of the problem.

Cause of Gregory Baby Death

CHICAGO, June 4 (AP)—The death of the two-month-old son of Dick Gregory was attributed b ythe coroner's office today to bronchial pneumonia. Mr. Gregory, the comedian, canceled plans to participate in demonstrations in Jackson, Miss., yesterday and returned to Chicago on receiving news that Richard Jr. had died.

WS ✓

June 7, 1963

MEMORANDUM FROM J. MINNIS
Field Trip May 28 through June 1, 1963

On the evening of May 28 I talked with Acie Belton at the office of the Second Ward Voter's League in Scotlandville, Louisiana. Belton says that one office employee of the SWVL - a woman - has been receiving $40 a week and that for this she has done office work as well as canvassing and taking applicants to the registrar's office. For her $40 a week the woman is required to register two persons per day. She receives $2 per person for any over two successful registrations per day. Belton explained that this rather high bonus per person was necessary because the woman uses her own car and pays the expenses of the car in canvassing and taking applicants to the court house.

Belton appears very much interested in getting started as quickly as possible on an expanded registration program with which he says he is confident 5000 persons can be registered in East Baton Rouge parish, before the gubernatorial primary on December 7 (registration will end November 7). He says that for the expanded program he would like to have four employees in the field, three in Baton Rouge and one in Scotlandville. These persons would be assigned areas to canvass and would be paid $35 each per week. He would have one coordinator manning the office at $35 per week and one individual with a car to be used in transporting applicants. He was not prepared to estimate the cost of the person with the car. Thus, the personnel overhead for this program would come to a little over $3500 for the period Belton has in mind.

He proposes to handle the city of Baton Rouge as well as the Second Ward. He says he plans to integrate all existing organizations into a representative campaign committee to run the campaign. Since he does not mention the use of a campaign director hired by this committee I would expect the committee, and therefore the campaign, to be dominated by Belton's influence.

According to Belton's plans the field workers would submit daily a list of individuals canvassed indicating those that are and are not registered and including addresses and telephone numbers. The field workers would themselves, where possible, arrange for prospects to receive instructions and set a date for application. Any commitments made by the field workers as to transportation would be arecorded with the office coordinator whose responsibility

1 - Field Reports - Jm

it would be to keep the person providing transportation informed of these commitments. Belton says that in the past they have hot had much difficulty keeping a record of the number of persons registered. The office receives its information on registration from field workers (in the anticipated program it would be the responsibility of the person providing transportation to report back to the coordinator on the results from each application.

Belton says it is possible to get the cooperation of registration officials in sampling the registration claims made by the field workers in order to prevent exaggerated claims.

Belton says that the general atmosphere in the registrar's office is negative rather than overtly hostile. He said he does not believe that the registration personnel are deliberately disqualifying Negroes. The registrar has ruled that those who fail the test cannot re-take it before waiting ten days.

Belton says that Ronnie Moore closed the CORE office in southwest Baton Rouge nearly a year ago and that off an on Moore has been working out of the office of the SWVL, with the latter's secretary. He said that they were, for a while, working together until he suggested to them that they could get more production if they worked separately.

Belton took me to Moore's house but Moore was not there and his wife could not get a hold of him.

When we went back to Belton's office he and I talked at some length about his appointment to a bi-racial committee to negotiate racial affairs. He says the mayor has stated on several occasions that the committee was appointed as a direct result of the fear that Baton Rouge might become another Birmingham. Belton says that the Esso Refinery, where he has worked for the past 24 years, is worse about racial discrimination than any employer he knows of in the area. He says he understands that the mayor tried to get Voorhies, Esso Refinery President, to serve on the committee but Voorhies refused.

Belton has great hopes for the committee and I asked him to let us know about the progressthat the committee makes. In specifying some of the discrimination with which he has met at the Esso Refinery Belton stated that there is an unwritten rule which prohibits whites riding in the cabs of trucks with Negroes and he says that he has not advanced materially during

his 24 years service with Esso although he trained many of the white men who now exercise supervision over him.

Belton thinks that Morrison is almost certain to be the next governor and he told me that Senator Long had endorsed Morrison, It is my understanding from other sources that this is untrue. When he mentioned Morrison, Belton spoke of him as "Ambassador."

Early on the morning of May 29 I met with Ronnie Moore in his home at 752 Flicker Street. He gave me the attached schedule of CORE's anticipated summer project and said they expected to involve some 30 people, 18 Negro and 12 white, in the project. He said that a chap named Spiver Gordon, who lives in Placquemine, Louisiana, has been working with him in Iberville parish. He said that an office has been established in Turner Chapel AME church in Greensburg, St. Helena parish. Moore said that the Plymouth Rock Baptist church in Placquemine would be used for training the summer task force. The training will take place between July 14 and 28 and then registration work will get under way in Iberville, the Felicianas, Pointe Coupee, East Baton Rouge, Tangipahoa and St. Helena parishes.

He said that Ellis Howard and Clarence Knighten who live in Greensburg ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ are both registered voters and have been leaders with whom he has worked in St. Helena parish. He says that J.K. Haynes who is with the Louisiana Education Association, Temple Building, Baton Rouge - gave him lists of people whom he might contact in the rural parishes.

Moore says that the Iberville sheriff and the district attorney for that district have been elected three times with Negroes casting the decisive margin of votes. Since they will be running for re-election in the December elections they are interested in getting Negroes registered in Iberville and he feels that significant quantitative results can be anticipated in that parish provided sufficient resources are committed there. He suggested the possibility of a separate $1500 grant for Iberville parish.

Moore seems to think that there is considerable division among the Negro leadership in East Baton Rouge parish. He was resentful that Belton and the SWVL had asked him to pay part of the office rent when he worked out of their office. He says that two CORE task force workers are working with Belton's

office during late July and all of August. He said Belton was opposed to inter-racial team and that he thought that the whites should be local. Moore had the idea that Belton was not particularly enthusiastic about the prospect of the CORE workers but he said Belton's secretary, Mrs. Williams, liked the idea very much. He said that in mid-May Belton promised to let Moore address the executive committee of the SWVL but that he, Moore, had heard no more about it since.

In January or February, Moore says he complained to the Pointe Coupee registrar about illiterates being purged when the parish changed to permanent registration. Moore told the registrar he was going to notify the Justice Department that Negro illiterates had been purged while white illiterates were simply transferred to the permanent rolls. The registrar then put 70 Negro illiterates on the rolls but he included in his monthly report to the State Board of Elections only a few of these 70 each month, because he did not want the State Board to suspect what he had done.

It is my impression that there is considerable hostility between Moore and Belton. I should say that this hostility is representative of what one might expect to find between a young militant and an older, established member of the community. Moore said that he was morally certain that Belton profited by running on the same ticket with a white candidate for the school board last year, the white candidate using this tech-nique to secure Negro votes. Moore commented disparagingly about the bi-racial committee on which Belton is serving and he mentioned that the Rev. Jelks, NAACP official, agreed with him in opposition to the committee. I am not sure it was Moore who said this to me but I think it was - the whole bi-racial negotiating committee idea was attacked on the ground that what it amounted to was arbitrary leadership rather than genuine representation of the Negro community because no one had done any sounding of the Negro community for a majority opinion about who should represent Negroes. Moore felt that these negotiations should be conducted through the established political institutions by persons who had been elected for the purpose of establishing public policy. In short, he felt that the committee idea was a means of minimizing the political mobilization of Negroes. (I know that someone expressed this opinion to me during this field trip and I am all but certain that it was Moore.) It should be noted here that when I asked Belton why the Rev. Jelks was raising such a fuss about the bi-racial committee he said that he didn't know but that he supposed it was because of some kind of personal ambition.

I did not talk to Jelks but I got the impression that personal ambition was by no means a factor in Moore's position.

I arrived at Tougaloo University at about 1:00 p.m. on May 29. I went to Galloway Hall where registration for the SNCC conference was under way and I leanred from Pete Stoner, a white Tougaloo student, that a bus carrying some 30 people from Greenwood to the conference had been stopped and impounded by the Mississippi State Police just outside of Greenwood. The question immediately arose how would the 30 people get to the conference? I went looking for Bob Moses and he drove up as I was walking across the campus. He had been in Jackson all morning testifying in federal court on the Justice Department's action seeking to enjoin prosecution of Turnbow on the Mileston arson charge and his own prosecution on the charge of interfering with investigation. I suggested that Bob call Frank Smith to see if he could get details about the bus being stopped and he did so. Frank told him that the Highway Patrol had stopped the bus alleging that the license tags were improper. The state patrol said that the bus was licensed to haul persons to work and alleged that hauling conferees to Tougaloo was a commercial operation in violation of the Mississippi licensing regulations. Smith said that the highway patrol took the bus, with all the people aboard, to a weighing station and then charged that it was 5000 lbs. overweight. The driver was, at that time, in jail on a charge of driving with improper tags and overweight and bond had been set at $100 on each charge. Both Moses and Smith felt sure that the police had stopped the bus because they thought it was hauling demonstratros to Jackson.

One of the SNCC Valiants had arrived on the campus and Bob was driving the red Chevrolet. We decided that the only thing we could do would be to go to Greenwood and carry the people down to Tougaloo by car. We had three cars, including my Volkswagon. While we were standing on the campus talking, a white man came up and introduced himself as Carlton Mabee, a professor of American History at Delta College in Bay City, Michigan. He said that he was spending the summer doing research on the nonviolent movement, that he had come from Birmingham, and he asked if it would be all right if he observed the conference. Bob said that it would be all right and asked him if he had a car. He said that he did and Bob asked him if he would be interested in helping us haul the folks down from Greenwood. He said he would be happy to and it turned out that he, too, had a Volkswagen. We set off immediately for Greenwood with the red Chevy, the green Valiant and the 2 VW's.

When we arrive d in Milestonn, the Ehevy was making a peculiar noise and Bob stopped to put some oil into it. We agreed that we would stop up the road from Mileston to look at the Turnbow's house which had been damaged in the arson attempt a couple of weeks ago. When we arrived at the Turbow house the red Chevy was making even more peculiar noises and Bob decided it would be advisable to leave it there lest some permanent damage be done. We proceeded on to Greenwood with the Valiant and the two VW's for transportation equipment. A group of about 40 perople were waiting at the SNCC office in Greenwood and there was some comment about the XXXXXfsize and type of equipment that we had available. We loaded as many people as we could into the three cars and Bob said he would remain behind and see if he couldn't round up enough cars to get the rest of the people down to Tougaloo. By the time we got to Tougaloo it was about 7:00 p.m. We registered the people whom we had brought and got rooms assigned to them and then went into the mass meeting in Jackson. ; When we got back to the campus at about 10:30 Bob still had not arrived but Guyot had and he and I made some tentative plans for getting the conference started the first thing the next morning.

We were up early the morning of May 30 and Bob said that he arrived about 1:30 with the rest of the people from Greenwood. Guyot and I discussed the plans we had made the previous evening with Bob and they appeared to be about what he had had in mind for the conference. We scheduled the first session of the conference at 9:00 a.m., to run until 12:00 p.m. and to consist of an intial lecture of an jour and a half on why Negroes should vote and then to break down into discussion groups lead by myself, Guyot, John O'Niel and Moses, to chew over the subject matter of the lecture until noon. Then in the afternoon we decided we would begin by asking a series of questions of the group and having them reply in writing. The idea of this was to structure the questions on the same basis as the lecture and the discussions in order to see if they had gotten anything out of the lecture and the discussions. We would then follow this with a discussion of the need for organizations and some general comments about organizational techniques.

Then on Friday morning we would go further into the specifics of organization a committee, setting up canvassing schedules, initiating record-keeping and reporting systems, the necessity for maintaining communications and a discussion by Guyot on the registration test and means of overcoming it in Mississippi.

I delivered the first lecture on why Negroes should vote and in a

very general way talked about the intimate association between politics and the economic and social aspirations of Negroes. I pointed out the necessity for convincing prospects that it would actually do them some good to register and vote and the consequent necessity for registration workers to have some understanding of the political system and its effect upon the every-day affairs of all citizens. Guyot had mimeographed sheets of a dozen or so items for discussion, most of which I had touched upon in the lecture and the discussion groups were provided with these sheets and they were used as a bisis for the discussions. During the afternoon session, Bob administered the questions. He began by asking each individual to write down the name of a person who was a close friend or relative, over 21 years of age, and not registered to vote. Then he asked them to write down the persons occupation, sex, marital status, age and place of residence. Next he asked them to write down why they thought the person was not a registered voter and to write down what they had learned as a result of the morning session that they thought they might be able to use in convincing the person that he should register. After all the writing was complete Bob asked for a volunteer to come forward and read what he had written. A young man from Leflore County read his answers and the gist of his remarks wa was that the person he had selected was a cotton farmer, that he wasn't registered because he was afraid to do so would arouse the hostility of whites from whom he bought used farm equipment, and at an advantageous price. The young man said that he would try to convince the farmer that he could make more money out of his farm if he would register and vote. There was then considerable discussion about what connection there might be between making more money out of a cotton farm and registering and voting. The discussion revealed that the discussants knew very little themselves about the details of the relationship between the federal government, the state government, and the county government, and cotton farming.

That evening I read over the papers that had been turned in and it was perfectly clear from them that the lecture I had given them was pitched at entirely too abstract a level. I found very little indication in the papers that they had absorbed anything I had said. Moses, Guyot and I discussed this phenomenon at some length that evening and concluded that a educational effort was called for and that general statements about the relations between politics and economics would not do the job. We concluded that it would be necessary to use specific factual examples of specific situations in order to educate such a group of workers. Moses was convinced that such a procedure would be effective in preparing the youngsters for their registration assignments and he said that

workshops for cotton farmers and for registration workers would be held in Greenwood during June. The lecture and discussions on organization and specific registration techniques appear to get across much better to the group. I left the conference with confidence that there would very shortly be functioning organizations in the several counties represented at the conference.

On May 31 the discussions on organization and registration were conducted as had been planned. During the morning session. The conference had been scheduled to end at noon on the 31st however, because of the delay in getting started we decided to extend it into the afternoon. During the afternoon, Russell Lazli and two other officers of the United Packing House Workers addressed the group and offered encouragement and promise of financial assistance.

There were some 75 persons attending the conference and I was impressed with their enthusiasm and obvious sense of commitment. Few of the conferess were Tougaloo students but by far the greater number of them were very clearly the sons and daughters of rural Delta families. This was the first the conference which SNCC has held and considering the hurried nature of its planning I felt that it was well worth the effort. I am sure that the conferees left Tougaloo with an increased understanding of the need for organized effort in the Delta and a considerably better understanding of how to go about providing such organization. Moses, Guyot and I agreed that the conference had been beneficial, too, in indidating to us what is going to be required for a successful educational effort in future such conferences, both in Mississippi in the other southern states.

JM:jl
attachs.

WBV

June 20, 1963

MEMORANDUM

RE: Birmingham Field Trip (June 17, 1963)

From: Jack Minnis

I arrived at the Jefferson County Courthouse at about 10 o'clock. Fourteen Negroes were seated around tables along the wall of the registrar's office, filling out application forms. Four Negroes were waiting in line at the door of the registrar's office. Four whites were sitting at a counter in the registrar's office filling out forms. There were accommodations for six or seven more persons. at the counter, but those accommodations were not being used. There is apparently segregation in the office of the registrar, although this segregation does not appear to be materially slowing down the registration process for Negroes. I watched applicants filling out the application forms and then taking them into an office in the rear of the registration office where they are examined by a member of the Board of Registrars.

This examination appeared to take not more than five minutes, and frequently considerably less. I stood and watched for about 30 minutes. During that time, a dozen or so Negroes had come out, having completed the registration process, the tables were still full, and there were three Negroes remaining in line. Thus, it appears that the registration office, if it was operating at a normal speed at during the time I watched it, should be able to handle somewhere around 25 or 30 Negro applicants per hour, with great ease.

The only marking on the door of the registration office is on the frosted window. While I was there, the door was open, and the legend on the frosted glass could not be read. Thus the doorway to the registration office appeared merely as an unmarked opening. I saw several Negroes who appeared to be prospective applicants come to the area way outside the registration office and look around in some confusion, and then leave. There was no one from the registration program there to show them where to go, and I suspect that this may have operated to limit slightly the number of applicants. This matter was brought up and discussed in a meeting of the program leaders which I attended the afternoon of June 17th, and arrangements were made to avoid this difficulty in the future.

I went from the county courthouse to the offices of ASCARV and talked with Mrs. Bernice Johnson. Mrs. Johnson did not appear to know much about the current registration drive in Birmingham. Since the first

1- Minnis Field Trips

of June, she has been working out in the counties in preparation for the rural drive that is to take place the first week in July. She said that her office had agreed to supply clinic facilities for the present registration drive, and it was her impression from things she had heard that many of the applicants currently going down to register were doing so with inadequate preparation. Andy Young later told me that the clinics which Mrs. Johnson office had agreed to provide had not materialized. I was unable to determine for sure what the difficulty was that prevented this coordination between SCLC's student registration program and Mrs. Johnson's clinics. However, I suspect that Mrs. Johnson's absence from the city during the time that the student program has been underway is largely responsible.

Mrs. Johnson said that she will be the coordinator of the project. Her office expects to begin on July 1st, and that Miss Nelson will be field director. Mrs. Johnson expressed considerable disatisfaction with the services of Mrs. Louphenia Thomas who was the director of the project we supported during the early part of this year for Mrs. Johnson's organization. She felt that Mrs. Thomas had done inadequate field work, and that therefore, there was insufficient contact between the field organization and the directorship of the project. She proposes to solve this problem by exercising general supervision of the project herself, and by assigning field direction duties to Miss Nelson.

Mrs. Johnson said that her upcoming four month project will concentrate on the outlying communities in Jefferson County. She specifically mentioned Ensley. She apparently had in mind the very communities in which the SCLC student program is presently working.

Mrs. Johnson was on the point of leaving her office to get back out to the rural counties when I arrived, so I did not detain her with a discussion of the rural project. She said she was preparing a full narrative report on it. (Report in Narrative 2nd yr reports. JS)

I went by Orzell Billingsley's office, but his secretary said he would be tied up in court until late in the afternoon.

I called Arthur Shores and arranged to see him in his office. Mr. Shores said that he had been tied up in court on the demonstration arrest cases almost continuously for weeks. He did not appear to know much about the SCLC student program, and he said that he did not see any reason why there should be conflicts between Mrs. Johnson's organization and the SCLC student program, which would prevent effective coordination of the two. Mr. Shores was rather uncommunicative, and

my interview with him was not very productive. I do not know whether he was simply reluctant to talk to a white stranger, or whether he was wholly preoccupied with the legal work he has been doing in connection with the demonstration arrests.

The office of the SCLC Student Registration Program is in the Smith building at the corner of 17th Street and 5th Avenue. Andy Young tells me that this was the office that was used during the demonstrations. He tells me that now the rent, utilities and telephone are being paid for by the local SCLC affiliate, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. The office telephone number is 324-5944. Andy gives this account of the way the student registration program got started:

He says that in recruiting students for demonstration purposes early in April, he, James Bevel and Dorothy Cotton met with a number of Miles College students who were interested in participating. These Miles College students spread the word among various high schools in the city that the movement had need for high school students. As a result, high school students began coming to the movement offices in the afternoon after school hours and on the weekends. These high school students were used for passing out leaflets calling student mass meetings at the various high schools in the afternoons after school. At the student mass meetings, the movement was explained and demonstrators were recruited. During April and early May when nightly mass meetings for adults were being held, Cotton, Bevel and Young usually tried to secure a location in the neighborhood of the church where the adult mass meetings were being held, so that a meeting for the students could be held simultaneously.

Young says that while a great deal of pulpit-pounding went on in the adult mass meetings, the student mass meetings, or at least some of them, were structured around instructions in voter registration, the use of the application forms, canvassing, and a showing of training films. Young says that by the weekend of May 10th, when the demonstrations ended, he, Bevel, and Cotton had recruited a nucleus of 25 or so young people who were well trained and highly motivated to conduct a registration program.

The registration office in Birmingham is open the first three days of three weeks out of each month. The first three days of the fourth week of the month, the registrars are in the Bessimer registration office. It happened that during the week starting May 20th, the registrar's were scheduled to be in the Bessimer registration office. The week beginning May 13th was used to hold instruction classes and workshops, and to recruit workers among the high school students of the Brighton

community which is close to Bessimer. The nucleus of 25 or so student leaders, which Young, Bevel and Cotton had recruited, were taken to the Brighton community each day and this week served as a period of field training for this nucleus of student leadership. Then, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the week of May 20th, a registration drive was conducted in the Brighton community which resulted in 177 persons making application for registration at the Bessimer registration office. Then, the balance of that week was used in securing the following churches in the respective communities: Ensley-First Baptist Church, 1534 19th St., telephone 788-4166 (Tommy Holt), Eureka Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church, telephone ST 6-6249 (Miss Thomas), Shiloh Baptish Church, Nassau Avenue, S. W., the Rev. Knight, Smithfield Thirgood Methodist Church, 1027 7th Avenue, North, telephone AL 2-6236 (Mary E. Streeter), North Birmingham, the Hopewell Baptist Church, telephone AL 1-5483, (Marion) or telephone FA 4-5210 (Ida), 2624th Street, North (Evelyn Carter), Powderly St. John Baptist Church (Jane Orange), Homeward Friendship Baptist Church, 2642 Central Ave. (Anthony Bassett and Eddie Harris), Goosella Heights St. James AME Church, Georgia Ave. (Robert Jones), Titusville St. Paul Lutheran Church, 128 6th Ave. South, telephone, 324-2063, (Joe Poe and Sherill Marcus), Pratt City McComb's Chapel (Harold Middlebrook), Woodlawn Mt. Olive Baptist Church, 6300 Third Ave., North (Wavelyn Holmes), Cottageville Bethel Baptist Church, 3191 29th Ave, North, telephone 322-5360, (Julia Carter), and Brighton Friendship Baptist Church and Mt. Zion Baptist Church (George Scott).

This organization program continued through the following week, and then on the first three days of the week beginning June 3rd, this student organization conducted registration drives in the various communities, and accounted for 335 applicants. Wednesday afternoon, of that week, some 75 students who had been doing this work in Birmingham were taken to Dorchester by Bevel, Young, and Cotton. They remained in Dorchester until late Saturday night. They arrived in Birmingham on Sunday morning.

Young says that while these students were in Dorchester, they worked with the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters young people under the leadership of Ben Clark. He says that the students from Birmingham, particularly on Saturday night of that week, helped in recruiting and training Savannah students for demonstrations. Before leaving Birmingham for Dorchester, they had arranged for a city-wide student mass meeting to be held Sunday, June 9th.

At this meeting, a number of the persons who had been in Dorchester

spoke, and all who attended were urged to "get with" the registration programs in their respective communities. The registration program was conducted the first three days of the week beginning with that Sunday, and 556 applicants were scored during those three days. On the Monday that I was there, the registration drives were being conducted in the various communities, and at the meeting on Monday afternoon I attended, representatives of the communities reported a total of 139 applicants for that day.

Here is how the registration programs work in the various communities. The student leaders in each community have secured the use of church facilities for office space. They arrive at the church early in the morning and have arranged for community student help to assist in canvassing. The canvassers begin about 8:30 or 9 o'clock in the morning, and the leadership has arranged for adults in the community to provide transportation to the courthouse. Some of the communities have been short on transportation and others have not. In one community, a funeral parlor has made its transportation facilities available to the students.

Persons whom the canvassers recruit are taken by the church office if they feel that they need instruction, and if they do not, they are taken directly from their homes to the county courthouse. Each canvasser is responsible for reporting back to the community office to secure transportation for all applicants recruited by that canvasser. Each canvasser undertakes to convince his applicants that when they receive a mailed notification from the registrar's office, either of rejection or acceptance, that they bring the letter to the community office.

In the meeting on Monday afternoon, one student reported that they had received at her community office, 50 of these notifications of acceptance. She said that she expected a very high percentage of applicants from that community eventually to receive acceptance notifications.

SCLC is paying the major cost of this program out of funds that were left over from the Field Foundation grant for the citizenship schools, according to Andy Young. SCLC is paying the salaries of two office secretaries, Elizabeth Hayes and Yvonne Barum - $10 per week each, In addition to these two office secretaries, one person in each of the communities listed above is paid $10 per week by SCLC and two persons in each of the areas are paid $5 per week. Young says that the total cost to SCLC of the program runs about $250 a week. Andy says that SCLC is prepared to continue this expenditure at least through August. He says that the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights is supplying the paper that is needed for mimeographing,

etc. Attached are four of the mimeographed flyers which the students passed out in attempting to stimulate interest in voter registration in their communities.

In the Ensley community, a girl of 15 named Shirley Lee has drawn by hand for posters depicting the use of police dogs and clubs during the demonstrations which will now be lettered with appropriate legends and posted in conspicuous placed throughout the community. At the meeting on Monday afternoon which I attended, these posters were shown to the group, and it was decided that Miss Lee should be taken off canvass duty and assigned to making such posters full time for other communities.

Each student leader (the $10 a week man) in his community is authorized to schedule community mass meetings at his discretion. But he must submit a program outline of the mass meeting which he proposes to hold to the office and Miss Yvonne Barum has the responsibility for recruiting speakers and other necessary personnel from among the program leaders. It is also Miss Barum's responsibility to OK the program and the students themselves have established the rule that no leader can hold a mass meeting without first receiving Miss Barum's OK on the program.

Andy Young stresses two points. First, that he and Bevel and Cotton have, from the beginning, served in an advisory capacity only, and have very largely permitted the students to find their own way in matters of organization, disclipine, etc. He says that the students need considerable herd-riding in order to curb their tendencies to move away from voter registration into direct action, particularly in Gadsden. I judge from the one meeting that I saw that this program of student responsibility is functioning rather well. The young people appeared to be serious and responsible and primarily interested in getting the job done.

The second point Andy stresses is that most of these youngsters are by no means from privileged backgrounds. He says that a great many of the young men are school drop-outs, and that several of the young women are mothers of illegitimate children. He cites these facts as evidence that this particular registration program is deeply rooted in the Negro community itself. It is by no means representative of leadership imposed from on top. The short time that I was able to observe the activities bore out Young's analysis. Young says that he tries to spend the first three days of each week in Birmingham. During the day he occupies himself driving from church to church, helping to straighten out any problems which arise. I

rode with him from about 1 o'clock until about 3 on the day that I was there, and we called upon some six churches. At each of these six churches, the activities were as they had been described to me by Young, and as the leaders described them in the meeting which I attended late Monday afternoon.

Young tells me that they are giving to Atty. Orzell Billingsley accounts of all persons who appeared to have been rejected at the registration office for unjustifiable reasons.

Young feels that it will be possible for the ASCARV registration project, which is scheduled to begin July 1st, to work with this student program only if the student leadership is handled in the way he has been handling them in the past. In other words, he thinks that it would destroy this student movement if an attempt were made to impose direction and authority upon it from the top. He feels and my observations bear this out - that the rapport which he, Bevel, and Cotton developed with these young people during the period of the demonstrations will have to be duplicated by whoever attempts to coordinate the ASCARV program.with the student program. He thinks that Mrs. Johnson very probably could, and would handle this, and it is his judgment and mine that this student organization could enhance considerably the ASCARV program, particularly since Mrs. Johnson says that she intends to concentrate on the very communities which the students are working. I suspect that it is going to take a bit of negotiating to bring about the coordination of the student program and the ASCARV program, and I would suggest that W.B. would be in a position better than anyone else to visit Birmingham shortly after July 5th and discuss this whole matter with Mrs. Johnson. There will doubtless be personality as well as various other problems in connection with such a coordination, considering the backgrounds from which the young people come, and their quite natural interest in feeling that they are running their own show. However, if the spirit which I observed in the student program can be preserved, and coordination with the ASCARV program can be affected, I think we can expect a highly successful registration program in Birmingham this summer.

(It should be mentioned here because I don't think I inserted it above)that each day when the registrar's office is open, the programs are conducted in the various communities, and then a meeting of the community leaders is held in the office in the Smith building at 4 o'clock at which reports are made, problems are discussed, and difficulties which have been encountered during the day are resolved).

JM:js

Jack Minnis

June 24, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

RE: New York Field Trip

From: Jack Minnis

I called on John Morsell Friday, June 21, 1963 at his office, 20 East 40th Street, New York City. When I phoned at about 9:30 a. m., Morsell told me I had picked a very bad time to come calling. He indicated that he was swamped with work, but he said he would be glad to have me come by for a brief visit so he could meet me.

I arrived at his office at about 10:30. I explained to Morsell that my responsibility with VEP is to gather the data that will be necessary for the book on VEP which SRC proposes to publish at the end of the project. I told him that I was able to deal with the head office of SCLC and SNCC in Atlanta, and that I had come to his office to get an idea of what kinds and amounts of information NAA was accumulating on its VEP supported programs, so we would know in the future what we could expect to find at NAA that we don't have.

He said that apart from the mimeo sheets that he sends us, NAA does not gather any information on Voter Education Project programs. He said that in January, 1963, he had written half-a-dozen or so letters to chapter people involved in VEP projects, asking them to write him about their activities. I told him I'd like very much to see the replies to these. Before he left to get the replies, he suggested I could probably find some useful data in the Memphis office of Patton, and the Richmond office of Brooks.

He also explained that he is terribly busy just now because of a great increase in the mail that comes from members all over the country. He said that during all of last year, his office had received 35,000 such letters, but that already this year, 25,000 had come in.- 3,000 within the past ten days.

I did not mention this to him, but these letters would be a very valuable data source for us. If we could, at some future time, get access to the letters coming from the southern states, we would be able to judge what has been the effect of NAACP activities in registration; we would have a fine guage of what the NAA membership is concerned enough about to write letters.

Morsell left the office, and returned shortly with an armful of letters and reports. The only thing he didn't have in this stuff was a letter from Mrs. Tyler in Biloxi from which I drew the following quote:

Ruby Tyler to John Morsell from Biloxi, Miss., 2-2-63.

"...3 out of every 5 people contacted usually has no intention of registering, and merely says so to get rid of the worker. Especially when a worker abolishes all their excuses. We have had as many as 15 people which say they would go, and when the drives comes, they're sick, or have to go to work, and maybe 5 will go. Our only combat has been to get the block worker to go with the driver and when the person sees the worker, they're usually ashamed not to go. This has worked fairly well for us. We still have a large percentage of people who feel there is no need to register. My only suggestion is, instead of an annual drive, try and keep the program before the public..."

The following memo from Patton to Morsell:

May 5, 1962 (1963) - CORE is attempting to get a foothold and organize in Memphis. They have had one of their field secretaries in there for the past 3 or 4 weeks.

I have an idea they will try a registration campaign first so I am planning to stage a six-weeks campaign beginning June 1st. So, from the VEP funds I want $1,500 for this campaign. The budget is attached. Our goal will be an additional 10,000.(registered voters).

Please note - Editorial in last week's Pittsburgh Courier.

Budget attached: (Dated June-July, 1963)

"Memphis, Tennessee Registration Campaign"

Transportation	$300.00
Director's Salary	450.00
Coutthouse workers	360.00
Telephone	100.00
Office Supplies	150.00
Prizes	65.00
Miscellaneous	75.00
	$1500.00

--in batch of stuff date stamped 5-6-63.

...and a May 1st report from Patton to Morsell on Patton's activities during April.

I asked him to send us copies of these items. It will be interesting to see whether or not he will send a copy of the memo quoted above.

I suspect he will simply hand the stack of papers to his secretary for photo copying, and forwarding, in which case, we shall have an actual copy of the memo for our files.

I regard the memo as a clear indication (if any more were needed) of the hazards of expecting cooperation between NAACP and other agencies in registration drives in Patton's territory.

June 21, 1963, at about 2 p. m., I called on Jim McCain, Field Director for CORE at his office, 38 Park Row, New York City.

I told McCain that I wanted to find out what kind of records CORE was keeping of the VEP activities. He showed me first, the VEP-2 form which he keeps in a special notebook on his desk. He had totaled up the number registered since April 1st (he said he did this after receiving my call this morning), and it came to 954 in S. C., Miami, and Louisiana. I told him I was hoping I would find that he required some kind of narrative report of his field people. He said he instituted such a requirement at the time CORE first began participating in VEP, and that he has files of these reports and other correspondence from each of the areas in which CORE has operated from the inception of VEP to the present. He showed me these files, and while I only looked over them hurriedly, I am sure they contain much data that will be invaluable for purposes of the final VEP report. McCain said he would be glad to bundle the whole thing up and send it along whenever we requested it. I asked him if he would send us copies of future such reports and correspondence, and he said he would be glad to do so. I feel, therefore, that in the future, we can expect from CORE, reporting that will be much more useful from both the operations and the research viewpoints.

McCain said that he had attended a COPE convention in S. C. during May, and that one of the COPE people he met there said he had connections with Gov. Russell of S. C., and that he would speak to him about the situation in Kingstree. He said that so far as he knew, this contact had not been made, and that certainly, if made, it had not operated to ease the resistance of the registrars in Kingstree.

He said he had talked to Frank Robinson in Sumter yesterday, and that Frank had told him that the FBI has been in Kingstree investigating this matter.

He also said that the U. S. attorney in Columbia had been quoted by a newspaper as having said of the Kingstree situation that if it was not eased, he would take action. What action, apparently, was not specified.

It is important to note here that there is a wide difference between the internal operations of the four of the "Big Five" agencies on which we have such information.

CORE and SNCC, we know, have an internal reporting system which theoretically keeps the organization leadership informed of the specific details of field activities. From my experience, I would judge that the system is much more effective in the case of CORE than it is in the case of SNCC. In my conversation with McCain, I gained the distinct impression that he reads these field reports, and is well informed about the program activities of his field staff. In my contact with SNCC leadership, I have not gotten a similar impression. I suspect that the reason for the difference lies in the fact that SNCC lacks the administrative sophistication of CORE. I have not seen in SNCC a position which corresponds in function to that occupied by McCain in CORE. Jim Forman is, apparently, trying to do the job of CORE's Farmer and McCain. I am sure the reasons for this difference in administrative structure are intricately involved with such complex factors as differing ideological orientations, differing periods of organizational experience, etc.

On the other hand, the apparent complete lack of an internal intelligence system in NAACP and SCLC which keeps an administrator informed of the specific details of field activities raises, I think, serious questions for VEP. It is rather clear that these two agencies, from their central offices, exercise a general supervision of disbursement of VEP funds. However, in the absence of a corresponding supervision of the details of field activity, it is difficult to see how it is possible for these two agencies either to coordinate their VEP activities effectively, or to supervise the expenditure of the VEP funds disbursed from the central office.

Summing up, then, I think it will be necessary for the VEP staff, in the future, to observe much more closely and in considerably greater detail, the VEP programs conducted by NAACP and SCLC. Furthermore, I think the internal administrative shortcomings of SNCC (which are involved with the ineffective use of internal intelligence rather than a lack of it altogether) place SNCC in the same category as NAACP and SCLC, with respect to increased VEP staff observation.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

STATE OF GEORGIA)(
CHATHAM COUNTY)(IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF SAVANNAH

PETITIONER

VS.

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS

DEFENDANT

GENERAL DEMURRER

NOW COMES THE DEFENDANT IN THE ABOVE ENTITLED ACTION AND DEMURS THERETO, AND FOR GROUNDS OF DEMURRER SAYS:

1. THIS DEFENDANT WAS ARRESTED ON TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 9, 1968, PURSUANT TO A WARRANT SWORN OUT BY_____ AND ISSUED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE GEORGIA CODE ANNOTATED TITLE 76, SECTION 101.

2. THAT SAID STATUE, SECTION 101, TITLE 76 GEORGIA CODE ANNOTATED IS UNCONSTITUTIONALLY VAGUE ON IT'S FACE AND VIOLATES THE DUE PROCESS CLAUSE OF THE GEORGIA CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE 1, PARAGRAPH 3.

3. THAT THE SAID WARRANT WAS UNCONSTITUTIONALLY VAGUE AND VIOLATES THE DUE PROCESS CLAUSE OF THE GEORGIA CONSTITION, ARTICLE 1, PARAGRAPH 3.

4. THAT THE SAID WARRANT VIOLATES THE RIGHT OF THE DEFENDANT TO SPEAK FREELY AND TO ASSEMBLE AND PETITION FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES IN VIOLATION OF ARTICLE 1, PARAGRAPH 15 AND ARTICLE 1, PARAGRAPH 24 O F THE GEORGIA CONSTITUTION.

5. THAT SAID 76-101 GEORGIA CODE ANNOTATED IS SO VAGUE THATT DEFENDANT IS NOT PUT ON NOTICE AS TO WHAT ACT HE HAS ILLEGEDLY COMMITTED, RENDERING IT IMPOSSIBLE TO ANSWER THE CHARGE OR MAKE A LEGAL DEFENSE, THUS DENYING THE DEFENDANT DUE PROCESS OF LAW SECURED TO HIM BY THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE COURT ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

6. THAT SAID TITLE 76, SECTION 101 IS VAGUE AS APPLIED TO THE CONDUCT OF THIS DEFENDANT IN VIOLATION OF THE DUE PROCESS CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. DEFENDANT'S CONDUCT HAS CONSISTED ONLY OF PROTESTING AND URGING OTHERS TO PROTEST RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

7. THAT THE SAID WARRANT IS VAGUE, INDEFINITE AND DOES NOT APPRISE THE DEFENDANT OF THE ACTS HE ALLEDGELY COMMITTED LEADING TO THE ISSUANCE OF THE WARRANT AND TO HIS ARREST AND THEREFORE VIOLATES THE DUE PROCESS CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

8. THAT THE ISSUANCE OF THE WARRANT AND THE ARREST VIOLATE DEFENDANT'S RIGHTS OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY AND PETITION FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES UNDER THE FIRST AND FOURTEENTH AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

9. THAT THE ISSUANCE OF THE WARRANT AND THE ARREST ARE FURTHER EFFORTS BY THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, TO MAINTAIN SEGREGATION IN THE CITY AND TO THWART THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DEFENDANT ON BEHALF OF RACIAL INTEGRATION IN VIOLATION OF DEFENDANT'S RIGHTS UNDER THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

10. THAT THE STATUTE HAS BEEN UNCONSTITUTIONALLY APPLIED TO THIS DEFENDANT IN VIOLATION OF THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

11. THAT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF ANY ACTION ON THE PART OF THE DEFENDANT WHICH IS SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY THE ISSUANCE OF A GOOD BEHAVIOR WARRANT OR HIS ARREST AND THEREFORE DEFENDANT HAS BEEN DENIED DUE PROCESS OF LAW UNDER THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

_____

ATTORNEY FOR DEFENDANT

CORE'S SUMMER VEP INSTITUTE

Schedule of Activities

Sunday, July 14, 1963

7:00 A. M. - 5 P. M. Housing and Organizing

5:00 P. M. Supper

7:00 P. M. Assembly -Freedom Songs, Chat on Louisiana, Preview of Institute Schedule, and an introductory talk on "Why Are We Here?"

Monday, July 15, 1963

7:45 - 8:45 Breakfast

9:00 - 11:30 Workshop- History of CORE
Structure and Activities of CORE

11:30 - 1:00 Lunch

1:00 - 3:00 Workshop - Philosophy of Nonviolence
Social Dramas - Reactions to Violence and Prevention of Violence

3:00 - 5:00 Recreation (T.V., radio, and games available)

5:00 Supper

7:00 Assembly

Tuesday, July 16, 1963

9:00 - 11:30 History of Negro Suffrage in Louisiana and the United States
Political Structure of Louisiana

1:00 - 3:00 Louisiana Voter Registration Procedures

7:00 Assembly

Wednesday, July 17, 1963

9:00 - 11:30 Louisiana Voter Registration Procedures

1:00 - 3:00 Jail, Police, Courts, etc. (Courtroom Drama)

7:00 (Workshop) The Role of Discipline and Group Organization
Relations with the Press

Thursday, July 18, 1963

9:00 - 11:30 Review of Louisiana Voter Registration Procedures
The Geographical, Social, Economic, and Political Aspects of the Sixth Congressional District in Louisiana

1:00 - 2:00 Living in a Rural Southern Community

2:00 - 5:00 Community Survey

7:00 Workshop - Discussion on Survey
The Role of the Federal Government and the Ballot

Friday, July 19, 1963

9:00 - 11:30 Methods of Community Organization
Essentials for Setting Up Voter Registration Schools and Coordinating Voter Registration Activities
Techniques of Stimulating Community Interests
Financial Arrangments

1:00 - 3:00 Discussion Con'd
Community Problems: Apathy, Educational Factors, and Uncle Tom Leadership

7:00 Special Workshop "Discrimination in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice"
A discussion of "It Happened in Baton Rouge"

Saturday, July 20, 1963

9:00 - 11:30 Techniques of Canvassing
Field Report Forms
Survey Forms
Canvassing Assignments for Iberville

1:00 - 5:00 Canvassing

7:00 Duscussion on Canvassing Experiences
Assignments for Talks to Churches

Sunday, July 21, 1963

9:00 - 2:00 Talks to Churches

2:00 - 3:00 Lunch

5:00 Supper

7:00 Workshop " Black Nationalism vs Interracialism "

Monday, July 22, 1963

9:00 - 11:30 Canvassing assigned area

2:00 - 4:45 Canvassing

7:00 Assembly - Reviewing canvassing survey sheets and compiling the Registrar Appointment Sheet

Tuesday, July 23, 1963 Same as above
Wednesday, July 24, 1963 " " "
Thursday, July 25, 1963 " " "! (Rally - James Farmer

Friday, July 26, 1963

9:00 - 4:00 P. M. Picnic at Clark Memorial Park
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

4:00 - 5:00 Survey of State Capital

6:00 Supper

7:00 Parish Assignments (7 groups)

Saturday, July 27, 1963

9:00 - 5:00 Private Chats with each Parish group
on the assigned parish
Setting office operations
Selecting office personel with defined roles
Transporting volunteers to their respective parishes

July 16, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Subject: Field Trip to Savannah, Georgia

My principal objective in going to Savannah at this time was to attempt to get some insight into the cleavage which divides the Negro leadership there. However, immediately upon my arrival in Savannah, I became caught up in a series of events which conspired to frustrate that purpose. There were a number of points at which it would have been possible for me to disengage myself from the drama which was being enacted in Savannah, but, since we do not have in our files at this time an eye-witness account of what transpires as such a series of events unfolds, I elected to alter the purpose of my visit to Savannah in order to provide such an account.

I arrived in Savannah at about 7:15 p. m., July 10th, and drove immediately to the Crusade for Voters headquarters on West Park Avenue. While driving in from the airport, I heard on the radio a local businessman being interviewed about Savannah's proposed industrial park. The interviewer asked the businessman at one point whether or not racial demonstrations had hurt Savannah's effort to attract industry. The businessman said that, of course, it hurt, but that he didn't think that Savannah had been hurt any more than a number of other southern cities.

When I arrived at the Crusade for Voter's headquarters, I met Ben Clark, Hosea Williams' understudy, and Carolyn Roberts, the office secretary for the Crusade. We talked for a bit about the relation between the current demonstrations and voter registration. Ben said that the series of demonstrations had been deliberately planned, from the outset, as a means of involving the Negro community in political affairs to such an extent that they could more easily be induced to attempt registration.

I am inclined to think that some of this is post hoc rationalizing; however, I feel there is some validity to it because Ben and Carolyn referred several times to the registration's success in Birmingham following the demonstrations there, and I know that Andy Young, who largely planned and executed the Birmingham registration drive, has worked very closely with the Savannah movement in recent months (he was still in Savannah not a month ago in connection with the demonstrations there).

Ben and Carolyn stated, in answer to my question that no VEP money had been spent since the demonstrations began, and that none would be spent until the present phase of the movement passes, and a concerted registration drive is embarked upon. (See also the note attached which Hosea Williams passed to me in the courtroom the following day).

They also said that a committee of persons is presently working to get people to the registrar's office. They said they did not have the figures on how many had been registered since the demonstration began - that they were being kept by the committee. They said that on the following morning, they would arrange for the committee to come by the office so we could talk with them.

There was to be a mass meeting that evening at the Club Flamingo, a night club, the premises of which have been turned over by the proprietor to the movement for this purpose. Ben said that none of the ministers would permit use of their churches for the purpose, and he seemed to feel that the ministers had been influenced in this regard by W. W. Law, local NAACP leader. He felt that this reflected, not so much a lack of militancy on Law's part, as a personal conflict between Law and Williams. I had been aware of the conflict from numerous sources, including Williams.

Ben and Carolyn said they were in need of some assistance in running the movement, and they hoped that Martin Luther King, Jr., and/or some of his assistants would show up shortly. Ben had just received a telegram from MLK, Jr., saying he was sending Andy Young and C. T. Vivian, and that he would be there himself, "...within the next few days".

Ben said that he had no one to offer as a speaker for the mass meeting that night, and asked if I would speak to the meeting. I agreed to do so.

The Club Flamingo is a large, low-ceilinged enclosure, leaning more in the nature of a dance hall than a night club. When Ben, Carolyn and I arrived, there were what appeared to be about two thousand persons at the meeting. Hundreds of cars were parked in the field adjacent to the club, and in a vacant field across the road (the club was on the outskirts of Savannah).

Bruce Gordon, SNCC, was speaking when we arrived. The substance of his message was an urgent plea for demonstrators and the assertion that

while MLK, Jr., was a good man, he could not get the Negroes' freedom for them - that this was something only they could do for themselves. At one point in his address, Gordon asserted that the first thing that Martin Luther King, Jr., would ask when he arrived was, how many persons are willing to go to jail?

Then, Atty. B. Clarence Mayfield spoke, informing the meeting that the bond for Williams had been raised to $20,000, and that persons in the community had come forward offering that amount of money. He said that at one point, $10,000 bond had actually been put up for Williams, that he had been released, and then re-arrested immediately on another "Good Behavior" warrant, and that other warrants were then filed against Williams, bringing the total bond to $20,000.

He said that the warrants charged that Hosea had been responsible for everything from "the killing of Cock Robin to the shooting of Garfield". He said that he and his colleagues were going to make the prosecution prove such allegations at the trial on the morrow, and he urged the audience to pack the courtroom for the trial.

After Mayfield spoke, Carolyn led singing for 15 or 20 minutes. I was very much surprised at the verve, vigor, and ability with which she did so. In my previous acquaintance with her, she had seemed quiet and reserved and efficient as a secretary of the Crusade office.

By this time, the audience had grown, I should judge, to three thousand or more. A call was made for donations to keep the movement going, and it was later announced that $94 had been collected.

At the time Ben asked me to speak at the meeting, I was very much aware of the possible conflict between my connection with VEP and any expressed or implied participation or endorsement of the direct-action demonstrations which were taking place in Savannah. On the other hand, I was aware of VEP's responsibility to provide advice and counsel on effective registration programs for participating agencies. Since one of the problems which the Savannah program, as well as many others have encountered, is the overcoming of the obstacle of lack of confidence in the utility of political participation - I had for some time felt that there was a need to demonstrate the relationship between mass political action, which seems to find ready support in many Negro communities, and the more prosaic type of political action involved in registering and voting. It seemed to me that here was an opportune time to lay a foundation in Savannah for the registration program which the Southeastern Georgia

Crusade for Voters intended to conduct immediately following the termination of the mass-action program. Furthermore, I felt that it would be possible to demonstrate such a relationship to the audience that night without in any way expressing or implying particpation in or endorsement of the mass demonstrations by VEP. With these considerations in mind, I had agreed to speak.

I opened my remarks by pointing out that my personal and organizational concern lay wholly in the field of voter registration. I stated that I was not in a position either to endorse or to condemn mass-action demonstrations. I said, however, that any qualified observer of public affairs in the United States during the past 90 days must conclude that mass political action in the form of demonstrations had been responsible for getting civil rights legislation before the U. S. Congress, and that very likely had it not been for the mass demonstrations, the civil rights legislation would not now be before the Congress. I pointed out the simple fact that, therefore, mass demonstrations had proven to be an effective form of political action during the recent past. Then I suggested that however effective mass political action may be in getting a political system working as it were, it is difficult to envisage a society which is able to resolve all of the great complexity of its problems through the medium of street demonstrations. I suggested that however effective mass demonstrations may be in the attaining of short-term and immediate objectives, such a form of political action could not be expected, over the long run, to build the kind of society in which I felt sure everyone there wanted to live. I further suggested that whatever gains might be made through the medium of street demonstrations, could only be consolidated and insured for the future if the demonstrators were willing to continue to be involved in and to participate in political affairs after the demonstrations terminated. I pointed out that such future involvement and participation could be effected through registering and voting, and that little in the way of permanent advance could be expected unless those who were now demonstrating were also willing in the future to take the time and trouble to register and vote.

When I finished speaking, Ben Clark again took the floor, made some announcements, and then Carolyn again led singing for 15 or 20 minutes. When the singing was finished, Bruce Gordon, who earlier had urged everyone to participate in a march on the county jail where Williams was a prisoner, instructed those who wanted to march to move outside and form up in a column of twos. He suggested that all who did not care to march should participate in some way by driving slowly along the line of marchers and thus creating a traffic slow-down, or by offering shelter to demonstrators who might be chased by police, et cetera.

Mrs. Williams told me that Hosea had expressed some concern for the safety of her and the children, and had instructed her to stay with the Mayfields until he was released from jail.

After the meeting, Ben and I drove along the line of march. The marchers must have numbered about 2,000. The line was about four blocks long, three abreast, and was composed of both old and young people, with the latter in preponderance. The age range appeared to be, literally, from about 9 to 90.

We drove to a point in advance of the march and stopped to watch it pass. While Ben and I were standing watching the line of marchers, two youngsters about 19 or 20 dropped out of the line, asked Ben when they could register and where, and upon receiving the information, rejoined the line of marchers.

When the line had passed, Ben and I drove down to the Chatham County jail, the focal point for the demonstration.

Twenty-five or so uniformed police were gathered in a large, asphalt-surfaced open space between the buildings housing the city and the county jails.

As the marchers began to arrive, and those who had driven rather than march swelled the crowd - the street filled up. Ben and I were standing on the curb of the street, and the small group of young people gathered around us. As it turned out, these were Ben's couriers.

As the main body of marchers arrived on the street, just one block to our right, a large crowd developed there. We could see two paddy wagons there with their red lights operating. Ben asked a young lady to go see what was happening. She returned in a minute or so to report that some of the marchers had lay down in the street to block traffic. The police had picked them up and put them in the paddy wagons, and then other marchers had thrown themselves under the wheels of the wagons, preventing the wagons from moving.

Ben instructed a young man to find, up at the corner, a certain march captain and tell him to lead the main body of marchers down into the street where we were. Within three or four minutes, the marchers began to move toward us. Very shortly, the entire street, from the building line behind us, to the center line of the street, was a mass of packed bodies for the entire length of the block. The police across the street did not appear to be doing anything but watching the

proceedings. By this time, a riot squad of about a dozen officers formed ranks in the center of the open space. They were armed with what appeared to be automatic rifles and each had several tear gas bombs at his belt.

Bruce Gordon, several of the march captains (whose job it was to supervise the march and keep it orderly) and others were out in front of the crowd. They were instructing all those who wanted to be arrested to sit down in the street, and others to move back as far as possible. Most of the crowd who were actually in the street promptly seated themselves. Still, there was no move on the part of the police. Then, Gordon and the captains instructed all those who wanted to be arrested to form up in a line of twos so they could march into the jail in an orderly fashion. Those who had been sitting promptly rose and did so. There must have been a thousand or more of them. At this point, a couple of plain clothes persons, who were apparently associated with the police, and a couple of uniformed officers, came out into the street and spoke for a few minutes to Gordon. Ben asked a courier to go out and see what was being said, but the young man was unable to get through the crowd.

Another young man ran up to inform Ben that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. Ben decided it would be best if he found a less prominent place and told me he would meet me at the car.

I moved across the street to the unoccupied side, the better to see what was going on. Whatever the police had said to Gordon and the captains, it produced a change in plans. Those who wanted to be arrested were asked to form a rank headed the other way. Then, they began a march toward the street corner where the two paddy wagons had immobilized by the prostrate bodies of the marchers.

I moved up the block as they did.

An hour or so before, when we had first arrived, the street which intercepted Habersham Street (where the demonstration had thus far been centered) had been clear. Now it was filled with police cars and the fire-bumper truck. Several firemen were gathered on the esplanade (the intersecting street is a boulevard), along with a considerable number of police, both white and Negro. The four corners of the intersecting streets were filled with prostrate marchers, so that the intersection was completely blocked traffic.

The two immobolized paddy wagons were in the intersection at the south side, heading in opposite directions, with their fronts to each other.

While I was enroute to the intersection, I heard a tear gas bomb explode, and passed people going in the opposite direction with handkerchiefs held to their faces. The gas did not appear to be heavy, so I proceeded on. I could smell it, but it was not heavy enough to cause discomfort. Just as I arrived at the corner, I saw the paddy wagon that was facing west lurch forward, and I saw marchers throwing themselves in front of it. It stopped almost immediately. Apparently, a tear gas bomb had momentarily dispersed the prostrate marchers who had been immobilizing it. After this, neither wagon made any attempt to move.

Those who had volunteered to be arrested dispersed in the general area of the intersection, some prostrating themselves with those who were already packed around the paddy wagons, others doing the same thing at the four parts of the intersection which were not otherwise blocked, and still others joining the already large milling throng.

The persons who had been taken into custody earlier were still in the paddy wagons, and from time to time, they stamped their feet and beat upon the floor and sides of the wagon in time with the songs that were periodically being sung by elements of the throng.

There seemed to be considerable indecision both on the part of the demonstrators and of the police about just what should come next. For an hour or more, the throng continued to mill, and the police did no more than stand around watching. The police made no serious attempt to remove the prostrate persons blocking the paddy wagons. Now and then a couple of officers would drag a prostrate person away from one of the wagons, but immediately his place would be taken by two or three others.

The police were clearly frustrated at the defiance of the demonstrators, but they didn't do anything about it. Several times, I thought police were going to start using the billies, with which they were armed, but each time they stopped short of actually hitting anyone. As time passed, and the situation remained amorphous, the tension of both police and demonstrators grew considerably. The slightest suggestion of a positive move by either party produced a reaction from the other party.

It seemed certain that eventually a policeman would lose his control and use his club. If this had happened, I have no doubt, he and his fellows would have been mobbed. As it happened, the tension finally produced its own relief.

A group of fireman had brought the nozzle to their hose and all police were directed to get out of the line of fire. When the demonstrators

saw what was up, they began daring the firemen to turn on the water. The hose was, at this point, aimed in the general direction of the wagons. On orders from the police captain, the fireman altered the aim of the hose away from the wagon. This appeared to be an attempt to draw the defiant demonstrators away from the wagons. A large number of them did move over and place themselves in front of the hose, but those blocking movement of the wagons held their places.

At this point, the prisoners in one of the wagons set up a particularly insistent stamping on the rear door of the wagon. This attracted the attention of a number of the demonstrators, and they moved over to surround the wagon and began rocking it. The persistent kicking on the rear door had broken the padlock on the door, and it was hanging loose in hasp. The demonstrators promptly opened the door to release the prisoners. A group of police rushed in and drove the demonstrators back by pushing and manhandling them. I did not see, at this time, nor, indeed, at any time during the course of the evening, any use of force by the police which I regarded as excessive under the circumstances. I saw no clubbing, no kicking, no slugging on the part of the police. This is not to say that such did not occur - but only to say that I did not see it occur. In these circumstances, I think it would have been distinctly imprudent for the police to have used this kind of force. I had the impression that some of the demonstrators would have insisted on quid pro quo.

After the paddy wagon door had been resecured, the police withdrew from the immediate area, and began to lob tear gas bombs into the crowd. I saw three separate instances in which the shells skidded into a mass of prostrate bodies before exploding. I do not know how much concussion was involved in these explosions, but the persons affected did not appear to have been harmed, beyond the effect of the gas itself.

At this point, the tear gas bombs skidded, from I know not where, stopped between my two feet and enveloped me in a cloud of gas. Blinded, I managed to make my way out of the center of the disturbance, and when I could see again, to the car parked a block or so away. Ben was nowhere around, and I waited for 30 minutes or so, and then, supposing he had taken cover against arrest, I drove about the area looking things over. I saw groups of the dispersed Negroes throughout the general area of the demonstration, but, other than shouting defiance at the police, I saw no untoward act on their part.

I went to my room and slept. It was 2 a. m. I arrived at the Crusade for Voters office on West Park Avenue at about 11:30 on July 11th.

Two white SNCC people were there, along with Judson Carter, a Negro.

The two whites acted as though I were an enemy until Carter told them who I was. Right away, then, they took me into another room, closed the door, and began to analize the whole situation for me. I had seen both of them at the meeting the previous night and intermittently during the demonstration.

They both seemed to me to be somewhat immature to be involved in anything more than functional duties. They seemed very much impressed by the drama of the events which were occuring, and by their role in those events. Their attitude toward the rank and file Negroes was abrupt, amost imperious. The two whites were concerned with the demands which they would express to city officials whom they expected to call anytime. They did not appear to be very well grounded in what the original demands had been at the outset of the demonstrations, and I got the impression that their ideas of what the demands should be were coming right off the top of their heads with really very little consideration either of the desirability or practicability of the demands they were outlining.

Before long, Carolyn Roberts showed up, and we went into the main office of the Crusade for Voters, the windows of which face on West Park Avenue. Carolyn was just setting about to get in touch with the voter registration committee when we heard some singing of freedom songs on the street outside. We looked out the window and saw a group of about 15 or 20 youngsters marching two abreast down West Park Avenue singing, "We Shall Overcome". Almost immediately, the street filled with at least a half-a-dozen police cars, and a paddy wagon, and the marchers were stopped by police. We could not hear what the police officer said to the marchers, but we saw them in conversation with a police officer, and very shortly, they seated themselves, and the police proceeded to carry and drag them into the patrol wagon and haul them away. Members of the riot squad, decked out with tear gas bombs and automatic rifles stationed themselves on the four corners of the intersection of West Park Avenue, and West Broad Street - and other members of the riot squad, similarly equipped, began strolling through the Negro residential areas around the office. We could see all of this from the windows of the office building.

Carolyn and the two whites had previously told me that Ben Clark was still in hiding, I understood, at Atty. Mayfield's residence. Clark understood that the police had a warrant out for his arrest, and he wanted, at all costs, to avoid arrest until someone arrived who could take over leadership of the movement.

Carolyn and the two whites and Judson Carter began to express considerable anxiety about the possibility of the police raiding the offices and arresting them, and taking the records they had of persons willing to put up bond, and impounding the $94 which had been collected at the meeting the previous night. They decided it would be expedient for them to attempt to make their escape through a rear door of the building, which gave on to West Broad Street, about half-a-block from the intersection with West Park Avenue. Carolyn put the money and the list of names into her purse and asked me to take it to Atty. Mayfield's office. Then, they left by the rear door. I went out the front door of the building and got into the car and drove away. The police made no attempt to stop me. At this point, so far as I know, the Crusade for Voters office was emptied of people. I took Carolyn's purse by the attorney's office and left it there with Carolyn, who had arrived in the anteroom.

I left Mayfield's office and went downtown to the Chatham County Courthouse, as the time for the Williams' hearing on the "Good Behavior" warrants was approaching. I had time to watch for 30 minutes or so, the registrar's office. At one point, I stepped up to the registration window and asked Mrs. Winn how many registered voters there are in Chatham County, and she told me that the last time they had totaled the registration was April 23rd, and at that time, there were 55,488 registered voters. During the time that I stood and watched, some 30 minutes or so, five Negroes came up and registered. I did not see anything to complain of in the way the Negroes were served while they were registering.

At 3:30, Judge Melling entered the courtroom and ordered all visual and audio equipment removed and said, "There's not going to be any demonstration here. I want that understood".

This was a hearing to determine whether Hosea Williams should be placed under a "Good Behavior" bond, according to the provisions of Section 76101 of the Georgia code. The hearing involved five "Good Behavior" warrants which had been issued by Judge Melling on the complaint of these five persons: William Canterbury, David Frawley; Ernest S. Hurst; Inell Lubeck; and Homer Williamson. Prosecution and defense agreed to try all five of the cases together. Atty. Mayfield filed a general demurrer to the prosecution, a copy of which is attached to this report. The first witness called by the state, who was not one of the complainants, testified that he recognized Hosea Williams to be the leader of the demonstrations. When questioned as to the basis of his recognition of Hosea as leader, the witness stated that he concluded that Hosea was the leader after having seen Hosea's telecast on July 3rd. Atty.

Mayfield objected to the introduction of such evidence on the ground that the best evidence of the July 3rd telecast content was the telecast itself, and urging that the witness' testimony as to that content was hearsay. Judge Melling over-ruled this objection. At this point, one of the court functionaries came in and whispered to the judge,and the judge announced that a phone call had just been received stating that a bomb had been planted in the courthouse, and announcing that anyone who cared to leave could do so. No one left. The state's case, in addition to the testimony of the first witness was based upon the testimony of the five complainants. Three of these complainants testified that they had heard the July 3rd telecast, and that it was on the basis of this telecast that they had decided to file infamations against Hosea Williams as leader of the demonstrations. One of the other defendants said that he had read in the newspaper that Hosea Williams was the leader of the demonstrations, and the fifth witness testified that he had heard the demonstrators chanting, "Hosea is our leader", and had thereby identified Hosea as the person responsible for the demonstrations. None of the witnesses under cross-examination were able to say that they had ever seen Hosea leading a demonstration, though a couple of them testified that they had seen and heard him addressing mass rallys in public places around Savannah during the period in which demonstrations were occuring. At one point, Mayfield attempted, in his cross-examination, to explore the circumstances leading up to the filing of the "Good Behavior" warrants, but the prosecution objected to such a line of questioning on the argument that it was irrelevant and Judge Melling sustained the prosecution's objection. The state rested its case after the five complainants had been heard from, and then Mayfield put Williams on the stand. Williams made a statement assisted by Mayfield. He was briefly cross-examined by the prosecution, and then both sides provided brief summations. The judge ruled almost immediately that there was sufficient ground to hold Hosea on the five "Good Behavior" warrants in the amount of $2500 each until the matter could be heard by Superior Court. At this point, Mayfield cited a case in which the Georgia Supreme Court had ruled that under Section 76101 of the Georgia Code, a municipal court did not have authority to commit a defendent to jail. Judge Melling dismissed this argument with a wave of his hand as he was leaving the bench with the statement, "I have ruled".

I went from the courtroom to the airport in order to catch a plane back to Atlanta. Just before I left, Andy Young of SCLC arrived, and we had a brief conversation at the airport. Andy said that he had come to undertake to assist in leading the movement there in Savannah. He said that he would make some attempt to heal the breach which has developed in the community leadership in Savannah, and he would attempt to get some of the ministers involved in the movement.

The thing that impressed me most about the dynamics of the demonstration I witnessed on the night of July 10th, was the fact that after Ben Clark had retired from directing the demonstration early in the evening, there appeared to be no one actually to take charge, and to give the demonstration focus and purpose. At the same time, there appeared to be considerable confusion and indecision on the part of the police as to just what should be done in the face of this huge mass of demonstrators. Up to the point where the tear gas was used, I felt that the Savannah police had conducted themselves creditably. They had patroled the entire line of march from the Club Flamingo to the Chatham County jail - had directed traffic for street crossings in the line of march, and had done nothing which I observed, to hinder or harass in any way the marchers, or the demonstration. After Ben went in hiding, confusion seemed to develop among the demonstrators and their subordinate leaders, and as time passed, tension mounted. I had the feeling that had the police refrained from all such provocative actions as putting the demonstrators into the paddy wagons and in general, making such threatening gestures as brining up the fire hose, that the demonstrators probably would have dispersed peaceably. One of the most striking aspects of the entire evening was the fact that the police appeared really not to know what to do, but, on the other hand, to be convinced that they must do something. It struck me that this attitude on the part of the police dictated that they provide some kind of barrier against the demonstrations, and this, of course, in turn, insured that the demonstrators would be provoked. At several points during the evening, I was reminded of nothing so much as two small boys, each with a chip on his shoulder, and each waiting for the other to do something which would suggest a fight. In such a situation, it was inevitable that one of the parties would initiate action.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Attachments: (2)
Note from Hosea Williams to Jack Minnis
Demurrer

Horace handed this to me during his trial
Pulaski Municipal Court, Somerset, July 11, 1963

I am sorry about my reports. I have them ready to mail. Will you please pick them up. They are in my brown briefcase. I can assure you that I have not use one ~~pen~~ cent of the VEP money in this direction program. I beg you to check. The only law I broke was late reporting. We still have something like $600.00 on deposit.

I have done V.E.P. all along + have had good results in propotion to the amount of money spent.

I have had two district meetings (10 counties) within the last Mo. (two wks. apart). I will have another district meeting this coming Saturday.

~~I believe +~~

~~EG~~

I believe our ~~direction~~ direction program will be over within the next three days. ~~The public is at a point~~ I am sure I can register atleast 500 a wk., if I can get the money.

Now, is Wiley has the jumps about me useing VEP funds in my direction progam I prefer you get the records + the bal. of the money from Corner Bank for Mr. Wiley

es American Press

Partly Cloudy

Partly cloudy and hot through Wednesday. Widely scattered thundershowers this afternoon and Wednesday. Low tonight 76. High Wednesday 92.

LAKE CHARLES, LA., TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1963 28 PAGES NUMBER 25,426

School Integration Suits Here Planned by NAACP

Legal Work Now Being Prepared In New Orleans

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is now in the process of preparing suits for school desegregation in Lake Charles and Calcasieu parish schools.

This announcement was made by Lawrence Conley, president of the local NAACP chapter.

Conley said the desegregation suit is being prepared by NAACP attorneys in New Orleans and will be filed as soon as they are completed.

Conley said his organization had hoped that desegregation could have been effected by September, but indicated that this may now be delayed pending completion of preparation of briefs.

In announcing the preparation of the desegregation suits, Conley denied he earlier told a local television newscaster that Negroes resented "outsiders" coming into Lake Charles and conducting a voter registration conference.

Conley said he admitted to the newscaster that most of the people involved in conducting the conference were people from the North Louisiana area, but admitted that he (Conley) did not personally attend the conference.

The local NAACP leader said he could not attend the Saturday sessions of the conference due to conflicting work schedules. He said that he tried to attend the program Sunday afternoon following church services, but that the conference was then closed.

Conley is employed as a postman with the local U. S. post office. The voter registration conference, sponsored locally by the Independent Democratic Association, was held Saturday and Sunday at the Immaculate Heart of Mary Catholic church under the direction of Major Jones, an officer of the North Louisiana Crusade for Voters.

Others taking part in the conference included officers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress on Racial Equality.

VOTER REGISTRATION CONFERENCE

AUGUST 10th and 11th

in

LAKE CHARLES , LOUISIANA

SPONSORED BY THE

UNITED CRUSADE FOR VOTERS OF NORTH LOUISIANA

LOCAL HOSTS: INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION and LADIES AND KNIGHTS OF ST. PETER CLAVER COUNCIL NO. 141

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1963

10:30 A. M. - Opening Session

10:50 - 12:50 - Group Discussions:

Group No. 1 "Problems of Voter Registration in the State of Louisiana"

Group No. 2 - "Techniques and Methods of Voter Registration" - Ronnie Moore; La., Field Sec'ty for CORE

Group No. 3 - "Organizing a Voter Registration Drive" - Mrs. Septima Clark, of S. C. L. C'S Citizenship School

12:50 - 1:55 - LUNCH

2:00 P. M. - Re-assemble

2:05 - 3:00 - Frank Dunback of; U. S. Justice Department

3:00 - 4:30 P. M.:

Group No. 1 - "Organizing a Voter Registration Drive" - Mrs. Septima Clark, of S. C. L. C.'S Citizenship School

Group No. 2 - "Problems of Voter Registration in the State of Louisiana"

Group No. 3 - "Techniques and Methods of Voter Registration" - Ronnie Moore, La. Field Sec'ty for CORE

4:30 - 6:30 P. M. --Lunch and Free Period

6:30 - 7:30 P. M. - Meeting of the Resolutions Committee

P R O G R A M

7:30 - 9:00 - General Assembly -
Address by Rev. Andrew Young,
National Director of Voter
Registration for the Southern
Christian Leadership Conference

9:00 - 10:00 - Fireside Chat: Rev. Andrew Young

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1963

7:00 - 10:30 A. M. - Church Services

10:35 - Opening With Meditation

10:50 - The Voter Education Project
Representive from VEP'S Office from
Atlanta Georgia
(Financing Voter Registration -All Groups)

12:35 - LUNCH

1:30 - Re-assemble

1:35 -- Future of Voter Registration In
Louisiana

All Civil Rights Groups - VEP Re-
presentive Discussion

2:40 -- Leader (Prospectus For Future Drive)

2:45 - The Role of Civil Rights Groups in Voter
Registration - In Louisiana - CORE,
NAACP and SCLC

4:00 - Plans For Reaching Each Parish in a
United Drive

5:30 - Remarks and end of Conference

Attach to Original of Lake Charles report

PROPOSED LOUISIANA STATE VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

I. Forming a state-wide registration committee
   A. To map strategy for voter registration drive
   B. To coordinate state-wide activities.

II. Establishment of a voter registration school
   A. To give six weeks of intensive training in voter registration techniques and methods, community organization, community sociology, psychology of dealing with people, political structure of Louisiana government, Negro leadership and Louisiana politics, and techniques of research.
   B. To direct a research program in an effort to learn what psychology must be used in order to get Negroes who are not interested to become registered voters.
   C. To train a task force of one hundred (100) workers to participate in a state-wide drive.
   D. To train administrative personnel in the voter education project for Louisiana.

III. Voter-Registration Program -- Goal: 100,000 new registrations.
   A. Divide into 4 regions each containing 16 parishes.
      1. Appoint a regional director for each of four regions.
      2. Hold a series of citizenship and voter registration clinics in each region.
         a. Voter registration activities
         b. Citizenship training
         c. "Get out the vote" technique
         d. Primary election
   B. Appoint a state coordinator
   C. Voter Education Project
      1. Select parishes according to formula of VEP.
      2. Cooperation with coordinated regional programs.
         a. Direct grants to regions.
         b. Organizational participation grants.
   D. Administration
      1. State coordinator
      2. Office secretary
      3. Field secretary
      4. Office Maintenance

IV. Procedure: Contact Parishes on Clinic Program
   A. Explain the program; send blanks for participation.
   B. Secure proposed budget.
   D. Determine type of cooperation and assistance for each region.

V. Type of cooperation and assistance
   A. Direct supervision
   B. Coordinated programs with organizational participation grants from VEP, SCLC, CORE, NAACP and ~~EL.~~ others

PROPOSED BUDGET

I. Voter Registration Training School	$35,000.00
II. Voter Registration Program	
1. State Director's Salary and Travel	10,000.00
2. State Office Secretary and Travel	3,000.00
3. Executive Assistant's Salary and Travel	6,000.00
4. Regional Field Secretaries' Salary and Expense $4400 each	17,600.00
5. Office Maintenance for Central Office and four Regional Offices - Four regionals, $875 each; Central, $2,000.	5,500.00
6. Office Secretaries for Regional Offices Four at $2,700.00.	10,800.00
7. Field Equipment and Maintenance for 64 Parishes	10,000.00
III. To finance a field task force (inclusive in field equipment and maintenance - budget $5,000.00) plus an additional sum for six months at $25.00 per week.	55,000.00
	$152,900.00

Crash Program For Louisiana

For Ten Weeks

Organizational Structure

I Main Office - 306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

II 20 workers excluding staff persons from CORE and SCLC

III Area Divisions of 16 Parishes

Lincoln
1. Iberville
2. West Baton Rouge
3. St. Martin
4. Pointe Coupee

Lincoln
Iberia

1. Rapides Alexandria Daniel Harrell
Calcasieu 2. ~~Evangeline~~ Ville Platte x
3. St. Landry Opelousas
4. Avoyelles Marksville

Contact Walter Reuther about cars

1. East Feliciana
2. West Feliciana
3. St. Helena
4. ~~Livingston~~
Iberia

1. Ascension Lavert Taylor
2. Assumption
3. Acadia 82%
4. LaFayette

Budget For Ten Weeks

1. 20 workers to be paid by SCLC and CORE respectively

2. Office Maintenance

1. Rent $20.00 a month
2. Telephone Bill - ½ paid by SCLC and CORE
3. Office Materials - $50.00 per month
4. Office Manager on an alternating bases
5. Automobiles - 10 - 12
   A. Gasoline Bill - B. Car Repairs

Method

Each participating group will secure cars in equal numbers to make up the number needed and will keep up automobiles with gasoline, oil, repairs, etc., respectively.

Independents Dems

Shreveport - 4
Plaquemine - Harleaux
N.O. - Daniels
Young SCLC

Group Discussion

Jabos wants discussion of problems of reg in Ga
1) registrar reluctance to register
2) other officials who don't want reg.

Number one problem is getting us down to registrars office
D. Harrell from Shreveport - Churches can motivate a lot of people
there influence pastor has on congregation
only wonders of this is really true - seg gets
Preachers from trouble getting together + wants to know
what they've done.
Harrell Shreveporter says Cooperation of Preachers in
S. has gotten more people to clinics
another Shreve says Preachers now are building -
Harleaux says Preachers have mixed emotions -
his experience is that most church members registered
when eligible.
J.C. man says gets door-to-door canvass
by reg. voters.
Lady from Shreve says they tried it - but cooperation
lacked on part of people
Harleaux says 1st Canvass less than 50 said they
weren't reg - 2ND Canvass said 75 weren't reg. - keep in
Mind this something new to Women + they frightened.
A. Young says people scared + don't know what
registering + voting about.
L.C. man says Many afraid to lose jobs.
Harleaux agrees.
Daniels says N's afraid in N.O. - Deputies loud-talk -
Sullivan says no problem in Calhoun - says only
thing in Cal. is getting negro to go - says education is
politics needed.

Harleaux says Negro Candidate.
Guillary says they did have a N's for an council election - but leaders divided & working against one another.
Says Sen. Johnson strong need for unity.
Also says nobody polled candidates to see they keep their promises. This is needed to say.
House to house will work particularly on Young people who are newly married & never thought to register.

Mrs. Beulah Williams
312 P. ORRINS
L.C.

L.C. Today - says got plenty registered when they were re-electing Mr. Reid. But then lost interest after election. - Need to vote as a bloc. Says haven't had any trouble in registering in L.C.

Daniels - says not enough Negroes reg. on state level - have to get entire community involved - problem has been getting Preachers really getting involved. Ministers binds big sermon. Negroes sold down river by own leaders -

L.C. Moore says can't register because he can't read or write but he has gotten 3 married couples.

Bondy says leaders determined by how many they can lead - found old ladies who were problem - slaves who could influence - found real leaders.

L.C. Today says Coor. Coun. set up committees to Canvass house to house supposed to have been supported by Ministers. Says best job is being done by Young people - says they will really work.

One technique she used - lots of Children play at playground just was water - she told kids to ask parents if they registered to vote cause they could get better recreation if parents reg. Don't get many complaints about mis-treatment at reg. office. She thought many Ministers learned from Sum at Conference.

John says young people in L.C. complain that "leaders" take over everything and then put the damper on the Movement.

Coordinating Council for L.C.
Look set up Committee

Only suggests that young people, unemployed have least to use & most to gain.

Daniel says we fear that those who ~~go~~ go to registrars office frequently dispel fear by familiarity.

Mayor Johns suggested to kids in Shenepart that when they go back to school they refuse to be taught by unregistered teachers. If teachers not registered they could set-in at White-hall.

Afternoon Session Saturday

Discuss organizing registration drive 10 persons present besides Cody, Daniels, Jean, Myself & Johns — Harlemans & Jackson present.

Now is the

Robinson L.C. - says you need a good leader who has time and interested in success and also have programs from time to time with dynamic speakers.

Daniels says to select what ward to start in. Then pick a precinct in that ward (perhaps) to start in.

If you going to canvass you must have block Captain reporting to area Captain.

N.O. Concentrating on 7th ward - but also getting large projects all over City - get one Captain in charge of each Bldg. with workers under him and reporting to a project Captain.

L.C. Fody - Cand. assoc. & Youth Chapter of NAA organized & Mapped out and Zoned City and selected Captains for each Zone.

Robinson says this plan has not worked well because volunteers have not fulfilled pledges.

Fody says there are 2 phone numbers to be called for Transport.

Robinson says registration worker must be salesman - getting folk to register is a selling job.

Cure, Scle, Coor. Comm. + VEP
NSA not rep.
Caddo
Webster
Bienville
Claiborne
De Soto

State-wide drive to provide unity + sense of moving together - overcome purge systematically - provide specialized planning and information center

Training School - 100 persons paid $30.00 per week during training

Andy suggests that maybe each organization could provide the workers and ~~the~~ VEP take care of the training program.

Sullary - NAA Officer + Dud. Leno Assn
Washington + Mayo Coordinating Council
Robinson NAA + Dud. Dem. Assn

There is much work that is found to be corrupt.

WB

August 20, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Subj: A Conference Held by the United Crusade for Voters in Lake Charles, Louisiana, on August 10 and 11.

This meeting, to which VEP had been invited to send a representative by Major Johns, was sponsored by the United Crusade for Voters. The UCV is a newly formed affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Major Johns is a SCLC staff man, and two of the other Shreveport people who attended the meeting with John - Lavert Taylor and Daniel Harrell, are also on the SCLC staff payroll.

The meeting was held in facilities provided by the Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after discussions began on August 10, it developed that there is a serious cleavage within the Lake Charles Negro community. It struck me that selection of the Catholic facilities might have been considered provocative by the Protestant leaders of the Negro community. I asked Major Johns how he came to select these facilities, and he said that Protestant leaders with whom he had been in contact in setting up the conference had at first agreed to cooperate with him, but then had changed their minds on the theory that no outsiders were needed in Lake Charles, and had effectively blocked t he use of Protestant or neutral facilities for the conference.

Though the conference had been billed by the United Crusade for Voters as a state-wide affair, representation was by no means state-wide. There were five persons from Shreveport, including Major Johns and his two subordinates, W. W. Harlow, and a Mr. Johnson from Parkermon, Louisiana; I. S. Daniels from New Orleans, and an assortment of persons from Lake Charles, which appeared to include some secondary NAACP leadership, but no representatives to either of the Protestant segment of the community, or of the community youth.

One factor which seems to have contributed to the diminished representation at this conference was a simultaneous conference held by the Louisiana Advancement Society in Baton Rouge. The latter appears to have been considerably better financed than was the UCV conference in Lake Charles. The Baton Rouge conference will be discussed in the Baton Rouge section of this report.

There were, in all, about thirty persons in attendance at the first

session of the conference on the morning of August 10. Although a rather elaborate agenda had been worked out for the conference by Major Johns (see program attached), the rather restricted nature of the attendance at the conference made implementation of the agenda impracticable. Thus, the conference developed into four discussion sessions on Saturday morning, Saturday afternoon, Saturday evening and Sunday morning.

The first discussion session was chaired rather skillfully by Major Johns. It revolved around the problems encountered by those present in attempting to get Negroes registered in their various areas of Louisiana. The problems discussed were the familiar ones of lack of understanding on the part of Negroes of the role voter registration can play in the finding of solutions to the problems they face, the fear of economic and physical reprisals from whites, self-destructive conflicts and divisions among the community leadership, excessive cooperation, either through venality or lack of understanding, between Negro "leaders" and politically and economically prominent whites, and the lack of the skills of literacy and political manipulation on the part of a large proportion of the Negro community. One aspect of this problem is the efficiency with which large numbers of Negroes are disenfranchised by the testing and literacy requirements of Louisiana registration. It is important to remember there are two logical approaches to this problem - preparing persons to meet the state's requirements, and/or altering the state's requirements to meet the needs of the people for political participation. It is easy to overlook the fact that literacy skills by no means guarantee the ability to understand politics and to act with political intelligence in one's own best interest as one sees that interest. Indeed, a persuasive argument can be made that an orthodox education inhibits both the ability and desire to understand and act effectively in public affairs.)

Underlying all of these, of course, was the reluctance of whites to see Negro registration increased, and, apparently, the reluctance of some Negro "leaders" to see Negro political participation grow beyond their ability to evidence some control of it for the preservation of their advantageious relationship with the white community.

I shall not attempt here to enumerate all the specifics of the discussion. This discussion session was more important for the questions it raised than for the answers it provided. One of the most interesting aspects of the discussion was the continual insistance by Mr. Lowell Guillory, who apparently occupies a position of some prominence in the Catholic segment of the community, and by a Mr. Robinson, who is an NAACP official, and who is apparently employed at one of the refineries in Lake Charles, that there was no problem in Lake Charles

with respect to white reluctance to see Negroes register. Both Guillory and Robinson several times expressed the feeling that so long as too many Negroes did not attempt to register at one time, thereby arousing the wrath of the segregationist element in the white community, the registrar would offer no serious obstructive measures to prevent or slow down Negro registration. Major Johns, Andy Young, and Mr. Harleaux, all pointed out at various times that this attitude on the part of the registrar constituted in itself a slow-down, which in effect permits the registrar and whomever may be allied with her, to keep Negro registration at about the level it has maintained for the past 5 to 10 years. This argument did not appear to carry great weight with the Lake Charles people.

Andy Young suggested that the problems of literacy and lack of political sophistication might partially be overcome by sending persons to the school at Dorchester for training and then bringing them back to the community so that they could do work there. Mr. Robinsons expressed considerable interest in this proposal, and vowed that he expected to bring a Lake Charles contingent to Dorchester for the sessions commencing in mid-September.

At one point, Major Johns stated that during his preliminary contacts in setting up the conference, he had talked to several of the leaders of the NAACP Youth Council, whom he found very discouraged by the propensity of the adult leadership for taking over and, he said, diluting the militancy and effectiveness of anything which the youth were attempting to accomplish in Lake Charles.

Mrs. Beulah Williams of 312 N. Orrins Street in Lake Charles said that they had no trouble getting plenty of Negroes registered when they were repelecting Sheriff Henry A. Reid. But, Mrs. Williams said, once the election was over, the new registrants appeared to lose all interest in politics. Having, as I do, considerable knowledge of the Reid regime in Calcasieu parish, I can well understand why, without some really militant leadership, the Negrbes would have lost interest in politics.

One lady from Lake Charles whose name I did not catch, said that a coordinating council had been formed in Lake Charles to conduct a registration drive. She was a bit uncertain about when the coordinating council had begun to function in this registration drive, but she seemed to be very certain that it had never really gotten off the ground. She seemed to think that the lack of cooperation on the part of the ministers was probably a major factor in this failure. The lady did say that the canvassing job was being done by young people, but, considering Major Johns report of the attitudes of the youngsters, there seems considerable doubt that whatever registration efforts are

by the coordinating council will evenuate in much.

This same lady mentioned one technique that she used to arouse the interest of the adult Negroes in registration. She said that in her neighborhood, she had noticed the children playing on a playground that did not have available a drinking fountain on the playground. She said that on several occasions, she went to the playground and asked the children if they would not like to have available there a drinking fountain. They said that they would. Then she said that he told them that they should go home and tell their parents to register and vote so they could demand of the politicians better recreation facilities in general, and a drinking fountain for that playground in particular.

One Lake Charles gentleman, during a discussion of the problem of illiteracy, said that while he himself is illiterate and therefore cannot register, he had succeeded during the past few months, in getting three married couples to go down and register.

Andy Young remarked that leaders are determined not by their positions of prominence in the community, but by the number of people who will follow them. He said that he frequently found that the most influential persons in the community were seldom recognized as leaders, even hough their influence was quite pervasive on members of the community. He mentioned aprticularly elderly ladies who are looked upon by members of the community as general problem-solvers. He said he had frequently found that this type of person is much more effective in convincing persons that they should register and vote than are the generally recognized and publicized leaders in the community.

The attendance at the Saturday afternoon session was considerably diminished from the small attendance of the morning session. Ten persons were there besides the leadership of the conference. The session was devoted to a discussion of how to organize a registration drive. Mr. Robinson of Lake Charles pointed out that good leaders who have time and interest in the success of the drive are needed, and that programs from time to time with dynamic speakers are a must. A Lake Charles lady said that the Independent Democratic Association (a Negro polotical organization in Lake Charles) and the Youth Council of the NAACP had organized and mapped out and zoned the cith and selected captains for each zone. The lady was unable to say whether or not these organizational plans had ever gotten off paper. Robinson said that the plan had not worked well because volunteers had not fulfilled their pledges of activity. Robinson felt that the registration worker must be a salesman, that getting folk to register is a selling job. At one point, one of the Lake Charles gentlemen announced his conviction that if Negroes would only have faith in God, their problems would be solved.

The afternoon session was far from fruitful. I had the feeling that the persons who needed to be there in order to benefit by a discussion of the techniques of organizing a registration drive were absent.

In the evening session and in the final Sunday morning session, the discussion centered around plans for some kind of a state-wide or multi-parish registration drive for Louisiana. Attached to this report will be found Major Johns original plan - the scope of which was obviously inappropriate for the present state of civil rights financing. The program which was finally workd out constituted a crash registration drive for 16 parishes in Louisiana in accordance with the attached schedule. Ronnie Moore for CORE and Andy Young for SCLC suggested that this be a joint SCLC-CORE drive, and I suggested to them that a budget be worked out for the drive, and that a proposal be submitted to VEP in the even t that we might want to participate in the financing of the drive. The general idea upon which Moore and Young were working was that each organization would supply 10 workers who would be directed by Major Johns. Johns and Moore appeared to work very well together, and I have no doubt that they could effectively coordinate the kind of program that they have in mind. I talked to Ronnie Moore in Baton Rouge on Tuesday, August 13, and urged him to get the proposed program to us as rapidly as possible. I subsequently talked to Andy Young, and he told me that he had received a commitment from SCLC for the provision of 10 workers. I understood him to say that SCLC would underwrite the salaries of these 10 workers. I suggested to Ronnie on Tuesday that in his proposals, he suggest that a Louisiana Voter Project be set up and a grant be made to it rather than to CORE and SCLC for transmission to this project. He was at that time contemplating an organizational structure having Mr. W. W. Harleaux at its head, and he and Major Johns with the principal field and administrative responsibilities. If the project as Ronnie and Major Johns and I discussed it is submitted to VEP, I would recommend VEP participation to whatever extent is commensurate with our resources.

While the Lake Charles conference did not constitute a meeting of statewide Negro registration leadership by any means, I felt that it was worthwhile for the insights it provided into the registration problems of the Negro community in Lake Charles and Calcasieu parish as well as elsewhere in the state. The enumeration of the specific problems referred to above gave structure to my own perception of the complexities of the problems faced by Negro communities in Louisiana and elsewhere. It will probably come as no surprise that I found the problems of divided leadership and Uncle Tomism in New Orleans and Baton Rouge similar to those encountered in Lake Charles.

The attitudes expressed by the Lake Charles representatives at the conference were compatible with substantial reports I had had from informants in Lake Charles of pay-offs by white politicians to Negro leaders in order to confine Negro political participation within quite

narrow boundaries. The reports I have had of this kind of pay-off involved upper level leadership in the Lake Charles chapter of the NAACP. Attached is a newspaper clipping from the Lake Charles American Press which appeared subsequent to the conference, and which may be the reaction of this Lake Charles leadership to the threat of "outside" interference. I think that this corruption of Negro leadership by whites only incidently involves NAACP leadership, as I found quite the opposite to be the case in Baton Rouge. I would hypotesize at this point that the recruitment of local NAACP leadership selects in favor of persons who have already attained a degree of prominence in the community. Thus, if such leadership is found to be corrupt, relative to the presumed goals of advancemtn of the Negro community, or if the leadership appears to be more or less unconsciously obstructing such goals of advancement, identification with the local chapter of the NAACP is only an incidental aspect. In situations such as that described in Lake Charles, one suspects that the white community has probably had as much to do with the selection of that leadership as has the Negro community. In such cases, the Negro leadership appears to function as a lid on any effective militant action on the part of the Negro community, rather than as a group of individuals who can in any meaninful sense be said to express the desires or aspirations of the Negro community. A closer examination of the Negro leadership in such communities probably would disclose a number of diminsions to this disaffiliation between Negro leadership and the Negro community. In some cases, it probably would be found that individuals are seeking status with no concern for any real substance in their leadership positions; in others, it probably would be found that leaders are genuinely convinced that they are acting in the best interest of those whom they would lead; in still other cases, it probably would be found that the pecuniary advantages of complacent leadership functions are a major determining factor in leadership behavior.

Whatever may be the dynamics of the disaffiliation between Negro leaders and the Negro community, it seems clear that in many cases, the disaffiliation precludes a militant approach to registration problems involving a sophisticated approach by whites to the maintenance of low levels of Negro registration. If VEP is to perform effectively either its function of maximising Negro registration or its function of perfecting techniques for securing increased political participation, I think the disaffiliation of Negro leadership will be one of the principal problems with which we shall have to wrestle during the coming 12 months or so. The situation in New Orleans may well provide a laboratory for experimenting with some techniques for dealing with such a situation.

Jack Minnis

JM:js
Attachments

MEMORANDUM August 23, 1963
To: Wiley A. Branton
From: Jack Minnis
SUBj. New Orleans

An adequate appraisal of the difficulties of our voter registration project in New Orleans must begin, I think, with some remarks about the organizations through which Negro leadership in New Orleans functions.

The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, which apparently is dominated by the influence of the Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr., appeared to be the most significant organization of what might be called the "old line" Negro leadership in New Orleans. Rev. Davis is also president of the Orleans Parish Progressive Voters League, and was intimately associated with Mayor Morrison during the latter's 12 year term of office. Since Morrison was replaced by Victor Schiro, Davis appears to have continued his alliance with city hall. Thus, Davis, through his influence on a large proportion of the Negro clergy in New Orleans, is regarded by city hall and other whites as having a dominant influence over the Negro community, as being able to speak for it. Eighteen months ago, Davis was instrumental in the forming of a community relations committee of Negroes, which would supposedly unite all civil rights and protest organizations into one negotiating body with which the whites could deal. Themembership of this committee cuts across most of the Negro organizations, and the committee is heavily freighted with members of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council. However, it appears that most of the leading Coordinating Council people on the Community Relations Committee prefer to function through the latter, or through their own organizations, rather than through the Coordinating Council. This leaves a dissident group within the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council, composed of persons who have no other primary organizational connection, and who, therefore, think of the Coordinating Council as itself as an organizational basis for community.

The Community Relations Committee is comprised of the following individuals: Atty. Revius Ortigue, who has been involved in New Orleans politics, and who appears to work closely with Rev. Davis; he is also on the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council; the Rev. Al L. Davis, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, and also president of the Orleans Parish Progressive Voters League, as well as member of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council; Atty. Lolis Elie, chairman of the Community Relations Committee, CORE lawyer; the Rev. Avery Alexander, president of the Consumer's League and member of the Executive Committee of the CCNO; the Rev. John B. Morris; Orethea Castle, CORE president and member of the CCNO Executive Committee; the Rev. Milton Upton, who apparently works closely with the Rev. Davis, and he is a member of the CCNO Executive Commitee; Dr. Leonard Burnes, a dentist, and member of the CCNO Executive Commitee; Atty. Ernest Morrial,

who is associated with the United Clubs and the NAACP, and who serves on the CCNO Executive Committee, and also as chairman of the CCNO Registration Committee; Gerald Thomas, who is connected with the United Clubs, and is a retired postal clerk; Arthur Shapital, Sr., a retired postal clerk, and NAACP officer who is on the CCNO Executive Committee.

D. C. Dejoie, publisher of the Louisiana weekly and member of CCNO Executive Committee; J. Harvey Kerns, also chairman of the Coordinating Council Executive Committee, and head of the National Urban League in New Orleans; Malcolm McDonald, a dental technician is also treasurer of the Coordinating Council. Thus, 12 members of the 21-member Community Relations Committee are also members of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council. Other members of the Community Relations Committee are Henry Cabaric, head of the Catholic Council for Human Relations, and a member of the Coordinating Council; the Rev. William Greene, also a member of the Coordinating Council, the Rev. Louis Landrum; the Rev. A. H. Tucker; Henry Mitchell, of the Consumer's League; a Catholic priest named McManus, who is also a member of the Coordinating Council; and Mr. I. S. Daniel, who is director of the voter registration project of the Coordinating Council. (Daniel was asked to sit on the committee on August 9 - he had not been a member of the committee up until that time. The invitation was extended by the Rev. A. L. Davis. Daniel regarded this invitation as an attempt on the part of Davis to ply him with the bon bons of prestige in order to mitigate his commitment to militant voter registration activity.)

Those members of the Community Relations Committee who are also members of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council can apparently be regarded as within the A. L. Davis sphere of influence with the following exceptions: Malcolm MCdonald, who is something of a leader of the dissident wing of the Coordinating Council Executive Committee; Ernest Morial, who remains a kind of unknown quantity to me; he was out of town during my visit and during the events which preceded it. (Daniel does put him in the Davis camp as did some of the others to whom I talked, but I was unable to either confirm or deny this on the basis of my own observations); J. Harvey Kerns, who occupies a position of influence with probably would not be dominated by Davis, but who, nevertheless, could probably be expected to cooperate with Davis in ways that would be detrimental to the voter registration project through a lack of understanding of the cleavages which divide the Negro community.

The foregoing is, of course, by no means a complete analysis of the organizational structure through which Negro leadership functions in New Orleans; however, I think it will be adequate for the purpose of evaluating the immediate factors which appear to be inhibiting voter registration work in New Orleans.

The Community Relations Committee described above has been negotiating with Canal Street merchants for the past 18 months or so in an attempt to gain jobs on Canal Street for Negroes above the menial level. It is my understanding that not all of the members of the committee have been active during the 18 months, but that Rev. Davis has consistently

led and guided the deliberations and negotiations of the committee. Some time ago, the committee arranged for the cessation of picketing of Canal Street stores in return for a promise from the merchants that some 75 jobs above the menial level would be made available to Negroes as an immediatedcomncession. Within the past month, the Youth Council of the NAACP made a survey of such jobs on Canal Street, and could find only 21. Upon this finding, the Youth Council began picketing on Canal Street. The Community Relations Committee announced publicly that the Youth Council had been in error in its survey, and that actually more than 75 of the jobs above menial level were being filled by Negroes as a result of the Committee's negotiation.

Coincident with the difficulties about jobs on Canal Street, had been the negotiations between the Committee and the city government with reference to city jobs for Negroes with reference to discriminatory signs in city hall. The Rev. Davis and his followers on the Community Relations Committee, and on the Interdominational Ministerial Alliance, began about three weeks ago to threaten massive demonstrations at the city hall if their demands were not met. Their demands comprised a six point program, the details of which I do not have, but which, I understand, constituted a rather complete removal of all discrimination in all phases of community life in New Orleans. During the week beginning August 5, Rev. Davis had at least one meeting with Mayor Schiro at which demands were made and as a result of which Mayor Schiro said that he would give the demands his consideration. It is not clear just who accompanied the Rev. Davis in these meetings with the Mayor, but it seems certain that Davis was the dominating factor on the Negro side of the negotiations.

Mayor Schiro planned to leave New Orleans for a trip to Mexico over the weekend of August 10 and 11. On Wednesday, August 7, the Rev. Davis met with Schiro and threatened Schiro with demonstrations to take place on Tuesday, August 13 if some satisfactory conclusion with reference to the six point demands was not reached. This meeting apparently terminated inconclusively.

Then, on Thursday, August 8, Mrs. Maise Kahn informed Jack Nelson that a group of white citizens had gone to Schiro and told Schiro that if he went to Mexico and demonstrations took place during his absence, he need not come back. According to Jack Nelson, the white citizens involved were the following: Darwin S. Fenner, vice president of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, Inc., 915 Common Street, New Orleans, 12; president of the Board of Administrators of Tulane University.

Fenner's home address is 1705 Calhoun Street, New Orleans, 18. Arthur L. Jung, Jr., secretary of the Crescent Bed Company, 600 S. Broad Street, New Orleans, 19; secretary of the Jung Realty Company; secretary of Jung, Inc.; director of the National Bank of Commerce of New Orleans; director of New Orleans Public Service, Inc. Yung's residence is at

416 Betz Place, New Orleans, 20; Stephen B. Lemann, member of the law firm,Monroe and Lemann, 1424 Whitney Bldg., New Orleans. The firm is counsel for Whitney Natinnal Bank, General Electric Company, Continental Can Compan, New Orleans Stock Exchange, New Orleans Cotton Exchange, among others. Arthur C..Waters, F. Winthrop Trapolin, James Gilley, Jr., Executive Vice President, Whitney National Bank of New Orleans. It should be instructive to digress for a moment in order to examine the kind of institutional power structure represented by the white citizens who went to Schiro. Whitney National Bank, the largest bank in New Orleans, was represented by its Executive Vice President, and by a member of the law firm it retains as counsel. The largest stockholder in Whitney National Bank is Marie Snyder, the feemer Marie Whitney, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. She owns 9% of the outstanding stock of Whitney National Bank. Mrs. Snyder is married to William P. Snyder, Jr., who is a former chairman, and is presently director of the Crucible Steel Company of America, and is also presently director of the Mellon National Bank and Trust Company. The second largest stockholder in Whitney National is William G. Helis, Jr., with 6% of the outstanding stock. Hellis is a very prominent oil man in Louisiana, and was chairman of the state mineral board under the administration of Earl Kl Long.

The third largest stockholder of Whitney National is Thomas and Company, nominee of First National City Bank of New York, with $5 of the outstanding stock. This same Thomas and Company, as nominee of First National City Bank of New York, owns an influential,.if not dominant stockholding in some 25 of the largest banks in the country outside of New York City, including a 4% holding in the Citizens and Southern National Bank of Savannah, and 3% holding in the First National Bank of Atlanta.

The sixth largest stockholder in Whitney National is Cudd and Company, nominee of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York with 2% of the outstanding Whitney stock. Cudd and Company, as nominee of Chase Manhattan, is also the holder of wide banking intererst - including a 1% intesest in the First National Bank of Atlanta.

National Bank of Commerce of New Orleans, second largest bank in the city, was represented by a director, Arthur Jung. The largest stockholder in the National Bank of Commerce, with 4½% of the outstanding stock is A. Q. Petersen. Petersen is the retired chairman of the board of the Wesson Oil and Snowdrift Company, Inc., and is a director of the Texas and Pacific Railway Company of Dallas; of the A. E. Staley Manufacturing Company of Decatur, Illinois; of Southdown, Inc., of New Orleans; and of Lykes Brothers Steamship Company.

The second largest stockholder of the National Bank of Commerce is Flora S. Owens. The third largest stockholder in the National Bank of Commerce is Financial Securities, Inc., 610 NBC Building, New Orleans, Louisiana, with 2% of the outstanding stock.

The Hibernia National Bank of New Orleans is the third largest bank in New Orleans. It was represented by a member of the law firm which serves it as counsel. Largest stockholder in Hibernia National is William H. Malty, #4 Blanc Place, New Orleans, with $5 of the outstanding stock. The second largest stockholder is William H. Saunders, Jr., P. O. Box 390, New Orleans, with 2½% of the outstanding stock, and the third largest stockholder is Republic Insurance Company, P. O. Box 3000, Dallas, Texas, with 2.4% of the outstanding stock. It is interesting to note that three members of the Tatum family of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, are also substantial stockholders in Hibernian National. I had occasion just yesterday, in connection with an inquiry from John O'Neal in Hattiesburg, to suggest to him that the Tatums in Hattiesburg were probably a significant part of the economic power structure of that community by reason of the Tatum connection with the Citizens National Bank of Hattiesburg.

The bank connections of the citizens who gave instructions to Schiro with regard to the consessions which Schiro could make to the Negro community are not listed here with the intention of inferring that the persons who met with Schiro were acting under the instructions of responsible officials or stockholders of the banks involved. However, in a society such as ours, the power which persons weild is institutional more often thannit is personal, and consequently, an accurate evaluation of the interests represented by any individual must take account of his institutional connection. It is plain to see that the white citizens who met with Schiro on August 8 represented a significant proportion of the economic power of New Orleans. Having thus digressed, I hope not irrelevantly, let us get back to the main stream of the story.

According to Jack Nelson, the white citizens who met with Schiro told him that he could make the following concessions to Al L. Davis, who was threatening demonstrations: Accept job applications in the sanitation and fire departments of New Orleans, and remove discriminatory signs in the city hall. Shortly after midnight on August 9, Jack Nelson phoned I. S. Daniel, and told him of the information he had just received from Mrs. Maise Kahn. On the morning of August 9 at about 8:30, Daniel accompanied by Israel Augustine, met with A. L. Davis and informed him of the consessions which Schiro had been instructed to make and suggested to him that those concessions did not represent sufficient quid pro quo for calling off demonstrations.

According to Daniel and Augustine, Davis expressed indignation that Schiro would expect him to call off demonstrations in return for such minuscule concessions, and vowed that he would not do so. Furthermore, according to Daniel, Davis agreed to make demands for the cessation of abuses at the registrar's office (these abuses will be described elsewhere in this report).

Daniel was not certain just who attended the meeting with Schiro along with Al L. Davis, but he thought at least two of those present were Orethea Castle and Lolis Eli. The meeting took place in the office of Atty. Harry McCall in the Whitney National Building. Both Daniel and Malcolm McDonald said that when demands were made by the Negroes for the cessation of abuses in the registrar's office, Darwin Fenner spoke up and said that this was a state matter, and that Governor Davis did not care anything about the people down in New Orleans.

Daniel learned either sometime Saturday, or early Monday morning that Davis and his group had called off the demonstrations in return for precisely the concessions which he had told Davis Schiro would offer before the meeting with Schiro. Daniel told me shortly after I arrived on Monday morning, August 12, that a mass meeting was to be held that night by the Davis group, at which time they would explain the concessions and the calling off of the demonstrations to the community. (See attached circular).

Now we must go back and briefly detail another line of developments in New Orleans whereby the Coordinating Council had intended to participate in demonstrations relative to voter registration periods.

I. S. Daniel assumed the directorship of the voter registration program of the Coordinating Council on April 15, 1963. Prior to that date for about a month, Virginia Collins and Don Hubbard had been canvassing door-to-door. This had been the sum and substance of the CCNO registration project prior to Daniel's encumbency. For about the first two weeks of his directorship, Daniel himself did door-to-door canvassing, seeking registration applicants. Then, Virginia Collins and Daniel decided to involve as many youngsters as possible in the canvassing activities. Collins and Daniel went to the principals of several of the Negro high schools and asked for lists of names of students who appeared to be interested in political science, sociology, et cetera. Letters inviting these students whose names were submitted by principals to a meeting on June 15, 1963. The meeting was attended by 350 to 400 high school and college students. From that meeting, some 150 students were recruited for canvassing and other voluntary work in the registration program. The results which have been obtained thus far are largely confined to the production which the students have obtained.

Here briefly is the way the project has operated since the students were recruited:

Attention has been concentrated in the Negro housing project in New Orleans. Crews of student canvassers work in the projects each day in the Calliope project. Charles Plummer, a high school teacher, supervises the student canvassers.

Virginia Collins, supervises the students at the Magnolia project.

Edwin Leevy (a white Tulane student) supervises the students in the St. Bernard project.

Eula Cannon, in the Desire Street project, does not actually supervise canvassing, but she permits the use of her apartment as a project headquarters.

In the Pontchartrain park area, Dr. Tollison permits the use of his residence as a headquarters for the canvassers. He exercises no supervision. He is a political science professor at Southern University in New Orleans.

Those students working in the lower 9th ward area, and in the Lafitte project, work out of the office at 1505 St. Bernard Avenue.

In the Louisa project, no headquarters has been established. The canvassers work out of the headquarters in the Desire Street project.

The project managers have offered varying degrees of cooperation with the registration project. The most cooperative of the managers has been the one in the St. Bernard project. For nearly a month after the work began in the projects, the St. Bernard manager called sanitation meetings for residents of the project twice each day. He arrangeranged with Daniel to have canvassers and instructors at these meetings and after a brief instruction period on the project sanitation measures, he turned these meetings over to the registration project people. He is the only project manager who has cooperated to this extent thus far.

The students canvassing in all areas conduct both persuasion and instruction in the field. Persons wanting further instruction are advised that it may be obtained at any one of nine neighborhood clinics. These clinics are set up for the most part in private residences in the various areas. Transportation, both to clinics and to the registrar's office is provided by donated buses and private cars.

Relatively little work has been done in the uptown area, but those individuals seeking instruction from the uptown area are advised to go to the ILA registration clinic on Rampart Street, just a couple of blocks from the registration office in city hall. Thus far, this has been the extent of Think Henry's participation in the registration project.

Between April 15 and July 30, 552 persons applied to the registrar's office; 206 were registered; 346 were rejected; 100 persons applied more than once during this period. The greater part of this number of applicants and new registrants has occured since the student canvassing got underway some time around the first of July.

According to Daniel, there has been no organizational participation in the registration project other than that described above. The Rev. A. L. Davis spoke at the June 15 student meeting. Other ministers have been talked to and urged to participate; all have been invited to project meetings, and all have been asked to recruit workers and to build sermons around registration. So far as Daniel and Mrs. Minor know, the ministers have failed completely to follow through on any pledges of cooperation they have made.

It should have been noted above that a major part of the activity of the registration office during June and part of July involved an attempt to prevent the purging of large numbers of registered Negroes in Orleans parish. When the names of purgees were published in the newspaper, an attempt was made to make a personal call, either by telephone or by canvasser on each listed person. Hand bills were distributed in each of the Negro areas in New Orleans to remind persons of the necessity for returning the forms that were mailed out from the registration office (see attached leaflet).

The problems with which the project has been faced thus far include the following:

1) A high proportion of illiterates and those with minimum educational background.
2) A high proportion of persons lacking an understanding of, and a confidence in, political participation as a means of solving problems.
3) Fear, sometimes the generalized cultural habituation of the southern Negro, and sometimes the specific fear of job loss or other economic reprisal.
4) Lack of interest due to the preoccupation with such mundane matters as earning enough money to feed the family and pay the rent. (All these have been accenturated because of the concentrated attention given to the low-income residential areas).
5) Daniel and Mrs. Minor feel that the failure of ministers to cooperate in disseminating the registration message among their congregations has been a major factor in preventing a more complete community involvement in the registration project. This lack of cooperation on the part of the ministers has not only diminished the number of prospective registrants, but has, in addition, hampered the recruitment of voluntary workers.
6) Canvassers have reported an increasing reluctance on the part of prospects to attempt registration as the details of treatment of Negroes by the registrar's office become disseminated throughout the housing projects in which canvassing attention has been concentrated.
&) Daniel and Mrs. Minor detail a long list of abuses by the registrar's office. No attempt will be made here to provide an exhaustive list, but the following is representative:

> There is no certainty what kind of identification will be required at the registrar's office - this means that some persons are accepted on their Social Security cards, others with driver's license, et cetera - still others are rejected when providing these same items of identification and there have been those who have made as many as six trips to the registrar's office, bringing different kinds of identification. One lady finally became so exasperated that she filled a pillowcase with papers and letters and receipts and so forth, took it to the regis-

trar's office and dumped it out on the counter and said, "Take your choice!"

The clerks in the registrar's office are consistently discourteous to Negroes to such an extent that every Negro can anticipate some kind of a direct insult as a result of a visit to the registrar's office. Meticulous accuracy is required in the filling out of the application for registration, and such irrelevant and immaterial errors as failing to dot an "i", minor misspellings, failing to cross out unused alternatives, et cetera, are used by the clerks as grounds for rejection. Clerks and city police at the registrar's office have harassed, intimidated, and threatened with arrest, both registration workers and prospective registrants. The registrar's office customarily refused to permit more than two Negroes at a time to enter the registrar's office, despite the fact that there are adequate facilities for handling 100 or more at the same time. This means that frequently, prospective registrants are required to stand in line in the hall, and be subjected to various kinds of insults and abuse from white workers in the city hall. No seating arrangements are permitted for those who are waiting to enter the registrar's office, and in the case of many prospective registrants standing in line hour after hour constitutes a genuine hardship.

On July 23, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council was called at the home of Malcolm McDonald, 4603 Chestnut Street in New Orleans. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss how the registration project could be conducted more effectively in the face of the problems that had developed as outlined above. Those attending the meeting were Victor Labat of Xavier University; Avery Alexander; Una Porsay, school principal; J. Harvey Kerns; Ellis Hull, president of the United Voters League; Andrew Merritt, also of the United Voters League; Marguerite Nimtz, school principal; Marcus Neustadter, public relations director of the Coordinating Council; Malcolm McDonald, treasurer of the Coordinating Council. Although the entire membership of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council had been informed of this meeting by letter, these were the only members who showed up.

As a result of this meeting, the Coordinating Council decided,-over the objections of Mr. Kerns, to participate in demonstrations at city hall which were being planned by the Rev. Davis of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, and Aretha Castle of CORE. The Davis-Castle demonstration was to focus on the list of six general demands mentioned earlier in this report. The demonstration was scheduled for Tuesday, August 13, and it was the intent of the Coordinating Council to become a part of the general demonstration according to a plan drawn up by Daniel and attached hereto.

This was the planned demonstration which was used as a basis for bargaining, presumably, by the Rev. Davis when he met with Mayor Schiro and the white citizens on August 9, and which was deferred as a result of the commitments made by Schiro under instructions by the white citizens, as a result of the August 9 meeting.

During the latter part of the week of August 9, Malcolm McDonald, Daniel, Israel Augustine, and Andy Young, got together to discuss the proposed participation of the CCNO in the anticipated demonstration. Apparently, McDonald was seeking the legal advice of Augustine, and the tactical advice of Young. As I understand it, Augustine advised that participation by the registration project in a general demonstration might be unwise, considering the terms existing civil rights legislation, and Young concurred. The general conclusion reached from this discussion was that CCNO would not participate in the demonstrations, both because of the legal angle, and because the registration issue would be likely to get lost in the kind of massive general demonstration which Davis and his group were planning. Daniel, it appears with some reluctance, concurred in this decision. Apparently the lack of organizational cooperation combined with the frustration of the slow-down at the registrar's office had rather seriously demoralized both the volunteers and the staff of the registration project. I suspect that the anticipated demonstration was acting both as a relief of the frustrations engendered by these factors, and as a hope for producing change at the registrar's office as well as a greater community involvement in the registration project. Although the agreement reached between Rev. Davis and S on August 9 was not directly involved with the registrationpproject, it appears to have added the finishing touch to the diminishing moral of the registration personnel.

Daniel had called a meeting of the student canvassers during the week of August 9, and had asked for volunteers to participate in the anticipated demonstration. Some 30 or so young people responded. He set up a meeting with them at 10:30 on August 12, which was to have been the final preparation for the demonstration scheduled on August 13.

It was at this point that I arrived in the CCNO office on Monday morning, August 12 at about 9:30. Daniel was in something of a quandary because of the importance he knew the students placed on the coming demonstrations and he feared that the announcement that the demonstration had been called off would considerably discourage the students. He finally decided to lay the entire thing before them, and to tell them that under the present circumstances, he could not recommend demonstrations of any kind at city hall. This he did at the 10:30 meeting.

Part of what Daniel told them was that he felt 30 demonstrators by themselves would not be likely to accomplish much because of the ease with which they could simply be arrested. Some of the students wanted to know how many would be necessary for the kind of demonstration that

would be likely to make it expedient for the registrar to loosen his policy with regard to Negro registration. Daniel told the students that probably something in excess of 1,000 persons peaceably assembling and partitioning the registrar for redress of grievances would be necessary to make any meaningful impression upon the registrar. The students said that they would attempt to arouse the interest of fellow students as well as individuals with whom they had been working who had been rejected, and insulted and abused at the registrar's office. A meeting was set for the following Saturday, August 17 at which the further development of the program would be discussed, and to which the students would try to get as many persons as possible.

After the meeting with the students, Daniel and I went to the office of Israel Augusting to discuss with him the recent developments. It was Augustine's opinion that the registrar's office is effectively maintaining a maximum quota of Negro registration through its slow-down tactics, and that the only thing likely to change the attitude of the registrar would be the kind of pressure that would be brought about through a peaceable protest demonstration. He expressed considerable chagrin over the minimal concessions the Davis group had accepted in return for a commitment not to demonstrate.

I tried to make an appointment to see Ernest Morrell, but was informed that he was out of town on his vacation. I then tried to make an appointment with Lois Eli, CORE attorney, but learned that he was not available.

Daniel and I went to the Rev. Davis' church to discuss the registration situation with him. We found the Rev. Davis unwilling to say anything but vague generalizations about registration in general, or the CCNO registration project in particular. I asked him if he knew of any reason why the registration project had not involved more completely the Negro community, and what, if anything, the ministers had done to assist the project. He said that he felt that it was particularly difficult to arouse people's interest in registration without the inducement of an impending election. He said he felt that the December primary would soon be close enough to provide the emphasis needed for community involvement in the registration project. He seemed unwilling to discuss in any specific detail the registration situation in New Orleans.

Prior to going to the Rev. Davis' church, Daniel and I had gone by the home of Malcolm McDonald, and had discussed the problems of the registration project at some length with Mr. McDonald. Mr. McDonald felt that some kind of mass action was going to be necessary in order to change the attitudes in the registrar's office, and that such a change was essential if there was to be any significant increase in Negro

registration in Orleans parish.

That evening, I attended the mass meeting which the Davis group had called to explain the situation to the Negro community. Attached is the circular which was distributed announcing the mass meeting.

Daniel told me previously that the Rev. Davis and the Rev. Upton had assured him that the Davis group would throw its weight into the registration project now that the other issues had been settled by negotiation. Daniel had been asked to attend a meeting the previous Saturday morning, the purpose of which was to draw up a series of resolutions to be presented to the Negro community at the mass meeting. He had been unable to attend this meeting because of the previous commitment mentioned above. When Daniel and I visited Rev. Davis on the afternoon of August 12, the Rev. Davis said that all of the resolutions had been joined into one, and that the principal emphasis of the resolution was on voter registration. The Rev. Davis had asked Daniel to appear on the platform at the mass meeting, and to read the registration resolution.

When we arrived at the meeting, the principal membership of the Ministerial Alliance was on the platform. Also on the platform were several members of the Community Relations Committee. Daniel mentioned to me at the time that he did not want to appear on the platform until he got an idea of just what was going to be presented to the people from the platform, and what kind of interpretation was going to be placed from the platform on the events which had taken place during the preceding week.

Shortly after we arrived, the Rev. Upton called the meeting to order, and introduced Leonard Burnes as the first speaker. Burnes spoke very briefly, and, in substance, he merely said that a program of action was on the agenda.

Then, Upton introduced Lolis Eli. Eli talked for a bit about the history of the Community Relations Committee, and he said that at some time ago, the whites in the community had indicated that if all of the civil rights groups get together, then the demands of the Negro community could be negiotiated without the necessity of demonstrations. He cited as one accomplishment of the negotiations, the desegregation of the downtown lunch counters, and chain stores.

He said that the committee had demanded jobs above the menial level on Canal Street, and that they had been prepared to demonstrate on this issue one week before Easter. He said that the committee received a call the night before the demonstration was scheduled, and was told by the merchants that the merchants would come up with 75 jobs as a start. The committee agreed to accept this as a first step toward fair employment, said Eli. Eli said that no one is now certain if they have

75 jobs, and if the committee should find that they don't have 75 jobs, the committee would institute demonstrations. He said the committee had made contact with city officials in order to negotiate for public jobs and other demands relevant to the city administration, and that the committee had agreed with the Coordinating Council that the committee would place its major emphasis in the future on voter registration if the Coordinating Council would agree not to demonstrate on August 13.

Then, the Rev. Upton introduced Avery Alexander, who said that in July, the committee had concluded that progress not fadt enough, and that on July 17, the committee had presented the six-point program of demands to the Mayor, who said he would consider them. He said the demands were the elimination of discrimination from all areas of Negro life; jobs on every governmental level; and the desegregation of playgrounds and parks. He said that the committee repeated its demands on July 31, and the Mayor made promises and showed good faith. He said the committee met again on August 8 with the Mayor and told him that the committee's patience was at an end, and that when he saw them again, they would be picketing. He said that then on August 9, the committee was called, and told that the Mayor and a group of the white power structure wanted to talk. He said that at this August meeting, the committee and the group of whites agreed that if demonstrations were called off, all signs would be removed from city hall as of the morning of August 12, and that Negro applications would be accepted for the jobs in the sanitation department and the fire department, starting the morning of August 12, and that Negroes would be hired in these departments within 30 days. He said that the New Orleans merchants say that 200 Negroes have been hired above the menial level on Canal Street. He said a furthur part of the agreement was that the city of New Orleans would no longer contest the segregation cases (he seemed to mean here that the Mayor had agreed not to appeal the preliminary injunctions in the auditorium and playgrounds cases). Alexander said that a further commitment coming out of the meeting was that the power structure would arrange conferences with the civil service commission and other employers in order that jobs above the menial level could be negotiated with them. And, finally, he said, the city had agreed that it would not harass anyone who wanted to integrate any public accommodation.

Then the Rev. Upton introduced Atty. A. T. Turenaud who said first off that the decisions which the Mayor would not appeal were preliminary injunctions were not appealable anyhow; he said that shortly before the meeting, received a message that nine Negroes had been arrested at a playground and charged with disturbing the peace, and that lights were being put out on the playground, apparently in order to disrupt Negro use of them after sundown. He seemed to take these incidents

lightly, and suggested that they were to have been expected, and that he did not consider them a violation of the city's commitment in any respect. Tureaud said that Negroes now have access to all parks and all playgrounds, and that there is very little left for lawyers to do. He said that the hotels are going along with the decision of the court, and hemmentioned the Sheraton-Charles, the Royal-Orleans, and the Hilton Inn as having gotten an injunktion restraining city officers from enforcement of any law requiring segregation of the races.

The Rev. Upton then introduced the Rev. Davis, whose rather brief speech, in substance, was a call for unity among the Negro community, and the following of accepted leadership, and a criticism of the Youth Council for picketing the stores on Canal Street. The Rev. Davis did not once mention voter registration.

The only time during the mass meeting that voter registration was mentioned was when Atty. Eli spoke of the agreement of the citizen's committee to support voter registration, if the Coordinating Council would call of its August 13 demonstration.

The agreement between thesCommunity Relations Committee and the Mayor, which came out of the August 29meeting, had been committedto writing. Both Daniel and McDonald had seen it and read it, and they maintained that the agreement did not involve any commitment to hire Negroes in the sanitation and fire departments. They said that all the Mayor had committed himself to do was to open the civil service examinations to Negroes. Daniel and McDonald had worked with the Youth Council during the time they were making a survey of the number of jobs on Canal Street, and were convinced that the number did not exceed 25. During his speech at the mass meeting, Rev. Davis stated, without qualification, that there were 200 jobs presently occupied above the menial level on Canal Street.

Daniel expressed extreme disgust at the conduct of the meeting, and refused to associate himself in any way with the meeting, even to the extent of refusing to read the resolutions.frmmthehplatform.

During the time that the money was being collected subsequent to the Rev. Davis' speech, mimeographed copies of the resolution were passed out among the crowd. Daniel and I secured a copy of the resolution and left the meeting.

I am not at all sure just what purpose the resolution was designed to serve. It appears to me to be a compilation of vague generalities which could hardly be expected to induce anyone to upset any apple carts. I don't see how, by any stretch of the imagination, it can be interpreted as emphasizing voter registration. (A copy of the resolution is attached.)

It is my impression that the tenor of the remarks made from the platform during the mass meeting constituted a gross misrepresentation of the existing situation in New Orleans. For example, with respect to the number of jobs above the menial level on Canal Street, Eli said that there was supposed to be 75, but he failed to make any mention of the Youth Council survey which turned up only 21; Alexander said that the merchants claimed there were 200 such jobs presently occupied by Negroes on Canal Street; then, Davis stated unequivocally that there were 200 jobs. Again, the manner in which the commitment about jobs in the sanitation and fire departments was stated definitely left the impression that the Mayor had committed himself to hiring Negroes in both departments within 30 days. This was at odds with the understanding of the commitment of everyone with whom I talked who had read the statement. Furthermore, in a later telephone conversation I had with Jack Nelson, he said that the written agreement had been read to him over the telephone, and that it was his impression that no commitment about actual hiring had been a part of the agreement.

In general, I would question whether a few garbage and fire jobs, and the removal of the signs in the city hall represent any significant advance considering the situation in New Orleans. While these matters may not be of direct concern to us inasmuch as they do not touch directly on voter registration, I think we are inevitably involved because if voter registration is to succeed in New Orleans, then the pressure which is potential in the Negro community must be brought to bear upon persons who can alleviate the registration abuses there. It appears that both Mayor Schiro and the white citizens who are behind him want to disavow any connection with voter registration (they argued it is a state function over which they have no control). I think it is a serious mistake to accept such a disavowal considering that the vast economic power represented by the white citizens far transcends the boundaries of Orleans parish, or of the state of Louisiana. To state that such persons have no influence over the policies implemented by the governor of Louisiana is, in my view, sheer nonsense. Furthermore, with a gubernatorial primary only three months away, with the crucial goal that the New Orleans vote will play in that primary, and with the crucial role that the New Orleans city hall will play in the way the New Orleans vote goes, it seems only a matter of common sense that the mayor of New Orleans could exercise considerable influence on the governor of Louisiana, if he found it expedient to do so.

I would be extremely reluctant to conclude that any of the Negro leaders in New Orleans are consciously and willfully misleading the Negro community there. It is compatible with all of the facts to suppose that the Negro leadership has failed adequately to assess the strength of its bargaining position. The fact that persons of the

political and economicinfluence and stature as those of the white citizens committee have come forward and directed negotiations manifest, I think, their very deep concern lest disatisfaction in the Negro community become a matter of public demonstration. Given this awareness on the part of the white power structure of the involvement of their own direct interests in the threatened demonstrations, I believe it would be possible to enlist their aid in making changes at the registrar's office, if it were made clear to them that the alternatives to such changes would rather severely conflict with things which they cherish rather dearly. When I talked with Jack Nelson, he expressed considerable chagrin that such minor concessions had been wrung by the Negroes by the whites, and he said that the attitude of the whites was, "Well, the Negro leaders were satisfied, and if they wanted more, they should have asked for more." Thus, I should judge that a serious and determined effort to convince this white power structure that it would be serving its own interest to effect changed in the registrar's office would produce some very desirable results.

I returned to New Orleans on the eveing of Thursday, August 15 to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Coordinating Council at which the future of the registration project was to be discussed.

Those in attendance at the meeting were the following:k Daniel, Upton, Augustine, Bridgewater, Nimtz, Hull, Smith, McDonald, Alexander, Dejoie, Cecil Carter, Labat, Keys, Kerns, and Castle. After about 30 minutes of discussion, the Executive Committee resolved unanimously that voter registration demonstrations were necessary and Chairman Kerns appointed a committee to plan and implement the demonstrations. The committee is chaired by Daniel, and the other members are Hull, Nimtz, McDonald, Keys, Henry (local ILA leader), Alexander, Upton, Carter, and Castle. The committee was to meet at 2 o'clock p. m. Saturday, August 18 to begin its operations.

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Attachments (on original copy)

WB

August 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Subj: Report on Visit to Baton Rouge

On August 13, I met with the Rev. Arthur Jelks, president of the local NAACP and a minister in the AME church at his home at 2265 Spain Street in Baton Rouge.

Our discussion involved both white problems and Negro problems, faced by the NAACP voter registration drive in Baton Rouge. We discussed the white problems first.

According to Rev. Jelks, the Louisiana registration test and literacy requirements are being very effectively used to minimize Negro registration in Baton Rouge. The test and the literacy requirement appear to be major factors in hindering Negro registration there. Another major factor is the fear of many Negroes that an attempt to register will bring economic reprisal. And, some apparently feel that a well-publicized and emotionalized registration drive might well lead to violence from whites. There appears to be a very real basis for the fear of economic reprisal.

Jelks tells the story of one lady who said that the white woman for whom she works asked if she was part of the registration drive. The white woman said if she was, then she didn't need to work for her, because voting was white folk's business. Information apparently is widespread in the Negro community that several persons have actually lost their jobs after registering. One teacher said that her principal has pressure on him to discourage teachers from registering. Rev.Jelks says that last year the discrimination at the registrar's office was obvious. A complaint was filed with the Justice Department, and the registrar's personnel have now become more sophisticated with their discrimination. One example he used was that when whites go in to register, the rules against helping the registrant with any part of the process are much more loosely applied than they are when Negroes are attempting to register. Jelks said that he had tried to talk to the registrar, but had never succeeded in establishing sufficient rapport with him that an intelligent discussion could take place. He mentioned one white lady who called after the announcement of the drive, and said that she was going to get her maid to register, and said that she was all in favor of Negroes registering to vote. Later the maid got in touch with a registration worker and Jelks happened to be in the office when the maid said that the person for whom she worked had told

her to go and register. He inquired and learned that this was the same white woman who had called him. He suspects that there is probably a significant number of whites who feel this way in the community, but he doubts that any of them would make their feelings public.

The registration drive had just hit off the Sunday before I arrived there. Charles Evers had been the principal speaker at the mass meeting which commenced the drive. According to both Jelks and Atty. Jones, some four or 500 persons had attended the mass meeting. They were apparently rather surprised that the turnout had been so good.

Since the drive was so new, I did not make any attempt to find out what, if any, results had been obtained thus far. Jelks did say that in the preliminary scrimaging which preceded the kicking off of the drive, six persons had registered the previous week. Thus, the white problems which appeared to be facing the drive from the outset are principally the difficulty of meeting the stringent state requirements and the fear of economic and physical reprisals.

The Negro problems facing the drive are considerably more complex, and, for that matter, are not untinged with a degree of whiteness.

Jelks says that last year, Dr. Felton Clark, president of Southern University, said he did not think that that was the time for registration. He cited this as an example of the lack of militancy in matters of Negro registration on the part of some of the more prominent Negro leaders in the community.

Jelks told the following story, not as matter of mere gossip, but to illustrate the Negro problems in the community:

Jelks had scheduled a mass meeting for April 5 of this year, to kick off an NAACP membership drive, and, he says, a fund drive to build up a pool of money which could be used to mitigate the problems of those who were subject to economic harassment because of registration activities in the registration drive he was anticipating at that time. He had arranged in early March for James Merideth to be the principal speaker at the mass meeting on April 5, and had, in early March, begun widely publicizing the meeting. He says that after he had received a commitment from Meredith to speak, and had begun publicizing this fact, a person whom he refused to identify by name, but whom he called "one of the big Baptist preachers" got in touch with "a big Mason" who, in turn, contacted "a big NAACP lawyer"in New Orleans". The purpose of all this maneuvering was to get the lawyer to use the influence he had with Meredith (this influence being based upon the fact that the lawyer had met Meredith through Mrs. Motley) to persuade Meredith not to appear at

the April 5 mass meeting. The lawyer succeeded in convincing Meredith that he should not appear in Baton Rouge, and Meredith asked Medger Evers to replace him. Apparently, Jelks knew about this replacement considerably in advance of the meeting, but as I understand it, he did not change his publicity advertising the meeting. (Although he refused to identify either the preacher or the Mason by name, later, when we were in the registration office, he asked one of the workers there whom she would think of if he said he was talking about "a big Baptist preacher", and the worker responded immediately, "Rev. T. J. Jemison." Then, Jelks asked the worker whom she would think of if he said he was talking about a "big Mason", and she responded immediately, "John G. Lewis." Lewis is Grand Master Louisiana. Jelks told this story to illustrate the extent to which certain Negro leaders in the Baton Rouge community are opposed to any kind of militant action movement there, including a registration program of any considerable proportion. I asked him why such leaders were opposed to any form of militancy, and he said that some of them have a vested interest in things remaining as they are, because of business and professional reasons; he said that in some cases, there have been indiscretions on the part of Negro leaders which whites then hold over their heads. In at least one other instance that Jelks cited, an individual committed an income tax discretion which is now being held over his head.

Jelks seemed genuinely convinced that the maneuvering to prevent Meredith's speaking at the April 5 mass meeting originated with white instructions to Negro leaders.

The other story which Jelks told was also involved with the April 5 mass meeting. He said that during the latter part of March, the police began following him wherever he went. He thinks it was on March 18 that a policeman stopped him, claiming that he had passed a car in an intersection. Jelks says that the point where the incident occurred was not an intersection at all. The policeman gave him a ticket. He was arraigned on March 28 and pled not guilty. No date was set for trial at the time of the arraignment. Jelks was told by the Clerk of Court that he would be notified when the trial was to be held. Jelks heard no more on this matter until at 6 p. m. on the night of April 5. A policeman came to his house and arrested him on a bench warrant charging Contempt of Court, in that he had not appeared for trial at the date set. This was just two hours before the mass meeting was to begin. Jelks was taken to jail and when he said that he wanted to put up bail, he was told that the judge had left town, and there was no one in town who could set bail. He insisted that he had not been informed that trial was to be held, but the police said that he had been mailed a notice that trial was to be held at 5:30. Jelks considered it significant that he was supposed to have been in court at 5:30, and that at 6 o'clock, the police were at his house with a warrant for his arrest for not appearing at 5:30. He suspected that in the ordinary course

of things, a bench warrant could not have been issued and served in such a brief length of time.

As noted above, Medgar Evers had agreed to substitute for James Meredith at the April 5 mass meeting. Evers called Jelks on the morning of the 5th, and they arranged to meet at a certain corner in Baton Rouge. Evers was driving over from Jackson. The time of meeting was later than 6 o'clock, so Jelks was unable to meet Evers because he had been arrested at 6. However, the police were waiting for Evers when he arrived at the meeting place, and they arrested him. Jelks could not remember what charge was made against Evers. Jelks said that he had not had occasion to tell anyone that Evers was meeting him at that corner, and he felt the only reasonable conclusion was that his telephone line had been tapped, and the information relayed to the police for the arrest of Evers. Evers was held in jail until 7:30, and then released. By the time he got to the church for the meeting, most of the people had left.

Then, on the morning of April 6, the judge? returned to town, set bail, and Jelks was released. Evers was at his house when he arrived home, and as they were eating breakfast, the postman arrived with the daily mail. Included in the mail was the summons for failing to answer which Jelks had been arrested on the previous evening. The envelope containing the summons was postmarked April 1. Jelks called the postmaster, and arranged for the mailman to come back to his house. When the mailman arrived, Jelks asked him if he remembered what mail had been delivered that morning, and the mailman did recall each piece, including the summons. Jelks then got the postman to sign a statement that he had delivered the summons on the morning of August 6. When Jelks appeared in court, the following Tuesday, he took the summons with its postmarked envelope and the statement of the mailman to the court with him. When he faced the judge with these items of evidence, the judge said, "I hope you don't think that this court conspired against you." And, Jelks said, "Your Honor, that's exactly what I think."

Jelks felt that this sequence of events warranted no conclusion but that someone in the post office had cooperated in insuring that the summons would not be delivered to him until after the date on which trial had been set, thus, making it possible for him to be arrested on the bench warrant and disrupting the meeting which had been scheduled on April 5. And, it does appear, either that someone with access to the postmarking equipment at the post office, or someone at the post office in a position to hold up delivery of the mail after it was postmarked must have been in on the deal.

Jelks cited this tale as an example of the length to which the whites would go to suppress militant Negro leadership in the Baton Rouge community.

There is a bi-racial committee in Baton Rouge, the members of which were appointed by the mayor. This committee had just been appointed at the time of my last visit to Baton Rouge, and my report on that visit contains a record of my discussion of the bi-racial committee with a member, A. C. Belton. When the appointment of the committee was announced, Jelks issued a public statement severely criticizing the membership of the committee, alledging that it did not represent any real Negro leadership, and asserting that the appointment of the committee would have no apparent effect on demonstrations which he was planning. The members of the committee are: Dr. Dupuy Anderson, a dentist and member of the Executive Board of the local NAACP chapter; Dr. Dyer, a dentist; John G. Lewis, Grand Master; Raymond Scott, a tailor; A. C. Belton, who works at the Esso refinery; Mr. Nettlebille, vice president of Southern University, and a close associate of Dr. Felton CLark; the Rev. T. J. Jemison, Baptist; the Rev. E. D. Dillups, Baptist; the Rev. W. T. Handy, Methodist; Rev. L. L. Haymes, Methodist; Mr. Washington, who, Jelks thinks is a laborer; Mr. Jimmy Cook, whom Jelks describes as an S.O. public relations man and a hauling contractor who depends upon politicians for his jobs. According to Jelks, Dr. Anderson is the only member of the bi-racial committee who is in any way prominent in the NAACP chapter. Some of the rest are members, but none are active leaders in the chapter.

Jelks figures that the mayor probably selected the committee members on the recommendations of Nettlebille, Clark, Lewis, and Jemison.

Jelks describes FOCUS as another version of the bi-racial committee. Jelks was unable to supply the names of any whites. However, Jelks says he is thinking of having at least two mass meetings during the eight-weeks registration drive. He said that Patton had not told him how much money NAACP was making available for the registration drive.

At the time I was in the registration office with Jelks on the afternoon of August 13, the director, Miss Hawkins was absent. She had gone to Jackson, Mississippi, to attend the trial of some of the demonstrators there. Jelks expressed some concern with her absence during this initial stage of the drive, but seemed to feel that he could not tell her not to go since she was a volunteer. He also said that he was uncertain whether the Youth Council was going to be able to recruit enough volunteer canvassers to make the drive as effective as it might be. He said he had received no cooperation from any of the other ministers in attempting to recruit workers from the pulpit.

Jelks and I left the registration office and went to the office of Atty. Johnny Jones. Jones is chairman of the registration drive. We were in his office for about three hours, and during that time, Jones, as chairman of the drive, got several calls from persons who had not been able to locate Miss Hawkins, and who had problems in connection with the registration program. Jones also expressed some concern about Miss Hawkins' absence, and he said he felt that if it were possible to hire a director, this kind of problem would not arise.

Jones and Jelks said that they had attended the meeting of the Louisiana Advancement Association which had been held in Baton Rouge on August 10, simultaneous with the meeting in Lake Charles. Both said it had been an informative meeting, and that persons from all over the state had attended. They said that the meeting had primarily been devoted to a discussion of obstacles to Negro registration in Louisiana. Jones gave me a copy of the announcement of the meeting which is attached. A principle of the Louisiana Advancement Association seems to be the Rev. David Dennis in New Orleans. I understand that Avery Alexander is also an official of the organization. I had supposed when I heard about the meeting it had been organized by one of the political factions in Louisiana in anticipation of the upcoming Democratic primary. I had further supposed that Morrison was probably the most likely person to have organized such a meeting. However, Jelks told me that there was considerable criticism of Morrison at the meeting, and Jones said he suspected that probably Gillis Long was the man behind the meeting. The meetings were held at the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church. Jones said that he figures that the Louisiana Advancement Society is going to be expressing concern about voter registration for Negroes during the coming weeks, and that it will serve as a vehicle by which Negro leadership throughout the state can be contacted by the Gillis Long campaign organization. He supposes that the real purpose of the organization is to compile a list of Negro politicians throughout the state which can then be used in such things as calling of campaign meetings and getting out the vote on election day. He appeared to be not at all hopeful that any meaningful registration difficulties would be resolved by the Louisiana Advancement society, and felt that its life would probably terminate with the election.

During the time we were discussing the registration drive in Jones' office, he mentioned the slow-but-sure techniques which have been used by the FOCUS organization in the past, and he seemed to be implying that this was an effective means of adding Negroes to the rolls. He described the operation as involving one employed person, who was required to get a minimum number of new registrants per week, and who got a flat fee for each registrant over that number. His description of the operation corresponded with the description A. C. Belton had given me on my last visit

to Baton Rouge. At the time we were discussing the FOCUS operation, Jones expressed no disatisfaction with it. I knew that the Rev. Jelks felt that it was too slow an operation ever to overcome purgers, migrations and deaths in the Negro registration. Jelks did not express himself to this effect when we were in Jones' office. Jones expressed much the same opinion of the bi-racial committee which Jelks had expressed.

I mentioned some of my experiences with the Community Relations Committee in New Orleans, and suggested that one of the difficulties of that committee was that its membership apparently had no adequate conception of the bargaining power of the position it presently occupies. I cited some of the specifics I had picked up in New Orleans and Jones appeared to be very interested. He suggested that I meet with Dr. Anderson and Raymond Scott, two members of the committee, that evening. I agreed to do so.

Dr. Anderson was described both by Jelks and by Jones as the only member of the Baton Rouge bi-racial committee who was at all dependable.

Jelks, Jones, Anderson, Scott, and myself had dinner that evening. Scott appears to occupy some position of leadership in the FOCUS organization. He took the initiative in the discussion by describing the accomplishments and gains which he attributed to FOCUS in the field of registration in the past. Jelks required that he admit that the accumulation of registration by FOCUS had been very slow, and that registration in East Baton Rouge parish had hovered at about the same level for the past five years or so. The only argument that Scott could present was that the official figures that the registrar published were not accurate. He said that FOCUS had definite information that the registrar was deliberately concealing four to 500 Negro registrants in order not to arouse animosity of the white Citizen's Council. As he became involved in justifications of the FOCUS methods, Scott became somewhat confused, and several times, he contradicted himself as to various facts and figures. Jelks was quite dubious about everything that Scott was saying, and at several points, he nudged me under the table, and looked at me in an "didn't I tell you" way. Jones appeared to be embarrassed by Scott's performance. He took the Jelks position and began arguing with Scott that a much more militant and massive approach to voter registration appeared to be needed. Scott's reaction was that the registrar would become tougher and tougher under the pressure from the Citizen's Council if there was much noise made about voter registration among the Negroes. I suggested that this was a problem which eventually was going to have to be faced. I told them it seemed to me that this kind of attitude on the part of the registrar appeared to be a sophisticated way of dampening Negro registration efforts, and that certainly it served the same purpose without creating the difficulties so long as the Negro leadership was willing to comply. At several points, Scott

reiterated that he could have nothing to do with a really militant registration drive. In a curious kind of self-contradiction, Scott offered to provide Jones with a list of unregistered Negroes, which had been compiled a year or so ago at the time Jones ran for District Attorney. The contradiction came in when he said that it was just as good now as it was when it was compiled.

As a result of this discussion of the registration program between Anderson, Scott, Jelks, and Jones - it appeared to be the consensus of all but Scott that there was a need for a militant and rather massive approach to voter registration. They agreed that they should begin holding mass meetings, and making every attempt to get the entire community aroused to a point of enthusiasm about voter registration.

We did not have much time to discuss the bi-racial committee matter because Jelks and Anderson had to leave to attend an NAACP meeting. However, before they left, we did get into the discussion a bit, and I told Anderson of the importance I thought should be attached to identifying the whites in the community who have expressed some awareness of their interest being affected by Negro demands. He seemed thoroughly to agree with this point of view, and expressed considerable disgust that Voorhies, head of the Esso refinery in Baton Rouge, had refused to participate in the bi-racial negotiations. He had the feeling that the persons with whom had been dealing (he did not choose to identify them) were very definitely on secondary and tertiary levels of power in the community. At one point, he described the Esso refinery as the most segregated place in the world. And, at another point, he stated that he felt that the bi-racial committee was being thoroughly and completely hoodwinked. He thoroughly discounted all of Scott's assertions that the committee had been responsible for some progress since its initiation.

My overall impression of the Baton Rouge project is that it can be a success if Jelks is even able to get a minimum of cooperation from the more complacent elements in the community. I am not sure just where Jones stands because he appeared at one time to be an advocate of the FOCUS approach, and at another time, to be an advocate of the more militant Jelks approadh. I had a private conversation with Jones after the dinner meeting with the others during which he expressed considerable disgust with Scott, and with the FOCUS approach. I am convinced that in Baton Rouge, as in New Orleans, the sophisticated type of slow-down at the registrar's office is going to have to be dealt with effectively before any significant gains in Negro registration are going to be accomplished because of the lukewarmness and legalizm of the Justice Department's attitude about these matters, coupled with the cleverness and sophistication of the whites involved, along with their apparent determination to maintain maximum quotas on Negro registration. I doubt that Federal legal action offers much hope, considering the apparent

complacency of much of the Negro leadership. It is probably going to be difficult to mobilize the Negro community insuch a way as to make it a matter of expediency before registration policy is to be changed. Difficult, but not impossible.

Jelks appears to have some such strategy in mind, although I am by no means certain that he will confine his activities to voter registration. He is very deeply involved in such matters as desegregation of lunch counters, public accommodations, et cetera.

While Jones is technically chairman of the registration drive, his law practice apparently prevents his devoting much time or attention to the drive. This being the case, I suspect that Jelks will be the machine which drives the program regardless of titles and organizational structure. I think this is good. Jelks strikes me as a capable, effective and committed leader who is well equipped by both intellect and experience to combat the white opposition. Unless Jelks is completely immobilized by the "old guard", and I do not see how this can be accomplished, without the use of measures which would be inexpedient, I expect to see significant gains made in Baton Rouge registration during the program we are supporting. I think we can learn much by watching as closely as possible, the developments in Baton Rouge as the program developes. Jelks will be reporting to us through Patton on the customary and NAACP forms.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

Attachment

LOUISIANA ADVANCEMENT ASSOCIATION
2005 NORTH CLAIBORNE AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
943-3393 or Tw 1-0779

August 2, 1963

Dear Citizen and Civic Worker:

In the course of our discussions with you and citizens all over Louisiana, we have found that Negroes face many problems that prevent them from exercising their constitutional right to register and vote.

Therefore, in order to remedy as much as possible, these inequities, our organization is convening a meeting of community leaders, in the city of Baton Rouge on Saturday, August 10, at 9:45am, in the Auditoreum of the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, 1743 Convention Street, the Rev. Carey N. Morris, Pastor. The following problems and their solutions will be discussed:

1. The widespread practice of voter registrars turning Negroes down whole-sale in many parishes.

2. The unconcern and apathy of Negroes in parishes where they can register without too much difficulty.

3. The stimulation of Negroes in those parishes where they constitute a large percentage of their registry to run for office so that Negroes will represent Negroes.

4. Finally, we will also attempt to unify the activities of Negro civic groups throughout the state on registration and the many other questions that affect us as a group.

May I also submit this additional information: we are inviting an assistant Attorney General to answer some of your questions on registration. We are also inviting all of the announced Candidates for Governor of Louisiana to express their views on this question.

Please come prepared to participate in all of these discussions and bring any additional information available in your parish. Try to bring some women leaders or workers from your parish to help us organize a Women's Auxillary.

The organization will sponsor a luncheon at noon, free to the participants. It will also help those organizations desiring it on their expense up to the amount of ten dollars ($10.00) for those traveling long distances. If there is any further information desired, please don't hesitate to write or call 943-3393 or Tw 1-0779.

Please do not destroy this letter, as it is your credential for admittance to the metting.

Very truly yours,

Rev. Avery Alexander, Co-ordinator

WB

August 30, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Jack Minnis

Subj: A Visit to Clinton, Louisiana

While I was in Plaquemine on August 14, I learned that there was to be a hearing on preliminary motions in the case of James Lesser in Clinton on August 15. Lesser had been arrested a week or so previously and charged with disturbing the peace while he was accompanying two Negroes to the registrar's office in the East Feliciana parish courthouse in Clinton, Louisiana.

Rudy Lombard had told me that every Negro whom he knew of who had attempted to register during the CORE summer project in East Feliciana or who had in any way had anything to do with the project, had been subpeonaed for the hearing and that in addition, the defense attorneys and two FBI men had been subpeonaed. No one with whom I had talked had been able to get any explanation of why this enormous number of persons had been subpeonaed for what everyone thought was a quite routine hearing. Since I had to be in New Orleans on the evening of August 15, for a meeting of the executive committee of the Coordinating Council, I decided to stay over in Baton Rouge the night of August 14 and attend the hearing in Clinton on the 15th.

The hearing was scheduled for 1 o'clock in the East Feliciana courthouse at Clinton. I arrived at about 12:30, parked on the square, and entered the courthouse. At the time I entered the courtroom, there were some 25 or 30 whites seated on the front rows in the spectator section. I took a seat that was somewhat isolated from those who were already there. I was the only person in the room with a white shirt and tie on, and it must have been apparent to the natives that I was an outsider. I had been there some 10 or 15 minutes when one of those who appeared to be acquainted with everyone in the room, and to be in some position of leadership, approached me and told me that they were going to have what he called a meeting of interested citizens with regard to some legislation. He said that this meeting was to take place before the hearing, and asked if I would mind stepping outside during the meeting. There was little that I could but accede to this request. I left the courtroom and stood about in the hall surrounded by the deputy sheriff. I stood as close as I could to the door of the courtroom, being very curious about the nature of this "meeting". During the time I was standing by the courtroom door, every other white person, except a Justice

Department lawyer and apparently three FBI men, who approached the courtroom, was admitted. The sheriff was standing at the courtroom door. As the native whites would approach, he would say, with some ostentation, it seemed to me, "Are you goin' to the meeting'?", and then he would open the door to admit the natives. Four young men of apparent high school age approached at one point, and I gathered from the comments of some of the deputies that these were probably stars of the high school football team. They were admitted to the meeting along with all the rest. Thus, the courtroom door was opened any number of times while I was standing by it, and I was able to look into the courtroom and see that nothing like a meeting in formal sense was taking place inside.

Shortly after I left the courtroom, a white man dressed in coat and tie approached and seemed to isolate himself from the natives and the deputies. I asked him if he was the defense attorney, and he said that he was not. He identified himself as Cauder, a Justice Department lawyer. I asked him if the Justice Department was in any way intervening in the legal proceedings. He said that the Justice Department was not; he said that his presence was due to the fact that some FBI men had been subpeonaed. It struck me as typical of the Justice Department's attitude in such cases that Cauder did not appear to be in the least concerned that the scheduled hearings involved a registration worker who had been arrested on obviously specious charges while he was helpin g Negroes to register. When I told Cauder who I was, he appeared to be somewhat alarmed that the natives and the deputies might have seen him talking to me, and thereafter while we waited for the "meeting" to end, he demonstrated to any interested observer that he had no connection whatever with me.

At one point during the period of waiting, some Negroes started to come up the stairs to the courtroom. The sheriff and a couple of deputies shouted down to them instructing them that a meeting was going on, and that they were not to come upstairs until they were notified that the meeting was over.

Shortly after the arrival of the Justice Department lawyer, three white men came up the stairs carrying briefcases, one of them a cripple. These three appeared to be FBI men. They exchanged jocular comment with the deputies and the natives who were gathered around, and then one of them went into a kind of huddle with the Justice Department lawyer.

When the defense attorneys, including Miss Axelrod, arrived, the sheriff observed that he thought the meeting was over, and he opened the courtroom door. The defense attorneys entered, and the Negroes who had been lined up downstairs began to ascend the stairs and file into the courtroom. The Justice Department attorney and the three FBI men were among the

first to enter the room. I moved into the line of Negroes and entered the courtroom after some 25 or 30 Negroes had entered. The first four rows of the spectator's seats were filled with whites. Only two vacant seats were remaining on the far side of the courtroom from the entrance door in this white filled section. I noticed that the Justice Department attorney had seated himself in one of these seats. The FBI men had taken a standing position against the wall next to the door inside the courtroom. At no time did I see them make a move for a seat among the Negro spectators.

All of the seats filled up and there must have been 50 to 75 Negroes standing in the aisle, and along the back of the seating section. The judge stuck his head out the door of his chamber and motioned to the bailiff. The bailiff came over and talked to the judge, and then he went back to the front of the courtroom and announced that all persons who did not have a seat must leave the courtroom. Spectators who were standing filed out of the courtroom. Then, the judge came out of his chambers and went to the front of the courtroom, and announced that all subpeonaed witnesses must leave the courtroom. About three-fourths of the Negroes who were seated got up and filed out. I saw no whites leave. Then, the deputy on the door began letting the Negroes who had been standing back into the courtroom until all of the spectator seats were once again filled.

I saw the judge motion the Justice Department attorney and the crippled FBI man to come to the front of the courtroom. He took them out on the balcony of the courthouse, and apparently pointed out something to them in the street surrounding the square.

There was a considerable wait, and then the prosecuting attorney arrived and went into the judge's chambers, along with the judge and the defendant's attorneys. The Justice Department attorney went out of the courtroom into the hallway. I do not know whether or not he went into the judge's chambers through the outside door.

After some 15 or 20 minutes, the principles in the hearing came out of the judge's chambers and the proceedings got underway. The prosecutor read the statements from August 9 and August 15 issues of a newspaper which quoted Gordon Carey's allegations that the arrest of Lesser was harassment of registration workers. The prosecutor said that the hearing was unusual during vacation time, and that it was being held only to give CORE justice. The prosecutor said that he did not believe he could adequately represent the state when he was being publicly accused of harassment and irregularities. He said that he did not believe that the court should hold this hearing under such circumstances. He cited the fact that the courtroom was filled with spectators, a thing he said he could never remember having happen before. He said he did not be-

lieve that the court could render a fair and impartial verdict under the extremely tense conditions existing in Clinton. He alleged that the public statements of Gordon Carey and the presence of large numbers of Negroes in the courtroom and lining the streets outside constituted pressure on the court. He said that the state was entitled to justice in the same way that CORE was entitled to justice, and he asked that the hearing be continued until the court could proceed without public accusations from CORE, and without intimidations from East Feliciana parish Negroes.

The defense argued that the newspaper quotations were hearsay, and therefore inadmissable. He argued that the defendant's rights would be seriously affected by a continuance. He pointed out that the defendant had already been incarcerated for two weeks, and would have to serve time in addition to that two weeks in the event of his conviction. He pointed out that the prosecutor had asked for an indefinite continuance, and that this could mean indefinite incarceration for the defendant. He also suggested that delay would not mitigate public interest in the issues represented in the hearing. He asked that the hearing of preliminary motions continue right then. Then, the prosecutor argued that the defendant had made no attempt to make bail, and that apparently he wanted to stay in jail. He said he thought an organization like CORE could make bail. He said there had been no move to reduce bail, which had been set at $2,000 on this disturbing the peace charge. He said that if CORE's heart was bleeding for the defendant's liberty, then CORE should make bail, and that CORE is calculating to put the prosecutor and the court on the spot.

The judge overruled the defense attorney's objection that the newspaper articles were inadmissable, and agreed with the prosecutor that a full courtroom was unique in his experience. He mentioned the considerable interest which the Negroes of the community were displaying in this trial, and construed this interest and its manifestation as pressure on the court which precluded the possibility of a fair and impartial hearing for the state. He ruled that he would continue the hearing without date, but that he would be amenable to a conference between the two sides sometime during the October turn of court. And so this chapter of Louisiana justice ended.

It appears that the inordinate number of subpeonas which had been issued for this hearing must have been designed to insure that notice of the hearing would be widespread in the Negro community, and that a great deal of interest and curiosity would be aroused with regard to it. Thus the prosecution was provided with a large number of Negroes both inside

the courtroom and out, and could argue that tension in the community precluded a fair and impartial hearing. The so-called "meeting" of citizens in the courtroom prior to the hearing appears to have been a dodge by which the courtroom could be packed with white spectators, thus insuring a lack of seating for the Negro spectators who were expected as a result of the subpeonas, and thus adding to the confusion and the appearance of large crowds.

I regard this incident as a prime of example of the manner in which the machinery of "justice" can be used to defeat its own purported objective.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

WB

August 30, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

Field Trip Report

From: Jack Minnis

Subj: A Visit to Plaquemine, Louisiana, on August 14, 1963

Ronnie Moore was in the hospital with stomach trouble the morning I arrived in Plaquemine, and I did not get to see him until that afternoon after his release from the hospital. I visited the CORE office in Plaquemine, and talked some of the personnel there, as well as with Rudy Lombard, of New Orleans and Syracuse University, who is one of the leaders of the CORE summer task force.

The CORE office operation is impressive in its efficiency. The walls are lined with county maps of each of the counties in which the summer task force is operating. The office serves as an information and communication center for the eight parish voter registration operation, as well as a headquarters for the more intensive picketing and general action activities which CORE is conducting in Plaquemine.

There was a constant flow in and out of the office as pickets were picked up at their homes, brought by the office to sign in, and then taken downtown to relieve other pickets who were on duty in front of several stores, and in front of the courthouse. In an anteroom of the office, about half-a-dozen young people were listening to a tape recording of a speech that had been made a mass meeting a few nights previously. They were commenting upon the content of the speech, as well as upon the technique of the speaker. This appeared to be a more or less impromptu study session or workshop in the art of public speaking. The comments, criticisms, and discussion were wholly constructive, and the persons who were in engaging in the workshop appeared to be genuinely concerned about learning what they could from the technique of the speaker.

Rudy Lombard explained to me in some detail the way the voter registration operation is conducted. He said that two persons had been sent out at the beginning of the project into the county seat of each of the counties included in the program. The first step these two persons took in each community was an attempt to involve local leadership in the project. Their success varied considerably from county to county. Rudy said that their best success outside of Plaquemine had been achieved in St. Helena parish, and he suggested that I visit St. Helena that afternoon. He told me that after establishing some kind of communication with local leaders, the next step was to set up at least one workshop,

and preferably several in churches in various parts of the county. Then, the CORE teams recruited help in order to canvass each community, and stimulate persons to come to the clinics and prepare themselves to make a registration attempt. Then the CORE workers, in whatever way they could, arranged for transporting the prospective registrants both from the home to the clinic, and from the clinic to the registrar's office. CORE had, I believe, four automobiles which worked out of the Plaquemine office, and were sometimes available for this transport duty in the outlying parishes.

I shall not go into the problems encountered and the results obtained because these facts are well laid out in Ronnie Moore's recent report on the project.

I met Ronnie and Major Johns at the CORE office at about 1:30 or 2 o'clock and Ronnie suggested that I go with Major Johns and visit the work going on in St. Helena parish. St. Helena is about 45 minutes drive from Plaquemine.

When we arrived at the country church where a clinic in St. Helena was taking place, we met Mr. Clarence Knighton, who is the president of the St. Helena chapter of the NAACP. He and one other gentleman and a lady were at the clinic. In addition, there was one CORE worker there making up his report to be turned in that night, and before we left, his teammate returned from a foray into the community looking for prospects for the morrow. The relationship between the CORE workers and Mr. Knighton and his colleagues appeared to be very cordial. If this relationship is any example of the success of CORE in overcoming the charge of "outsider" in its summer project, then CORE has been successful indeed.

I asked Mr. Knighton what were the principal problems with which Negroes in St. Helena who wanted to register had to contend. He began by pointing out first of all that the education level among Negroes is very low in that rural area, and that the registration test and the literacy requirements were a considerable hindrance. He went on then to talk at some length about the fear of economic reprisal, and the fear of actual physical violence which many Negroes express when they are approached by registration workers. He appeared at this point to be rather well satisfied with the progress of the registration drive thus far. He mentioned that only that morning he had had a very cordial conversation with the registrar of voters in the St. Helena courthouse. He said that the registrar had very carefully and patiently explained that it was necessary for him to be very meticulous in applying the state registration requirements lest the white Citizen's Council begin to put pressure on him to really be hard on Negroes. Mr. Knighton had previously explained that many Negroes are turned down for reading and

writing errors which are not really relevant to the presumed purpose of the registration requirements. Mr. Knighton had at no time up to this point expressed indignation or disatisfaction with the attitude of the registrar, nor with the attitude of the sheriff, who also appeared to have treated him in the past with some cordiality and respect.

Major Johns brought up the point that it sounded to him as though the registrar and the sheriff were nearly slick segregationists, rather than real friends of the Negro people. He suggested that whatever reasons the registrar might give for his meticulous application of the registration requirements, the net effect was that the increase in Negro registration would very likely not off-set the effect of purges, migration, and death. When Major Johns brought up these points, Mr. Knighton readily agreed. It was as though he had been talking about registration and Negro-white relationships on one level which really had no connection with the level that Major Johns was bringing up. He seemed to feel it was a matter of fact that the state of Louisiana, through the state board of registration, is implementing a program of maximum quotas on Negro registration throughout Louisiana. Furthermore, he seemed to have accepted this as one of the given obstacles, the presence of which one simply acknowledged and then ignored. I got the impression that he had never really given much thought to what could be done about such a maximum quota program. My acquaintance and conversation with Mr.Knighton and his colleagues was by no means sufficient in depth or duration to provide a basis for firm conclusions. Nevertheless, it was my impression that Mr.Knighton and his group are probably not the tools, either wittingly or unwittingly, of the whites. (One or both of which appears to be the case in the other places I visited in Louisiana). From the things Mr. Knighton said, in his account of his relations with the white politicians, I gathered that a certain amount of civility, even cordiality, on the part of the whites, probably tends to disarm Mr. Knighton, at least momentarily. His attitude of understanding and agreement when Major Johns raised this issue was in stark contrast to the attitude of Mr. Scott in Baton Rouge when I raised the same issue. As I believe I noted in my Baton Rouge report, Mr. Scott, at such a juncture, immediately embarked upon a defense of the whites.

We returned from St. Helena to Plaquemine in time to sit in on a meeting which was preparing for a demonstration in Plaquemine that night. Please let it be noted here that the demonstration had been decided upon considerably in advance of my visit to Plaquemine, and that I had nothing to do with that decision. In the planning session, as nearly as I can remember, were Ronnie Moore, Gordon Carey, Beverly Axelrod (CORE attorney), the Rev. Davis (a Plaquemine minister in whose church the meeting was held that night), Dr. Tyson (a doctor of Plaquemine who

who happens to be a Negro), W. W. Harleaux, a Plaquemine man by the name of "Cap" Harris, and several other Plaquemine people whose names I did not get. Also present were two members of an unidentified TV crew who recorded the proceedings.

The meeting had been called to plan the tactics of the demonstration which was scheduled for that night. Several of the registration workers who had been arrested on the ferry the previous Sunday were in the Iberville parish jail in Plaquemine, and the jail was to be the target of the demonstration. There was considerable discussion about the precise aim and focus of the demonstration. It was generally agreed upon that when asked why they were demonstrating, the leaders of the demonstration would have a list of grievances including the general segregation abuses, in education, employment, public accommodations, et cetera. (By this time, the TV crew had gone into the church to record the singing). Mr. Harleaux, whom I had met the previous weekend in Lake Charles, asked me if I had any suggestions. I told them of some of the discussions we had had in the VEP office at the time of the Greenwood demonstrations last March, and that I understood it to be our experience that in those situations where it is appropriate, demonstrations should be exclusively confined to registration abuses. I further suggested that since the focus of the demonstrations was to be the cite in which some 20 registration workers were incarcerated that it would be most appropriate to demand their release on the ground that their continued detention was seriously hampering the registration program. All agreed that this was the case, and that it would be well to confine demands and statements of grievance to this one point. Then the discussion went into the tactics and the appointment of leaders and so forth. When these matters had been decided upon, the meeting broke up and adjourned to the church for a brief singing and instruction session, and then some 200 demonstrators led by Gordon Carey and the Rev. Davis walked in double file to the county courthouse.

I want no suggestion re demonstration

By the time the head of the file had come to a stop and was confronted by the sheriff and a number of riot-equipped policemen at the entrance to the courthouse yard, the street opposite the courthouse was lined with fully as many Negro spectators as there were Negro demonstrators. There was a discussion between the sheriff and the demonstration leaders during which the sheriff tried to persuade the Rev. Davis to call off the demonstration because of the lateness of the hour (by this time it was about 9:30 or 10 o'clock). The sheriff suggested that the demonstration take place before sundown the following day. He suggested at 6 or 6:30. The Rev. Davis and Gordon Carey and a couple of the other demonstration leaders then conferred a little distance from the sheriff. They came to a decision and went back and informed the sheriff that they would gather in front of the courthouse right then, would sing one song, and have one prayer, and then would disperse. They further told the

the sheriff that they would be back the following evening, probably around 7 o'clock. The sheriff, apparently with considerable relief, then stated that since the demonstration was to take place on the city street, it was the province of the police chief and not of him. The police chief offered no comment, and made no attempt in any way to harass or deter the demonstrators. They lined up in an orderly rank in front of the courthouse, sang several verses of "We Shall Overcome", were led in prayer by the Rev. Davis, and then turned and walked back to the church.

Both during the walk from the church to the courthouse and from the courthouse to the church, the city police directed traffic and otherwise observed the proceedings. Though the very presence of the police probably had some intimidating effect on the demonstrators, this was not readily apparent from observing the demonstrators. At no time did I see any instance of overt harassment or intimidation on the part of the police, or on the part of any other whites.

The leaders had another strategy meeting after returning to the church. They all expressed determination to demonstrate the following evening, and began a discussion of demands to make in the event that they were contacted by the city officials as a result of the demonstration just concluded. None of the leaders appeared really to have considered any specific demands to make or grievances of which to complain. There was again considerable discussion of this point, and then I was again asked if I had any suggestions. I told them that my very cursory observations of the day had led me to conclude that there probably were some very specific demands they could make with regard to voter registration. The first, of course, would be the release of the registration workers. I asked if they thought it would help registration any to have a Negro clerk working in the registrar's office. There was unanimous agreement that this probably help registration considerably by easing the tension and fears of Negroes who were going up to register. There had apparently also been some difficulty with changing criteria of identification by the registrar. They agreed that they should demand some specific identification requirements which the registrar would agree to adhere to. Before the meeting closed, it appeared to be the general concensus that if they were contacted by the whites as a result of the demonstration that evening, they would confine their demands to voter registration. There also appeared to be some sentiment for confining any future demonstrations to this one aspect of the civil rights grievances of the community. Subsequent events showed, of course, that this agreement either never was really reached, or that it simply was not implemented. During all of the discussions of that evening, I heard no mention of the gerrymandering abuses about which I have since read in the paper.

I learned the following day that the 20-odd registration workers had

been released. I have not had the opportunity to talk to anyone who would know whether there was any causal relationship between the demonstration of August 14 and the release of these persons.

I left Plaquemine with the impression that here was a Louisiana community in which a singular degree of unity existed between leaders and followers, and in which it was not likely that the white would be able successfully to sow the seeds of disunity.

Jack Minnis

JM:js

We Went to *Jail* For You!—*Now* You *Register* To **Vote** For **Us!**

ACMHR

FOR

- Better Schools
- Playground and Recreation Facilities
- Proper Sewerage and Street Lighting
- Fair Employment in Civic Jobs
- Good Government
- Participation and Representation in Gov't.

CAST YOUR VOTE:

AGAINST

- Racist Politicians
- Police Brutality
- Unequal Distribution of Public Money
- Employment Discrimination
- Slum Housing

SCLC

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights — Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Pres.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference — Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Pres.

OFFICE: 505½ N. 17th STREET

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL 324-5944

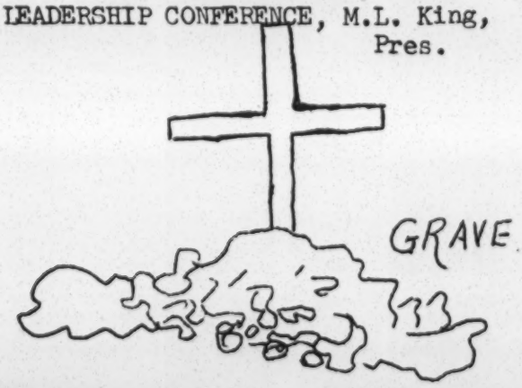
ATTENTION' ATTENTION ATTENTION

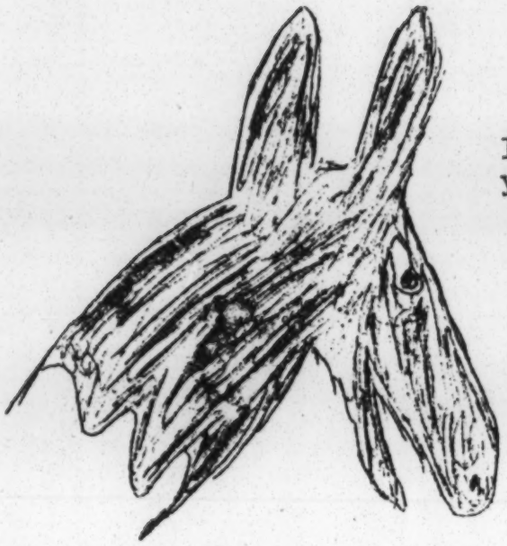
Are you going to be a slave all of your life? Then now's the time for you to wake up. Wake up to the realization that the only way we can abolish slavery is through the ballot.

Make it your personal responsiability to see that every person 21 and over is a registered voter.

Before I be a slave I'll be buried in my grave and go home to my Lord and be free.

ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOMEMENT for HUMAN RIGHTS -
F.L. Shuttlesworth, Pres.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, M.L. King, Pres.





I'm a jackass and I can't vote, but
you're a jackass if you don't vote.

FOR

Better Schools
Street Lighting
Civic Jobs
Good Government
Participation and
representation in
good Gov't.
Fair Emplayment

AGAINST

Racist Politicia
Police Brutality
Slum Areas
Employment Dis-
CRIMINATION

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights-F.L. Shuttlesworth, Pres.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference- M.L. King, Pres.

OFFICE: 505½ N. 17th STREET
For further information call 324-5944

The man who doesn't vote when he has the chance may be acting as:

1. A tool of the worst machine bosses.
2. A victim of pressure groups.
3. An ally of crooks
4. A general influence for bad government.

Join the hundreds of students who are making their witness for freedom Make it your personal responsiability to see that every person 21 or over is a registered voter.

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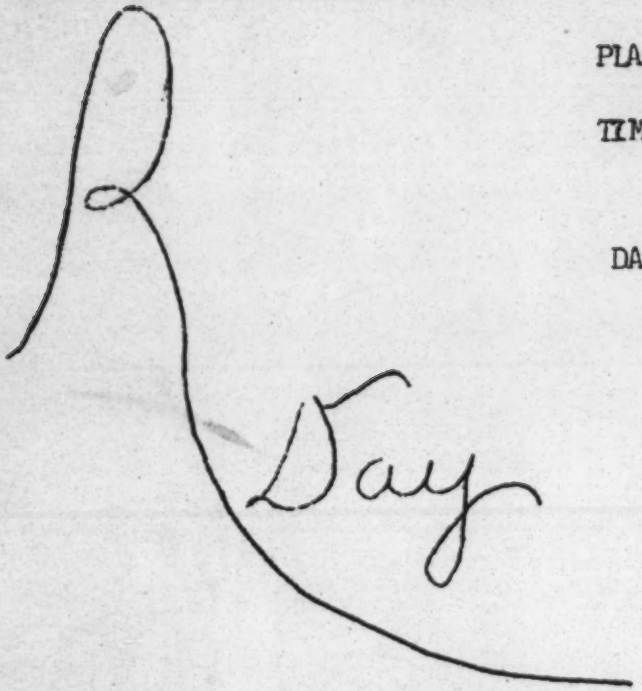

PLACE_____FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, Ensley

TIME_____9 A. M. --12 P.M.

DATE_____JUNE 3, 4, 5,

REGISTER TO VOTE

REGISTER TO VOTE

A VOTELESS PEOPLE IS A HOPELESS PEOPLE

Photo + return to Moak

Organizational Structure and Strategy For C O R E 'S Summer Voter Education Project in Louisiana

I. Area of Concentration

A. Iberville 8 (women + men)

B. West Feliciana

C. East Feliciana

14 (women + men)

D. Pointe Coupee (1) men

E. Tangipahoa (2) men

F. St. Helena (3)

G. East Baton Rouge (2) women

II. Institute

A. Place - Iberville Parish (Plaquemine, La.)

B. ~~Suggested Date - July 5, 1963 - July 19, 1963~~ Date: July 14 — 28, 1963

C. Objectives

1. To teach Louisiana's voter registration procedures.

2. To intensify CORE'S program in Iberville Parish

~~3. To mobilize all manpower forces into West Feliciana Parish during training period~~

III. Geographical Distribution of Volunteers into the above Area of Concentration in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana

A. Iberville

1. Rosedale and Maringouin

2. White Castle

3. Plaquemine and Bayou Area

4. Saint Gabriel and Carville

B. Saint Helena

1. Headquarters at Greensberg, Louisiana

2. Canvassing to be directed by Ellis Howard

C. East and West Feliciana Parishes

1. Housing of volunteers in East Feliciana

2. Areas to be worked in EF

a. Clinton

b. Wilson

c. Jackson

3. Areas for consistent and daily concentration in West Feliciana

a. Tunica c. Laurel Hill

b. Saint Francisville d. Wakefield

D. East Baton Rouge

1. Second Ward

2. South Baton Rouge

E. Tangipahoa

1. Hammond

2. Amite

3. Independence

IV. Project Operation and Traveling

A. Atleast 30 participants plus staff

B. Atleast 54 days of operation

C. Traveling

1. Bus transportation from origin to Baton Rouge

2. Car transportation from BR to Plaquemine, Louisiana

3. Car transportation from Plaquemine to other parishes

V. Expenditures for Housing, Food, and Transportation

A. Housing 50¢ per day per person equals $15.00 per day which equals . . . . . $ 810.00
for 54 days

B. Food $1.00 per day per persons for 54 days for 30 participants 1,620.00

C. Transprotation $16.00 per day for car care, gasoline, oil etc. for 54 days. 864.00

D. 2 extra cars needed (Ask Wiley) 1,000.00

E. Stationery, memograph work, and miscellaneous for 54 days 350.00

$4,644.00

VI. Coordination and Recording Centers

A. Information and Records

1. Tabulation Sheets

2. Complaint Forms

3. Registrational and Canvassing Sheets

B. Centers

1. Baton Rouge at Second Ward Voters League's office

2. ~~Residential office of local field secretary~~

3. Church Youth Center at Greensberg, Louisiana

Office at Plaquemine, La.

WB

WBB
Bak

April 23, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Weldon J. Rougeau

Re: Field Report on Nashville, Tennessee (VEP 4-3)

During my recent field trip to Nashville, Tennessee, I became very impressed with the results obtained during a recent voter registration drive. Through various interviews, I learned that production was commensurate with the effort placed into the over-all drive.

I shall try to categorize each area of activity involved in the registration drive and give my personal comments from an observational standpoint.

ORGANIZATION OF DRIVE

Each person I spoke with, particularly Miss A. Theresa Whittaker, the director of the voter registration project in Nashville, appeared to feel that given more time to contact all segments of the community, the drive would have been better organized.

In the opinion of Miss Whittaker and Mr. Avon Williams, Jr., chairman of the Davidson County Independent Political Council, they "....were pushed for organizing time...." because they were desirious of using the motor tag purchasing period as a means of contacting more people who were in and around the courthouse. Most of the people registered were registered as a result of their using the aforementioned period to their advantage.

Mrs. C. E. McGruder, president of the Nashville branch of the NAACP, felt that because of the "short time for planning," the PTA, high school student councils, and other community organizations could not be contacted.

I asked each person if they would need an organizing period before beginning another drive upon receiving another monetary grant from VEP. Most of them felt this would be needed, but that at the same time, felt their two workers at the courthouse who solicit registration of Negroes, should remain there. This ostensibly seems to be practical since the courthouse workers have been doing an effective job.

VEP 4-3
Weldon Rougeau

PUBLICITY

According to Miss Whitaker, there was sufficient radio and newspaper publicity but no television spot announcements were sought for fear of a counter reaction from the white community. I expressed the feeling that television publicity should have been sought because it would still be beneficial for Negro registration and that perhaps it could serve as a catalyst for arousal of the masses if there were counter registration drives by reactionary whites.

Most of the printed matter I saw was very well composed, appealing, and easily readable. A Mr. Donneley from Fisk University, has been responsible for most of the publicity, and has done a commendable job.

My feeling is that not enough emphasis was placed on fully informing the lower class Negro by failing to create publicity that would appeal to him. In this light, I suggested the use of "gimmicks" such as trading stamps (if the people of Nashville do a significant amount of trading this way), the raffling of groceries and other items, and other conceivable ideas for spurring the flow of human traffic to the courthouse.

CANVASSING

With the absence of the students from Fisk and Tennessee A & I Universities, and from the high schools of Nashville, I feel an effective canvassing program suffered immeasurably.

Although I was shown canvassing sheets taken from the recent campaign, I still feel that constant confrontation with the prospective registrant wa s not maintained.

In this area of activity, I feel if more participation is obtained from the youth of Nashville, gradual amelioration of the drive as a functioning machine will be discernible.

COOPERATION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

The Frontiers International, Nashville Christian Leadership Conference (NCLC), and the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority were mentioned as organizations that failed to cooperate with the voter registration effort after being asked to do so. These notables were joined in a

feast of complacency by most of the "Elmer Gantry" ministers of Nashville who did almost nothing to involve their congregations in the drive.

In my opinion, most of the organizations in the community would probably not help because of their lack of previous involvement. This can be coupled with the fact that most work of this nature is usually done by a devoted minority alerted to the needs for a more effective Negro vote. Most of the others are ammiaceous as carrots: waiting to be uprooted from the soil of nonchalance.

NEIGHBORHOOD REGISTRATION

The Davidson Cointy Independent Political Council has repeatedly sought to have neighborhood registration in the city of Nashville, but to no avail.

However, the County Election Commission has made neighborhood registration available to the fringe areas of the county where most of people living there are whites.

In refusing to institute neighborhood registration in the city limits of Nashville, the commission has stated it does not have the authority to do so. Persons interviewed invariably stated this is said because the brunt of the Negro population is concentrated within the city limits. Negroes registering en masse could cause considerable political disruption at the local, county, and state levels.

Dr. Edwin Mitchell of Meharry Medical School believes ".....that the registration books will only be procured when it becomes politically expedient to do so or if the state Negro organizations support the re-election of someone like Frank Clement, the governor." Needless to say, the latter would be like leaping into Dante's Inferno.

I suggested that the Negro and white organizations join together in presenting a neighborhood registration drive, if this were feasible. Organizations which could be contacted are: The League of Women Voters, Council of Churches, County Democratic Committee, and other community organizations.

All of the members of the project feel that their drives will never be as productive as possible under the present circumstances. I concur in that feeling, and further believe that all legal devices should be employed to insure neighborhood registration for the Negro citizenry of Nashville.

THE FUTURE

The original goal of 15,000 set at the inception of the drive was termed "too optimistic" at this time, and under the present circumstances. A new goal of approximately 5,000 was believed more realistic if present conditions prevail. This should be realized by October when the books close for the November elections.

CONCLUSION

It is my belief that the project in Nashville should be continued because it is one capable of growing and producing if properly nurtured. If the participants are given a chance to revamp their over-all program, I feel that subsequent registration drives will be ones deserving of praise and continued monetary support.

I further believe that the present director, (Miss A. Theresa Whittaker) of the project is a very capable and talented individual. Her political acumen andkeen knowledge of the capabilities of the members of the project are manifest in her constructive criticisms and her concern for FREEDOM NOW!

FINIS

Weldon Rougeau

WR:js

April 24, 1964

MEMORANDUM CONFIDENTIAL

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Weldon J. Rougeau

Re: ATLANTA VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Perhaps the most tragic thing about Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle is that Rip slept so long, he slept through an entire revolution. When he arose from his cradle of somnolence , he found himself a stranger among his own people. Incredulously Rip was almost like a mendicant friar begging for someone to recognize him.

In my opinion, Atlanta has quite a few "Rip Van Winkles" among the Negro leadership, and I sincerely hope someone will awaken them to the facts of life in the midst of our revolution while there is still time.

Only men who are asleep would allow Jesse Hill, the titular head of the All Citizens Registration Committee (whatever that is) to take the reins of a wild horse when he has never seen a horse before.

Only men who are asleep would allow a man like the Reverend "General" Fred C. Bennette (he wears a star in his lapel), to supervise a group of hard working young people who want to contribute something worthwhile to the movement. If his supervision were CARE packages, many families would die of starvation. In my opinion, his behavior during the drive is a discredit to the nonviolent movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by whom he is employed.

From all indications, little or no effort was put into planning for the Atlanta registration drive. The movement of people in a drive, their interest, and application to their duties, are usually indications that care has been taken in organizing and interesting people for a campaign of this nature.

In my opinion, too much authority was placed in the hands of Mr. Jesse Hill, and this was detrimental to the drive because it eventually caused widespread dissension among the workers. Naturally, someone has to be a leader, but that person should use diplomacy and common sense by giving people in the drive some kind of opportunity to be creative.

I feel that Mr. Hill erred in this respect. He was obviously too busy to devote the time a coordinator should give to such an endeavor.

Perhaps Mr. Hill will say that he had someone in charge, but it is my sincere belief that that person or people were not capable of keeping the group functioning as a cohesive body interested in registering more than an "average" number of people. Instead, there were many people around registration places with nothing to do except stand in the way of prospective registrants.

Many of the people who had been given supervision of certain "areas" were not allowed to function creatively because there was a day-to-day changing of tactics in an attempt to increase productivity.

It is my belief that when conducting a drive for registration, there should be pre-planning of daily activities for each work area with only minor changes being made, if necessary. There should also be a committee of individuals who have been given specific leadership roles and these people should be the ones who meet and make joint decisions, on the basis of the knowldege of all people concerned with a given area.

Part of the blame must also rest on the shoulders of the Rev. Andrew Young because he failed to provide firm leadership, even while he was noticing what was happening to many of his staff members. Strong men do not succumb to problems involved in confronting situations which could leave a party agrieved - they find constructive solutions to keep a project and its participants on an even keel. The morale of Rev. Young's staff members was ruined by his failure to do anything about correcting it, for fear he would arouse Mr. Hill's wrath. This is sheer "tommyrot" and in my best judgment, Mr. Hill's absence from the drive would not have stymied the movement of prospective registrants at any location in the county.

A large part of the leaflet publicity was redundant, grammatically incorrect, and faulty in editing. Several thousand leaflets were never distributed in the community simply because there were too many of them, or not enough people to distribute them.

There were also several instances where students from high schools and colleges were allowed to stand around waiting for something to do with leaflets, and no one was around to show them what should be done and where it should be done. I feel that the radio spot announcements were responsible for most of the people registering. This became evident from questioning persons who came to register.

More could have been done with newspaper and television publicity, but then again, when Mr. Hill would say, "No!", his words had to be listened to, and many aspects of the project were being neglected. I am of the opinion that when conducting a drive, all parts of one's machine have to function together.

The sound trucks were not utilized as extensively as they should have been. For the most part, they arrived at the scene of registration too late in the evening and did not spend enough time out in the community. My feeling is that one should use a sound truck out in the streets giving registration information, and should be followed by cars for transporting anyone desirous of registering. There was not a single time during my stay that I learned of a person responsible for organizing and directing sound trucks in and around a place designated for registration. There was also an insufficient number of sound trucks available for use.

The canvassing program was ostensibly disorganized. No one seemed to know anything about mapping an area out for canvassing, or whether there would be canvassing on the night of registration. Many high school and college students who had been solicited to canvass were idle and left saying, "Oh, I could've stayed home."

It is very important that canvassing before, during, and after a drive be well organized, for this is the only opportunity one has of selling registration to an unregistered person in the latter's home. Here again, I feel this was an obvious lack of coordination on the part of the "leaders" of the drive.

It is not the intent of my report to involve personality clashes with the drive, but the clashes which did take place unquestionably prevented the drive from being a better drive. It is not enough for one to satisfy oneself with mediocrity. One must reach for the apex of productivity in an endeavor of this nature.

As for the production goes, I think it would be unfair and foolhardy to say that the drive was not productive. It was. The point to emphasize in criticizing the drive is that more damage resulted from it than good, because it almost completely eliminates the possibility of those involved ever working together again as a body of well-organized people.

Most of the participants will not forget the wild and foolish antics of the asinine but truculent Rev. Bennette. Nor will they forget the dictatorial tactics of Jesse Hill. If another drive of this nature is conducted with the latter at the helm of the operation,

I feel it would suffer ineffably.

FINIS

Weldon J. Rougeau

WJR:js

April 29, 1964

Mr. Weldon Rougeau
4519 N. W. 15th Avenue
Miami 42, Florida

Dear Weldon:

I am enclosing a memorandum from Barbara Whitaker which she prepared at my request following my telephone conversation with you this morning. I am also enclosing copies of news articles in order that you will have some background concerning the current situation in Charlotte.

Kelly Alexander, a Charlotte funeral director, is president of the North Carolina Conference of Branches, NAACP, and is also chairman of the National Voter Registration Committee on the National Board of NAACP. He is a staunch Republican and he has been very bitter toward Dr. Hawkins' program because the latter is a staunch Democrat. It would be good if you can talk with both Dr. Hawkins and Mr. Alexander without them knowing in the beginning that you are connected with VEP; but I see no reason why you should not subsequently tell them of your connection.

AFL-CIO (COPE) has been giving Dr. Hawkins' group some money. The VEP financial commitment has expired, and it is my understanding that all funds have been spent, and we are not likely to send any additional funds until this controversy is settled.

I would suggest that you check with me by phone before you leave Charlotte so that we can compare notes, and I would like for you to check the situation at Durham and observe our new programs at Enfield and Warrenton. The Enfield program caused me a lot of concern because of the problem of John Salter of SCEF, and we would prefer that we have no dealings with SCEF personnel.

If time permits, you might also check the effectiveness of a SCLC program in eleven eastern North Carolina counties which Golden Frinks supervises, but I do not mean that you should go into each county.

I am enclosing a check for travel advance in the amount of $100, and also an Eastern flight check which you may have need of. You can either fly or take a bus from Charlotte to Durham, and you might want to rent a car in Durham. I assume that you have some kind of credit card which can serve as security for the auto rental. As soon as you get established, you should call and give us some place to contact you.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encls.

May 4, 1964

Confidential

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Weldon Rougeau

Re: CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA FIELD TRIP

A cloud of self-restraint seems to be hovering over the city of Charlotte, North Carolina, and Mecklenburg County due to the present controversy over whether Dr. R. A. Hawkins, the militant chairman of the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs, interfered with "the normal process of registration" of Negroes on April 8, 1964.

Hardly anyone who knows anything about "what really happened" wants to discuss it except Dr. Hawkins himself. He claims this is "just election-time pressure from the white power structure due to our productive voter registration drive."

Dr. Hawkins also believes the power structure is doing this to "fool many Negroes" into believing that he should not be associated with in politics because of the present controversy, and thereby weakening Richardson Preyer's (a liberal candidate for governor) campaign. This is partly due to Preyer's being a "Terry Sanford boy." With SBI (State Bureau of Investigation) investigating the matter, what will happen, if anything does, is still an open question, and I personally don't think anyone in Mecklenburg County knows.

It is very apparent that the wrong move in this controversy could be disastrous to the power structure. If Dr. Hawkins is formally charged and im dicted, a storm of counter-action at the ballot boxes by Negroes could certainly turn a havocky trick on the segregationists in Charlotte and other parts of the state.

One is quick to observe that, 1) Dr. Hawkins is no fool or pawn for the white man, 2) He is worshipped by the majority of Negroes I spoke with while I was in Charlotte (cab drivers, people in the streets, waitresses, and many other people), and 3) If he were placed in the "back seat" of the local leadership for awhile, there would be no one presently involved capable of providing militant and constructive leadership.

Note File
W. R.
Field Trips

One of my reasons for going to Charlotte was to find out what I could about the present situation, and Dr. Hawkins' involvement in the campaign.

How does Dr. Hawkins answer a question about his alleged interference with registration? He discusses this with ostensible candor and alacrity. He says, "I did not register anyone as such. I merely held the Bible out while Mrs. Houston [the Negro Deputy Registrar at the place where the alleged "improper" activities took place] administered the oath swearing in twenty-five or thirty persons." He stops there and gives me a thorough examination with his eyes and continues, "I told Mrs. Houston, 'Even if I did do this, there was nothing wrong with it, and your name is on the cards of the people they [Board of Elections] say I registered; that little money they're giving you to get me smeared is not going to change your life as a Negro,' but she hung up her telephone and now refuses to talk to anyone."

I think it is obvious that Dr. Hawkins did something he shouldn't have done according to the Mecklenburg County Board of Elections' laws, which is not unusual where there is neighborhood registration. Many persons who have assisted in conducting neighborhood registration have violated some of the "standing rules" on registration procedure.

Some have been registered individuals from house-to-house without being deputized and in doing so, have waived many requirements such as residence, age, and conviction of a felony. Needless to say, the Boards of Elections, where some of these illegal activities have taken place, are unaware of what has happened, and what continues happening.

Therefore, I would concur with Dr. Hawkins in saying that "everyone should be able to render some kind os service to his local, state, or national governments, even if they [the governments] don't know anything about it." There are times when one must find ways of expediting the registration process to make up for past injustices in voter registration - which we can label as preferential treatment. We need it!

Another reason for my being in Charlotte was to determine whether MOPA is being partisan in the registration of Negroes, as Democrats only. It should be noted that Dr. Hawkins is a staunch Democrat who believes there is "no such thing as a Negro Republican" in Mecklenburg County. The 500 or more Negroes registered as Republicans are "absolutely insignificant" to him.

He did tell me that oftentimes, people are confused about which party they wish to be affiliated with, and their workers will say, "Be a Democrat - that's President Kennedy's party." Many individuals greet this as being partisan while many prospective Negro registrants consider this as being helpful information, due to the lack of political knlwledge they have. However, to a Republican, this would be partisan if a Democrat did this. Then, if he (the Republican) does it, it is no longer partisan because he's helping his party. In my estimation, this is not an outright partisan effort to register only Democrats or Republicans. It depends on who is conducting the drive, and his party affiliation.

Mrs. Samuel Hair, chairman of the county Board of Elections, indicated that many times, workers from MOPA would tell prospective registrants to be Democrats after they had indicated they wanted to be Republicans. If this happened under the above mentioned circumstances, then I feel it was not partisan.

However, if MOPA has been recruiting Negroes to register as Democrats only, then,,of course, this is partisan. I found no apparent indication of anything like that occurring in the Charlotte drganization.

Mrs. Hair refused to comment on the voter registration controversy involving Dr. Hawkins, but she very willingly gave me the registration figures of Negro and white registration since January 1, 1964, which are far more different from MOPA's figures sent to VEP. The figures are as follows:

	WHITE	COLORED
January	228	28
February	145	12
March	285	375
April	660	404
Night Registration (April 6-24):	100	835
Mobile Units (April 18-25):	785	30
Malls and Bank (April 17, 18, 24, and 25):	980	24

Total white during period from Jan-Apr 28, 1964..... 3,183

Total colored during period from Jan-Apr 28, 1964..... 1,708

Total all activities 4,891

Mrs. Hair estimates that there are 15,241 Negroes registered in the county at this time. She also gave me the following figures on Negro registration for the months of September, October, November, and December:

September:	1,060
October:	1,370
November:	1,192
December:	1,000 (Estimate)
TOTAL - - -	4,622

Note: Mrs. Hair had just finished telling me that before January, they did not keep any registration figures by race.

Dr. Hawkins contends that there are 26,000 Negroes registered to vote in Mecklenburg County, and says he has the voter list to prove it. I didn't bother to count the names on the list.

As far as the mechanics of the drive are concerned, Dr. Hawkins does not believe in canvassing because "it doesn't work as well as many people have said." He believes in congronting people in the streets and carrying them to the registration office. This is accomplished by assigning workers to areas at night to knock on doors and encourage people to register and give them transportation. If he has registered as many people as he says, then I suppose he should stick to his present techniques and methods.

I was unable to contact anyone else from the leadership of the Charlotte community. Although I spent about five hours in Mr. Kelly Alexander's office, he never did show up as his secretary said he would. I left Charlotte with the words of one cab driver in my ears: "They're [the whites] trying to mess over our leader, but if they do, we'll fix 'em on May 30."

-FINIS-

WRJ:js

May 5, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Weldon Rougeau

Re: WARRENTON, NORTH CAROLINA FIELD TRIP

On Sunday, May 2, 1964, I spoke with Attorney and Mrs. T. T. Clayton of Warrenton, North Carolina, at their home concerning their newly initiated voter registration project in Warren County.

Mr. and Mrs. Clayton indicated that there are approximately 1,400 Negroes registered in Warren County out of a potential of 5,000 or 6,000. White registration is approximately 2,700 out of a potential 3,500.

Negroes in Warren County constitute about 67% of the total population and could very easily have a decisive edge over reactionary whites at the ballot box if the potential Negro vote were fully exercised..With this in mind, they have set a goal of an additional 2,500 by May 16th when the books will close for the May 30 primary.

On the day before (part of the Voter Crusade weekend), I arrived in Warrenton, (May 2), approximately 250 Negroes registered to vote in the county. This total could have been much higher if "....if it had not been for the delaying tactics of the registrars and the stringency maintained in the administration of the literacy test," according to Mrs. Clayton, the director of the project in Warren County.

Registration is held only on Saturdays when the registrats gather at their respective polling places in the county and administer literacy tests on the North Carolina constitution as slowly as possible. This delaying tactic will definitely prove to have anhazardous effect on registration unless details of it can be brought to the attention of the Justice Department, the State Board of Elections, and the news media. I suggested that Mrs. Clayton file complaints with the above mentioned and also notify VEP about anyfiilegal activities of the registrars, police departments, etc. She agreed to do so.

Preparation for Drive:

Mrs. Clayton informed me of their preparations for the drive, and indicated they had started canvassing to determine areas of concentration. Around Arpil 2, 1964, approximately 50 students assisted in this activity and have also been helping mobilize persons to the

registration places.

Workshops were held in homes and churches to instruct people how to fill the registration form and practice reading and writing parts of the North Carolina state constitution. This appeared to be planned and conducted very well with many adults assisting in this endeavor.

Mrs. Clayton says that "of eighteen churches asking for workshops, fifteen materialized and were very successful, both in attendance and participation. Ministers at many of the churches cooperated with the workshops and some even helped with the instruction.

A workshop is usually preceded "by an extensive canvassing period a few hours before the workshop is scheduled to begin to arouse people and ask them to come and learn about the registration process with other members of the community."

According to Atty. Clayton, who is a candidate for the state House of Representatives, the business community of Warrenton has been working with the registration drive very enthusiastically. This is very heartening since many small town Negro businessmen eschew identification with registration drives and other forms of social action projects for fear of reprisals against them.

Publicity:

Publicity for the Warren County drive has come from radio stations, newspapers, sound trucks, leaflets, posters, placards, and bumper stickers. Apparently, every form of publicity at their disposal has been utilized to help increase the number of persons attempting to register to vote and it is my opinion that each aspect of this particular activity was well planned.

Conclusion:

Although I was unable to observe the machine of this drive in operation, I feel reasonably certain it is being conducted well and barring any undue frustration on theppart of the people, it should prove to be a productive drive which could in turn have considerable political leverage for Negroes in the county.

However, I feel there should be vigorous action on the part ov VEP to keep police brutality, intimidation, harassment, and delaying tactics from marring the whole drive.

The Justice Department, the governor of North Carolina, the State Board of Elections, and other agencies of the government should be

kept informed and persuaded to take vigorous action against the unlawful deeds of the registrars of Warren County. This is an election year, and many people can be embarrassed if the public is made aware of the Mississippi-like tactics of North Carolina.

-FINIS-

WR/jm

May 8, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Brantom

From: Weldon Rougeau

Re: FIELD TRIP TO ENFIELD, NORTH CAROLINA

Registration in Halifax County began on Saturday, May 2, the day before I visited that area; and according to all accounts was marked by the police and fire departments' harassment, slowdown tactics by registrars, and inevitable discontent and frustration of prospective registrants.

I talked with Messrs. A. Reed Johnson, director of the Halifax Voters Movement, Doug Harris, SNCC field worker, and John Salter, of SCEF, and here is what they told me about registration in Halifax County:

I.

On Saturday, May 2, approximately 500 Negro persons registered to vote in Halifax County. There were only 37 registered in Enfield although approximately 200 were lined up waiting to be registered. In nearly all areas of the county, Negroes turned out in large numbers braving the cold and sporadic rain, only to be subjected to waiting in line and constant harassment from the police department.

At Enfield, police shoved prospective registrants around while they were standing in line, threatened several workers, hurled epithets at them,,and exploded a "stink" bomb in the crowd of people near the courthouse. As a result, many people left and will not easily return to register.

Telegrams were sent to the Justice Department, the governor, the chairman of the State Board of Elections, and the chairman of the Halifax County Board of Elections, protesting the slowdown tactics "....initiated by registrars in the registration of prospective Negro voters...." A copy of the draft sheet for that telegram is attached to this report. (Exhibit #1-D)

I mentioned the need for making information like this known as soon as possible to VEP, in order that pressure can be exerted from this office against these Gestapo-type tactics of the state of North Carolina.

VEP 4-14

The above-mentioned telegram was also sent to UPI for press coverage but was squashed and did not get into the Sunday papers.

II.

In slowing down registration on Saturday, registrars were allowing persons who could not read or write time to try, although it was quite obvious many of them could not do so after attempting to read a few lines. According to Mr. Johnson, ".....one lady was drawing letters trying to pass the literacy test." Upwards of at least 30 minutes were being spent on administering the test to each person.

At Weldon, one unidentified minister reported seeing a registrar filling in a form for a white illiterate lady. Mr. Johnson indicated that people in Weldon were trying to secure the man's name and an affidavit.

Another slow-down tactic in Enfield was put into effect during "lunch time" for the registrar. He left the polling place at 11 a. m., and did not return until 2:30 in the afternoon. Obviously, he went to Greensboro for "lunch."

The workers in the Halifax Voters Movement believe most of the tactics mentioned here will continue until the public is made aware of the many injustices being rendered Negroes in their attempts to register to vote.

III.

The Halifax Voters Movement seemed to be well organized while I was talking with workers and perusing various organizational paraphernalia. I was told it is composed of local organizations "interested in the movement" and trying to help the Negro in Halifax County assert himself politically.

Although this group is composed of local bodies from within the county, John Salter of SCEF and Doug Harris of SNCC seem to have quite a bit of influence in the Halifax Voters Movement. They (John and Doug) didn't tell me there were no national groups involved in this campaign.

However, Mr. Johnson did not want to begin the conversation with me about the organization until Salter and Harris had arrived. When they did arrive, they dominated the discussion. Although I see nothing wrong with this, I am reporting this to you because you did express concern about John Salter's involvement in Enfield. I feel they

probably did not want to fully discuss their involvement for fear it would hurt the Enfield program. Furthermore, I do not know if SNCC and SCLC are spending funds in Halifax County, but there must be someone else spending money for the literature on the Negro candidates for public office in Halifax County and state politics. (Note: Exhibit #2).

IV.

I was told that the people in the county are organized on a block-by-block basis, and over 35,000 pieces of literature have been distributed throughout the county. (Note: Exhibits #1-A, #1-B, and #1-C).

There has been organization of "schools" on voting procedure and other kinds of voter education at mass meetings, high schools, and other places in the community. Atleast three "schools" are held each night throughout the county.

A canvassing program coincides with the "schools" on voter education informing people of the need for registration and urging them to form small study groups with their friends and neighbors.

Sound trucks are also being used to publicize "schools," registration on Saturdays, and other news of interest to the people.

Judging from the way these "schools" were explained to me and my previous knowledge and organization of them, I think they are well-organized and proving capable of attracting people to the registration places in Halifax County. It is still unknown if they will continue drawing people closer to registration if the present tactics of the registrars continue discoureging people from registering at certain precincts in the county.

V.

There is presently an attempt being made to obtain the registration books on weekdays by members of the Halifax Voters Movement through a Mr.John Winters, councilman from Raleigh. Mr. Winters is supposedly contacting members of the state Board of Elections through Governor Terry Sanford to persuade the county Board of Elections to make night registration available to everyone in the county.

VI.

From all indications, this is a good project, and I feel certain it can be successful if proper steps are taken to publicize the harassment and other obstacles being rendered the people of Halifax County.

I cannot comment on the participation of John Salter, because I feel this is an administrative problem which I am not familiar with. Therefore, it should be handled by those concerned and involved in policy-making.

However, I will say that I do not think John Salter or Doug Harris is hurting the project from my observations. But, there is always a possibility of some damaging blow being dealt the project if the desired exclusion of SCEF personnel is not handled tactfully. Personally, I think the people in the Halifax Voters Movement confide in Salter and Harris.

From a standpoint of helping the drive for new voters there, it is, in my opinion, very important that VEP use whatever influence at its disposal to inform the proper governmental and news agencies of the actions of the registrars, police, and fire departments of Halifax County as soon as possible.

-FINIS-

WR/js

NOTE: Through circumstances altogether unforeseen, this report has been delayed in reaching the Project Director. I apologize for its tardiness.

May 8, 1964

Mr. Weldon Rougeau
4519 N. W. 15th Avenue
Miami 42, Florida

Dear Weldon:

We received your letter of May 6.

You may rest assured now - all your reports have been typed and are on Wiley's desk, and your copies are enclosed, along with a copy of the voucher you sent. Please note the corrections at the bottom.

Notify us of your new address when you reach Chicago as soon ap possible.

Very truly yours,

Janet Shortt
Office Secretary

/js

5/6/64

MAY 7 1964

Janet:

I decided it would take me too long to type these two reports.

Please type them and give to WAB.

Also inform anyone concerned that I can no longer be reached by phone. My phone has been disconnected for my planned departure for Chicago. I will still be at this address for approximately another two weeks.

I am also enclosing receipts I forgot to give you on some of my expenditures.

Thanks.

Say hello to everyone

Calder

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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Rec'd 4/9/64

4519 N.W. 15th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33142
May 8, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

I presume you have read my reports on the North Carolina field trip by now if you have been in the office. The trip was very interesting and I hope I was reasonably fair in meting out praise as well as criticism in each area I visited.

In my opinion, the situation in Enfield thretens to worsen if something is not done to correct it as soon as possible. Perhaps I am being presumptuous, but I feel it has great catastrophic potential.

Jim McCain informs me that no VEP funds were given for the Miami area in the latest grant CORE received. Is someone else going to be working here? If so, I would be very glad to give whatever information and names of good working contacts I have to the person(s) assigned to the area.

My very best wishes to you and your family.

Cordially,

Weldon

Weldon J. Rougeau

WJR:cjh

Rougeau Field Reports

WB

May 9, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Weldon Rougeau

Re: DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA FIELD TRIP

My first contact in Durham, North Carolina, was Dr. C. Elwood Boulware, Executive Secretary of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, who was very pleasant and congenial with me through our entire conversation.

Dr. Boulware informed me of Mr. John Edwards, NAACP field man for the state of North Carolina, who has been working jointly with DCNA for two months. He spoke very highly of Mr. Edwards who has acted as coordinator of activities during the drive for new voters in Durham County. I did not see Mr. Edwards while in Durham because he was out of town on a field assignment.

Dr. Boulware stated that 1,000 Negroes were registered last year by DCNA and that since 1962, 10,000 have been placed on the books. He called the report of the Project Director of VEP "erroneous" in saying that only 3,500 persons had been registered by DCNA. Mr. John Wheeler, the chairman of DCNA also made a similar comment and based the 10,000 registration figure on the fact that "in 1962, the registration rolls were purged and everyone had to re-register. DCNA was the main body responsible for getting those people back on the rolls." There are approximately 12,000 Negroes now registered in Durham County.

Organizational Preparation:

The DCNA obtained the voter list of the county at the inception of their campaign to increase Negro registration. They then went to the city directory and compared each list to find the names and addresses of unregistered persons in the city and county.

Students were in the field making personal contact with people and urging them to register after the registration list had been compiled by an IBM machine with cards for each block. Each person was given cards for his area and was responsible for contacting the people in his block, precinct, etc. According to Dr. Boulware and Mr. Wheeler, this was very effective and is a good way of keeping up-to-date records of voter movement in the county.

File - VEP 2-2

This year, more emphasis is being placed on the registration of people who live in the county because most of the people in the city are registered - according to Dr. Boulware.

Dr. Wurfel of the Political Science department at North Carolina College at Durham has engaged her students in a special project on voter registration. It is believed that the work done by the students there will increase productively and possibly raise the number of registered Negroes to 14,000 by May 16, 1964.

Publicity:

3,000 letters accompanied by a leaflet which is attached to this report, were sent to people in the county urging everyone to register on May 2, 9, and 16. I do not like the leaflet due to its lack of information, such as addresses of precinct locations for registration. I further believe it is not specific enough in telling people to "strike a telling blow for Freedom." Dr. Boulware admitted it could be improved.

There has been very little radio and no television publicity. The newspapers have carried full-page ads on registration, and it is believed to be very effective.

A great deal of emphasis has been placed on getting organizations in Durham County interested and active in the registration drive. According to Dr. Boulware, this is being done by sending members of a Speaker's Bureau (about 30 men and women) to speak at labor, civic, PTA, and other meetings, to convey the particulars of the registration drive to the public.

After speaking before a group, that body is asked to participate in the drive, and get its membership to involve itself. From that point on, whether a group previously contacted engages its members in the drive, is left up to the group itself.

I was confused at this point because I was told DCNA was a group composed of community organizations and I can't understand why a matter as important as prticipation has to be left up to a particular group when the group is a part of DCNA.

However, I was told this was an effective way of reaching the people.

I asked Dr. Boulware if these tactics were reaching the lower class Negro, who for the most part, is not a member of these bourgeois groups. He could not answer me satisfactorily. He said members of organizations were doing their job in contacting people in the community. I am very skeptical about the effectiveness of such a "jelly-like" organization.

Neighborhood Registration:

I am of the impression that Dr. Boulware does not wish to antagnonize the whites in the county Board of Elections by asking for neighborhood registration. I base this primarily on the way he answered my queries on the possibility of night registration. He stated that for the last ten years, the county has shunned neighborhood registration for "unknown reasons." (They don't want Negroes to vote en masse - that's one of the unknown reasons.)

I honestly don't believe an earnest attempt has been made to procure night neighborhood registration for the Negroes of the county. If there has been an attempt made, it was not discernible through Dr. Boulware's conversation.

Perhaps I should clear up one thing at this point. That is that theoretically speaking, there is neighborhood registration in Durham County. Registration is conducted at polling places in the county, but only on Saturdays during the day. The inconvenience in registering could virtually be eradicated by holding night registration.

Summation:

There are many perturbing aspects enshrouding the Durham drive, and I feel impelled to criticize it from an observational standpoint.

Although there has supposedly been much progress made, I still feel the drive has faltered in publicity, organizational mechanics, and in the lack of an attempt to procure night registration.

It is my belief that in being laconic in the summation of this report, the areas which can and should be improved are sufficiently discussed for one to make proper recommendations to the group(s) alluded to in this report.

-FINIS-

WR/js

THIS IS OUR FRIENDLY REMINDER TO

No ADDRESSES.

YOU

No TIMES FOR REGISTERING.

that

NOW IS THE TIME

NOT SPECIFIC IN WHYS FOR REGISTRATION.

to

REGISTER

IN ORDER TO

VOTE

IN ALL 1964 ELECTIONS

If you have not registered since 1960,
Your name is not on the Registration Books
Please, therefore

Strike a Telling Blow for Freedom Why?

by

Placing your name on the Books of your Precinct
On one of the following Saturdays:

SATURDAY – MAY 2

SATURDAY – MAY 9

SATURDAY – MAY 16

Joint Committee on Voter Registration
CORE – Durham Committee on Negro Affairs – NAACP

May 11, 1964

Mr. Weldon J. Rougeau
4519 N.W. 15th Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Weldon:

I have read your North Carolina field reports and I must continue to commend you for the very excellent manner in which you have been performing these special assignments. Preliminary reports revealed that Negro registration has taken a big leap since January 1 of this year and has now reached the two-million mark in the South.

It appears that Mrs. Clayton followed your suggestions in Warren County and has filed a complaint. I released a statement this morning to the "New York Times" concerning the intimidation in Warren and Halifax Counties and perhaps the glare of ~~unfair~~ unfavorable publicity will be of some help.

I am enclosing a recent article from the "Atlanta Journal and Constitution" which I am sure you will find of interest. Would you please check with Elmer A. Ward who is reported to be vice president of the Florida Voters League and see what information you can get regarding any program of the league in voter registration, together with names and addresses of the principle officers. I talked with Marvin Rich on the phone and told him that VEP would not hesitate to make CORE a grant for Miami if you were going to be there, but we did not feel that they had anyone else to do the kind of work which you have done. I would appreciate your letting me know your true feelings regard-

ing future registration programs in Miami and I assure you that it can be kept confidential if you would prefer. I would also like to know if you will have anymore time that you can devote to special VEP assignments.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

Encl.

May 21, 1964

Mr. Weldon Rougeau
4519 N. W. 15th Avenue
Miami 42, Florida

Dear Weldon:

I decided that we would give you a final payment of $100 for your services with VEP, and I have deducted the $25.10 which you have on hand from your travel advance. I am sending you our check in the amount of $74.90, which is enclosed.

I wish for you and your family a safe trip to Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encl: 1

June 9, 1964

Waluhaje Apartments
239 West Lake Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Attn: Mrs. Anderson

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

I enclose herein our VEP check in the amount of $61.05 representing payment in full for accommodations furnished to Mr. Weldon Rougeau at our request.

We have deducted the sum of $10.30 for the charges on April 21 and 22, as per my agreement with you today. Mr. Rougeau was in Nashville, Tennessee, on these days, and we appreciate your courtesy in permitting us to deduct this amount even though he may not have properly released the room while he was gone.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

Encl: 1

Weldon Rougeau

P42287

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY STUDENT CHAPEL
6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago 26, Ill.

MADONNA DELLA STRADA CHAPEL on Loyola's beautiful Lake Shore campus is a striking combination of Classic Renaissance proportions and modern design. The architect was Andrew J. Rebori of Chicago.

Published by Cameo Greeting Cards, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

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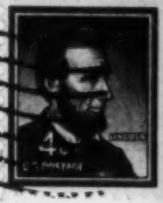
CHICAGO ILL. 29 JUN 1964



POST CARD

JUN 29 1964

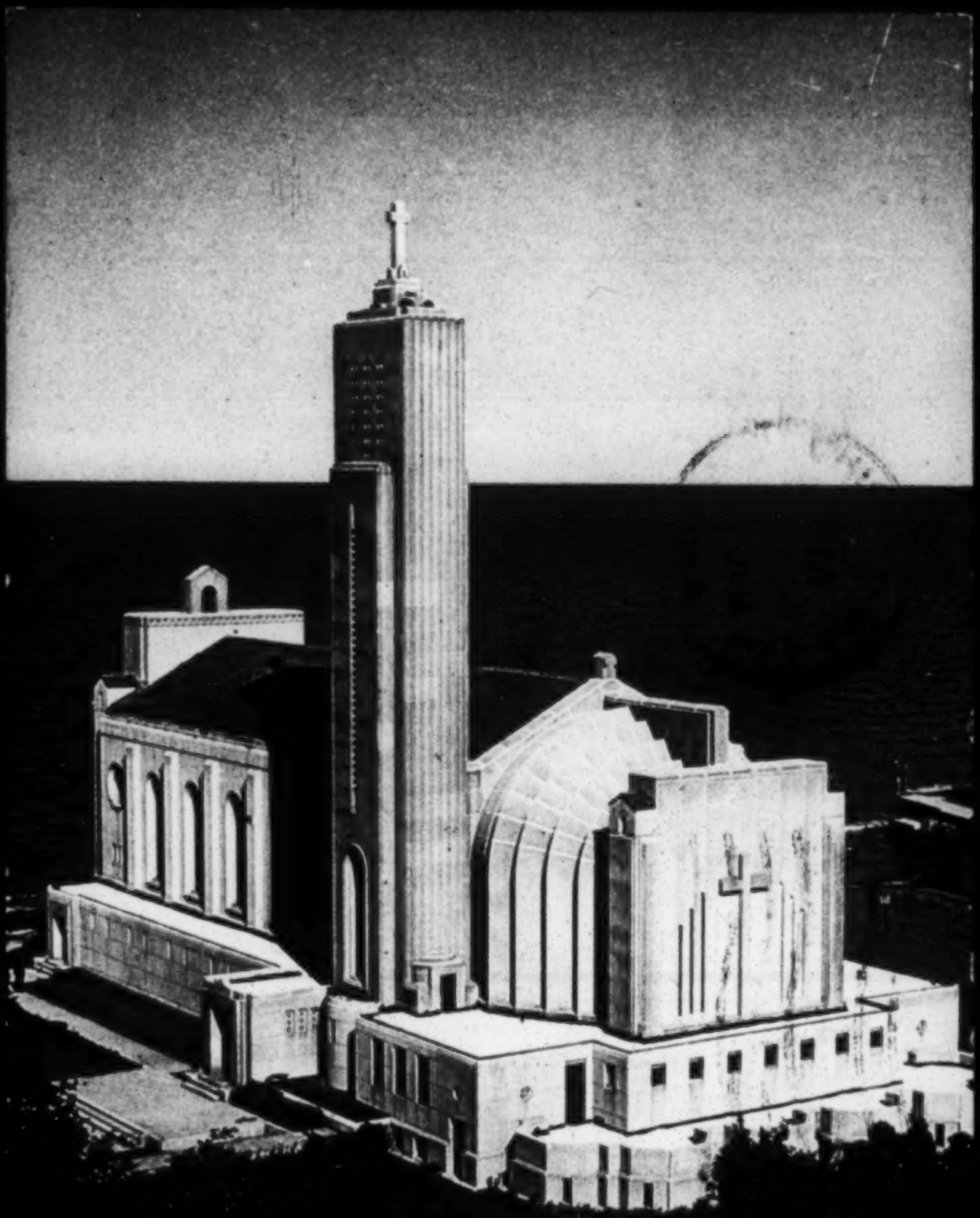
MR. WILEY BRANTON
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WB JS
BW BS
JB VJ

Dear Wiley,

Hope all's well w/ you + staff. Chicago is O.K. I start school on Monday (29). Scholarship was awarded. Thanks for recom + Regards to all.

Zeddie Rouglan
c/o Langham
116 E. 60 St.
Chicago 37



File: Joe [illegible] Field Trip [illegible]

TO: WAB
FROM: JT & JD
RE: Field Trip to South Carolina, August 10-12, 1964

(JT) **INTRODUCTION**

WAB first decided to send me along on this field trip, then later decided to send JD also. In a conference prior to the trip with us, WAB stated specific questions and situations he wanted us to seek answers to. He stated his thoughts and suggestions that we, if possible, make to the various county chairmen concerning the operation of VEP programs under their guidance. WAB's main or most important suggestion, with emphasis, was for each county chairman to keep at least $50.00 petty cash on hand so as to expedite small expenditures quickly.

We were asked to seek specific answers to the following questions in:

First Congressional District:

WAB asked us to visit in Charleston, S. C., with Mr. Esau Jenkins, a county leader in this district. Here, we wanted to know whether the program was working; how many people were registered; number of volunteer workers; take a look at his records; and make this a routine visit.

Second Congressional District:

1. Visit with the students at the Summer Project sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee; see what they are doing; and inquire as to the results of their program and how effective is it.
2. In Columbia, S. C., talk with Dr. I. DeQuincy Newman, district chairman. Nothing special, how are voter registration programs doing; what are their results; and ask for questions, complaints, etc.

Third Congressional District:

1. Talk with Rev. S. R. McCain, North Augusta, S. C., about the general VEP program in his district.
2. Ask Rev. Rich did he ever work out a budget.
3. Check Rev. McCain's records, nothing special, just a routine check.
4. Use your (JT & JD) own judgment in talking with Rev. McCain about the VEP project in the third district.

Fourth Congressional District:

1. Have there been any changes in the programs?
2. Are all counties working effectively under VEP?
3. Pass on to the fourth district chairman that the VEP office will send them $1,300 sometime this week.
4. Check with Rev. Brockman in Greenville.
5. Call Mr. Haile and get names of county leaders.

Fifth Congressional District:

1. Check and see what voter registration activity is going on in the various counties.
2. Check with county leaders; how is the VEP program working or moving?
3. Point out to them (the county chairmen) that they are due some money. If they are working in their respective counties, we will send them more financial assistance.
4. See what's going on in voter registration at Rock Hill, S. C.
5. Find out just how are the counties working with the other counties in the Fifth Congressional District.
6. Get a list of county leaders and their addresses.

WAB asked that we bring back to him a general picture of voter registration programs in South Carolina so that he may determine whether additional financial assistance is needed. The registration books will be open again in September for the state of South Carolina.

(JD)

Athens, Georgia - Monday Afternoon

Joe Tucker and I arrived in Athens, Georgia approximately 5 P.M. Whereas our purpose was at first to determine who was sending us the reports, and during our last few moments in the office, we found that the person who was sending the reports was Mr. E. C. Gardner, we decided that to only pay a courtesy call to Mr. Gardner and then continue on to S. C. in order to meet with Rev. Joseph Rich, the Anderson County director.

Mr. E. C. Gardner's address is 1495 E. Broad St., Athens, and his phone number is 67001. When we arrived, we introduced ourselves and were cordially welcomed. He offered that the registration effort in Athens is an NAACP operation by its political action committee. Expenses and income for voter registration are not kept in a separate account. Their manner of operation is to pay Negro taxis for taking people to be registered. A taxi driver will present a list of the persons who they have taken, including information such as the person's place of residence, and they charge a reasonable price. Mr. Gardner said that the taxis do not charge as much as the regular rate because they, too, say that they are part of the movement. Nevertheless, I concluded that since there is no standard rate, such as $.25 a head, this way of making a profit stimulates the Negro taxis to cooperate in the registration campaign, working with the Negro barbershops and beauty parlors.

Mr. Gardner has no "title," and he says that he just works in registration, but agreeing that he is a coordinator, if not so designated. He informed us that the president of the NAACP is Rev. W. Hudson.

Anderson, S. C. - Monday Night:

We arrived in Anderson around 7:30 P.M. Monday. We tried to reach Rev. Rich from Athens, but he was not available. Joe and I remained in Athens to eat dinner, hoping to catch him later, but by 9 P.M., he never appeared. Nevertheless, we met an acknowledgeable young man who knew the names of the local leaders. Before we left Anderson, we contacted the president of the local chapter of the NAACP and gave him the information about our concern in relation to Rev. Rich drawing up a budget for which we could support. The president indicated that Rev. Rich had been out of town and he did not know when he would return.

JT and I then left Anderson and arrived at the Ghana Motel, a Negro motel in Greenville. Because of the inferior accommodations there and because the newly integrated motels either "have no accommodations" or "desire not to desegregate," JT and I strongly advise one who is a Negro working in the field to phone ahead and make reservations.

Fourth Congressional District - Greenville, Spartanburg, and Laurens
Tuesday A.M. & P.M.

After remaining in the office of the Greenville Voter Registration and Education Committee until about 11 A.M., Rev. Brockman, having a carload of people to be registered, came to the office. We gave him WAB's message concerning the second allotment. Because we were mainly interested in the other two counties, Laurens and Spartanburg, we did not remain in Greenville long. Rev. Brockman indicated that he never had been able to get in contact with Rev. Johnson, the president of the Spartanburg registration committee. Rev. Brockman then said that in almost despair, he finally told his troubles to Atty. Thompson in Spartanburg. Atty. Thompson expressed great surprise and had no knowledge of any role Spartanburg could play in voter registration. He set up a meeting with himself, Brockman attending, along with Mr. Williams of North Carolina Mutual, (see previous report) and Dr. Bulldale, a Negro. This meeting was held during the first of August.

Rev. Brockman said that Mr. Williams surprisingly expressed reluctance that Spartanburg be involved in the program, fearing that VEP and Non-Spartanburg people would control the community. Rev. Brockman insisted that he or no one else would control their community and that it was they who are to organize and direct the program. Mr. Williams then was persuaded and the Spartanburg people became enthusiastic about the program. Mrs. Hattie G. Barksdale, a middle aged housewife, was hired as county director who hired Mrs. Moke as a secretary. The Spartanburg office was set up on 267 N. Converse,

in the Silver Hill Methodist Church, phone number: 585-2039. Mrs. Barksdale's residential phone number is 833-1836.

Rev. Brockman said that Laurens County is performing quite nicely and is directed by Prof. J. T. W. Mims, 232 S. Livingston St., Clinton, S. C. Therefore, JT and I decided to visit Clinton and Spartanburg before going through the Fifth District and then stopping in Columbia for the night. From the Greenville office, I called Prof. Mims and Mrs. Barksdale and made appointments to see them that afternoon. I also tried to contact Frank Robinson, W. Brown, and Mr. Haile, the latter being the Fifth District President, but was told that he was attending an undertaker's meeting in Kingstree and may be back in Camden late that night.

Approximately 12:30 P.M., we arrived at the home office of Laurens County. Rev. Mims had not as of yet arrived from the post office, but there to meet us was Mrs. Emma Hunter, the Laurens County secretary. The office was equipped with a telephone, mimeograph machine, and other necessary incidents. We looked at their records and forms. A typical example of their finances includes $25 a week for Rev. Aureton, a daily supervisor, whose job it is to be at the registration office and assist and observe; $25 a week for Prof. Mims, an education director; $35 a week for Mrs. Emma Hunter as secretary; $.08 per mile for the transportation pool; and $.10 per family that is contacted.

We learned from Prof. Mims that he is a retired school principal and is president of the Negro Teachers Association, the party which sued for equal pay several years ago which influenced him to resign.

He indicated that the registrar told him that more than 500 persons have registered and that 90% were Negro, since August 3. We indicated to him that we planned to visit Spartanburg and then take a quick trip through the Fifth Congressional District and stopping briefly in Gaffney, Rockhill, Chester, Lancaster, and Camden before going to Columbia. Prof. Mims, because of being a principal in Rockhill several years, was able to give the names of local leaders there, which include Rev. R. G. Totely, Rev. W. B. Knox, president of the NAACP, Dr. Dewey Duckett, who is on the board of the South Carolina Human Relations Council, and Rev. LLloyd Morris. For Chester, he told me to see the Farm Demonstration Agent.

Prof. Mims then invited me to speak at a meeting to be held in Laurens County sometime in early September, which is to be both a worship of voter education series and a celebration for their efforts in voter registration. After an enjoyable discussion, we took our leave and then drove on to Spartanburg and made our appointment with Mrs. Barksdale for 3 P.M.

Mrs. Barksdale and her secretary were waiting for us. It was soon apparent that she had no prior experience in voter registration nor was being directly assisted by anyone who had prior experience. However, she was working and sincerely trying. She has a quite sufficient office in the Silver Hill Methodist Church and has the right to use any of the utilities of the church. She told me the manner in which she was appointed. She attended the meeting which Rev. Brockman had set up, which I mentioned earlier in this report. After the meeting, she said out loud that she was going to work and register anybody she sees, and Dr. Bulldale overheard her, and through him, she was appointed. Her records were very scant. She said that everything was in her head, but then asked me whether it would be allright for everyone to not report until after the books close.

I told her that as far as reporting, etc., Rev. Brockman is responsible to VEP. Therefore, she should try to report the way he wanted her to report. However, there should be some manner of daily reporting to her so that she could determine who is working and who is not working so that she can know of anybody who is actually being registered, (which she did not know), so that she can make some changes if necessary. We then left Spartanburg around 4 P.M. on our way to Chester, S. C. Because it was so late at this time, we decided to skip going through Gaffney. When we arrived in Chester, it was nearly 6 P.M.

Fifth Congressional District - Chester, S. C.--Tuesday Afternoon

After arriving in Chester, we found the name of the Farm Demonstration Agent and went to his home, but he was not there. His name is M. M. Sitton, 40 Jetter Street, home phone number: 385-3804, and 385-5592 is his office number which is located at 121½ Gadsden Street. We then drove arount to a Negro business district and found that the president of the NAACP in Chester is Rev. H. B. Brewer, who was active in taking people to be registered. We called his number, but there was no answer. His address is 130 Bailey and his phone number is 385-3698. We then left Chester, going to Rockhill, S. C.

Rockhill (5th District) - Tuesday Night

When we arrived in Rockhill, we noticed that this was a fair-sized town with a well-defined Negro business street of several blocks. We found the addresses and phone numbers of Rev. Totely, 927 Crawford Road, phone number, 327-4222; and Rev. W. B. Knox, 307 W. Moore, phone number, 327-7339. We went to both homes. We were only able to talk to the 18 year old son of Rev. Knox. He said he knew of no voter registration activity.

JT and I were about to conclude that there was novvoter registration activity going on in Rockhill and had almost decided to drive on to Camden before it would be too late. But still not remaining assured that voter registration activity was not going on, we felt that we had to support this finding from the Negro on the streets on the Negro block.

We stopped at a Negro barbershop and asked a young barber whether there was being conducted a voter registration drive. He said that some man with a college age youth had been going around all week asking people whether or not they were registered and taking them downtown. This sounded like Frank Robinson or William Brown of CORE. He was able to find out that Brown was in town and find where he was.

It was now after 7 P.M. when Joe and I passed a parked car that fitted the description we were given. We met Rev. Lloyd Morris, with whom Brown was having dinner. Rev. Morris is a young minister who is the local person in charge of the voter registration drive in Rockhill. His address is 442 Ray Street, phone number, 327-3916. The youth who are involved in voter registration and canvassing were associated with those who, several years ago, were involved in sit-ins and demonstrations under Rev. Morris' predecessor. The work in Rockhill is of a low-gear quality, the workers being only about ten youth and being handicapped by a shortage of cars. It seems that Brown got to Rockhill too late to organize for the 10-day registration with the results similar to his and Robinson's results in Spartanburg.

I told him that we were trying to visit the counties in the Fifth Congressional District and found the names of the county leaders and directors in this district. Brown happened to have a list with them which Mr. Haile gave him which I indicate below:

G

<u>Gaffney</u>

There was no organization, but the contacts there were:

Rev. A. W. Goforthly
S. Johnson St.
Gaffney, S. C.
Phone: I.V. 9-5669

Rev. M. L. Roberts
619 Borad Street
Gaffney, S. C.
Phone: I.V. 9-8953

Rev. J. W. Saunders
330 W. Meadow St.
Gaffney, S. C.
Phone: 9-2180

<u>Chester</u>

Brown stated that he knew of no Sitton or Brewer, but that the inspired person who is working hard in that area and had just registered 300 people without VEM.Support (He had just returned from there.) is <u>Mrs. Jean D. Hynson, 146 Loomis Street</u>.

<u>Lancaster</u>

This is an area which Brown is going to visit this week, (August 3-7), and which is of interest to him because of the leader there who ran for

council. His name is Reddick L. Martin, office phone: AL 3-4018, residence phone: AL 3-1439. Other contacts are Mrs. F. Funderburke, Funderburke Funeral Home, and Rev. C. M. Smith.

Chesterfield

Brown says that this area is where there is an active group in existence, but it is not receiving funds from VEP. The contact there is Mr. Joe Morris, 284 Second Street, Cherow, S. C. Brown did not know the name of the person who is a contact in York County except that the person there is a minister; and in Union County, the contact person there is Dr. Long (See VEP files for address).

Brown said that there are only three counties which receive direct assistance from VEP funds, which are Kershaw, Winnsboro and Camden.

Dr. C. H. Thomas, State Director

It now being late, we cancelled out the trip to Camden and other counties, driving to Columbia for the night and then arriving in Orangeburg on Wednesday. We had a chat with Dr. Thomas. He was concerned about the continuance of the statewide registration program after it went out of existence, and that it would all be a wasted effort if they had no support for having a continuing existence. He showed us the plans for assessing each county on a Negro population basis which would result in $.15 for each Negro for a $15,000 budget. They have been promised $4,000 from the Presbyterian Church, but this would be insufficient because of their needing an office and a staff. He therefore hoped that VEP would assist in supporting their effort. I asked him about how they were going to get as a field secretary and how. He said that they are establishing qualifications, but that they are still bothered about the questions--whether to get a Negro, and about the sex of the person. (One of the persons from the Friends group has offered his services.)

American Friends Group - Wednesday Afternoon

Dr. Thomas then directed us to the "Freedom House" where the American Friends student group was located. The house was located in a Negro neighborhood, but there remained in this same neighborhood homes occupied by white families, which is typical in many areas in the South. The house itself was a non-new prewar two-story house which was clean and neat. It was rented for the period of the AFS work in Orangeburg County for their use. They use it both as a place of residence and as an office.

As an office, they have space in the corner of the dining room which is used for the card file records, other file records and a table for holding their publicity matter. What I thought was quite unique is that use of their personnel office use is very low priority. They do not have a phone although they have the right to use their close-by neighbor's phone. Therefore, a phone plays an insignificant part in their operation, and this frees their people to work in the field rather

than to answer a phone. This suggests that a phone may not be absolutely or even practically necessary for a voter education project.

The AFS group consists of nine youth and young adults integrated sexually and racially (one Negro girl), a dietician and a chaperon. Their director is a white young adult in his middle or latertwenties by the name of Pickens Moore. Assisting from the community are 15 college age youth from South Carolina State Teachers College, a Negro institution. This total of 24 persons is broken down into four teams, each team assigned to one of four areas into which the county is broken. For their use, they have five cars, four of which were donated to the community for their use and one belonging to Mr. Pickens Moore.

I interviewed six workers from various teams and Mr. Moore. A team's typical day during the August registration period is to fan out to their particular area at 8 A.M. and organize the Negroes for immediate transportation to the registration office. When the registration day terminates, they then begin a period of canvassing around 8 or 9 P.M. After it finishes canvassing for the day, the team then conducts a voter education workshop-mass meeting or attends a revival meeting in the area, the latter taking priority in order to avoid conflict. After the meeting, the teams return to the Freedom House tired (sometimes after midnight).

Their procedure of canvassing is unique. Each worker has a set of 5 x 8 cards which he takes with him which he or she identifies by ward and precinct, etc. Again, this puts more workers in the field rather than in the office. I have observed other ggroups who have forms for their canvass workers which they fill out and then return to the office. Office personnel is then needed to transcribe the information on the cards. AFS workers eliminate this necessity for office overhead.

Before a team hits a part of their area, they are in contact and communication with the local precinct chairman who gives them the "key" to the particular area by introducing the team to other local leaders and contacts, and who briefs them upon their expected behavior and about the reaction of the local white power structure. Accessibility in the area is a success because of Orangeburg being highly organized voter education wise due to prior VEP support, Mr. Thomas, State VEP Director, and Mr. McPherson, director for Orangeburg. After the initial contact, they have an interview with the local enforcement officials whereby they introduce themselves and indicate their purpose and frankly ask for protection. The response has varied from the promise of protection to the moderately negative response, "I don't like you people being here, but I can't stop you from being here." Assistance, as I gather from their talk, from the local area leaders varies from vocal support and assistance at workshops to actual accompaniment on canvassing missions. They have had no transportation problems or needs in getting community support in this manner.

On their door-to-door canvassing ventures, they work on a sexually integrated basis but not on a racial basis (such as Black boy-White girl patrols). When a resident answers their knock, they introduce themselves as volunteer workers assisting the Mr. _____or Mrs._____, (the local resident voter registration leader). Their purpose is to identify with the local community as much as possible to establish rapport. They will not voluntarily offer to the local resident the American Friends organization, yet they willnot avoid discussion if the resident or other persons request discussion. They relate exactly why they are in their area--"We are here to register Negroes." They briefly explain South Carolina Laws about voter registration--"You can register in August only between now and August 15, this coming Saturday at noon." But time is not spent so much on education as it on establishing a desire or curiosity on the part of the resident. So the team or patrol will explain why the local resident must register--from a bacon-and-grits basis to relating them to Goldwater and Johnson, (or local political contests.).

Because little steps are easier to take than giant steps (going down to the Courthouse to register), the team will request the local resident to attend a local mass meeting. The mass meeting is a workshop to educate the local residents about the techniques of registration and voting, and the issues and the personalities. If the resident is in a true rural area distant from other residents and not able to attend the mass meeting, a personal workshop is given to the resident right there, but the resident is encouraged to attend the mass meeting for obvious reasons.

At a typical mass meeting, (A team holds several in a week in an area, and if there is a revival meeting being held, a meeting may be held right at the end of the revival meeting or be incorporated as a part of the revival meeting.) the service is opened by the presiding or local minister by prayer and followed by hymns. Then they have an inspiring speaker from the Orangeburg area who is an expert in the use of emotion. Sample registration forms are then passed out and everyone is instructed on the use of the forms. Then the candidates from the various parties give their speeches, i.e., President Johnson, Senator Barry Goldwater, and the local candidates, etc. (Team workers are trained in the personalities and the issues and have studied all the pertinent speeches of the candidates.) The team worker will either give one of the already published speeches or give an improvised speech based on the philosophies and speech technique of the candidate. The people are then educated about the techniques of marking a ballot. Sample ballots are distributed. An election is then held, using all the products of a regular election such as poll watchers, etc. The count is totaled and results are given, and the meeting is terminated by prayer.

The mass meetings have varied from 6 to 120. The AFS unique use of the mass meeting technique for a workshop cannot help but stimulate

the participants to register and then vote and provide the little step which makes the step to true voter participation by the Negro easier.

The results of the program seem to average about 150 per day. A total of 169 persons were registered the previous day.

Charleston, S. C. - Wednesday Afternoon

After we left the Friends group, we then went to Charleston. We decided that there was need for us to split up after it was determined that I would not be able to see McCain in the Third Congressional District until late in the evening.

In Charleston, we found the office of the Citizens Committee and Registration Committee and waited for Mr. Esau Jenkins, who was busy transporting people to be registered in his bus (VW). He indicated that he had received $600 from VEP which is the account held for him by Mr. Fleming, and has received a direct grant from SCLC and assistance from the Highlander Folk School, the latter being used in his Adult Education in Citizenship series which was held last month on the island. He indicated that three teachers are responsible to him who receive $3.00 per hour. His coordinator receives $25 per week, as does himself.

We left Charleston and arrived to meet with Rev. McCain around 11 P.M. Wednesday.

JT's Personal Conclusion to S. C. Field Trip

The trip proved to be very interesting and informative. It was an awakening experience to meet and see in action other people interested in voter registration. They all seemed sincere and interested in their work and moved about their duties with a great amount of dedication and tenacity.

The VEP car was used as our mode of travel. It performed exceedingly well. The mileage meter showed that we covered a total of 958 miles. When we returned, the condition of the car mechanically wise was good. After making the field trip, I am even more so impressed with the Voter Education Project, its goals, its operation, and its leaders.

WB ✓
JM
JTV ✓
JDC

August 24, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Joe L. Tucker

Re: Field Trip to Virginia August 17-20, 1964
(Tidewater Section: Norfolk, Newport News, Portsmouth, & Suffolk.)

INTRODUCTION

After a local phone conversation Sunday, it was decided by WAB that I should make a field trip to Virginia. Monday about noon, after receiving instructions from WAB via long distance, the trip was underway.

Upon reaching Norfolk, WAB suggested I contact Arthur Freeman, director of the Tidewater Voter Registration Project, so that he may furnish me transportation, if possible, in the Tidewater area.

WAB asked that I find out what the TVRP was doing; what now is going on in voter registration in the area, and other routine questions necessary to get a complete picture of the workings of this project in and around Norfolk.

WAB asked me to contact J. Hugo Madison, talk with him privately and see if the committee is agreeable to have Arthur T. Freeman continue as director.

While in Norfolk, WAB asked me to take along and give to Staige Blackford, a reporter for the Virginia Pilot, a copy of the Second Annual Report.

To see Mr. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, and ask him if, in his opinion, could Norfolk make use of additional money; ask why WAB hasn't heard from the board; ask Mr. Young about a rumor WAB heard that there was some dissatisfaction with Freeman as director of the Tidewater Voter Registration Project.

Newport News, Virginia:

WAB asked me to contact Mrs. Norleavte Downing, executive secretary of the Peninsula Coordinating Committee, and talk with her about the program, and look at her records and methods of

promoting voter registration in Newport News and other areas coverd by the PCC.

Portsmouth:

WAB asked me to contact David Muckle of the Central City Forum. Ask him to get Dr. Holly to send WAB the information so a grant can be made. Ask Mr. Muckle what are his thoughts about Moses Riddick - maybe extending his activing into this area, then an additional grant being made to him.

Suffolk:

Contact Moses Riddick, check his program, see what he is doing, find out how many people he is getting registered at this time. Make him aware tactfully, that VEP isn't supposed to send him any more funds. Ask Mr. Riddick does he know what's been going on throughout the Fourth Congressional District in voter registration.

Petersburg, Virginia:

These instructions came to me via long distance from WAB through Janet Shortt:

WAB asked that I contact David Gunter in Petersburg and inquire into the activities of the Fourth Congressional District voter registration committee. Contact S. W. Tucker for further explanations on voter registration in the Fourth District. Talk with Herbert Coulton, SCLC director in ~~Richmond~~ Petersburg, check his program, methods used to register people, and some idea of voter registration activity in the Fourth District.

Richmond, Virginia: WAB asked me to contact John Brooks, NAACP director in Richmond, and talk to him about ~~the special~~ any project he is doing in connection ~~with VEP.~~ VOTER REGISTRATION IN VA.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA: VEP 3-8

Freeman was able to furnish me with transportation in and around Norfolk.

Dr. Coppage is a TVRP board member, who wants to keep the voter drive going when VEP closes. They will have a meeting to discuss this matter Sat., August 22. Freeman plans to continue voter registration on a part-time basis. Freeman said the registrar's office wasn't open on Saturday, and it slowed up registration. The use of blank registration

registration sheets is a factor, too. The TVRP seems to be moving with no immediate problems, except a need for more funds. I told Freeman to submit a budget. He said he doesn't get a salary as county director, due to his own choice. The big thing in Norfolk at this time seems to be activity in winding up the loose ends of the student YWCA project. Freeman has duplicates of all the records and its his job, he says, to compile the material. A partial report is in to the VEP office, with the final report to follow. Freeman can't seem to get enough adult volunteer workers. He has plenty of young people, but lacks adult help. He admits that this is a problem. Freeman feels that the "beat Goldwater" emphasis* has helped his voter registration program immensely. Everybody wants to register, then vote against Goldwater.

I helped Freeman and Miss Gardner, director of the YWCA project, set up their press conference for Tuesday evening (see attached clip from the Virginia Pilot done by Staige Blackford) which gave a summary of the YWCA project and its accomplishments during its existence.

Mrs. Arthur Freeman, who is secretary of the TVRP, talked with me befor Mr. Freeman arrived. She said the National Student YWCA sponsored a voter registration drive in Norfolk for five weeks. (June 19-August 14, 1964). In a two-week period, this group interspersed with Freeman's TVRP volunteers registered 2,564 people. The figure will probably be larger when all the statistics are compiled, and totaled. Other organizations in Norfolk are active in voter registration. Earlier this summer, the Jaycees sponsored a voter drive. The TVRP has about 20 volunteer workers a week. A lot of people register and don't let the TVRP know about it. It was suggested that the office place a worker in the courthouse to record names and addresses of the people who have registered each day. The YWCA project was directed by Miss Rosetta Gardner of the National YWCA whose offices are in Atlanta at 41 Exchange Place.

Addresses;

Dr. Coopage (Dentist) - 704 Church Street, Norfolk, Virginia; Office - MA7-7821

Arthur Freeman, Director - Tidewater Voter Registration Project, 812 Wood Street, MA7-0655, office.

J. Hugo Madison: Mr. Madison feels fervently that the committee doesn't want Freeman as director any more. Madison said Freeman became engaged in partisan politics, and the people didn't like this at all. Madison gave me contact names: Dr. Brown in Nofrolk and Atty. Overton in Portsmouth.

*This emphasis was placed by other organizations running voter registration programs, Mr. Freeman indicated.

Dr. Brown is in accord with Madison, and further stated that, "The best thing to do is close the project, and start over again, because Atlanta VEP is just throwing away money." Madison thinks a directive should be made to suspend expenditures of funds. Everything another organization does to register people, Freeman tries to claim the credit, while he's not doing anything himself. The adult leadership in the community has refused to follow Freeman's leadership. Brown and Madison feel the program could be much more effective if it had another director. Madison gave me another contact name: Robert Hagens, treasurer of TVRP.

Hagans feels there is a lot of work to be done here in Norfolk, but the organization needs to be reorganized. He expressed the same dissatisfaction with Freeman, as did others I've talked to - namely Brown and Madison. (Note: the people I've talked to in Norfolk feel that Billy Robinson, a political science instructor at a small local college could get the job done. I understand he was co-chairman of TVRP, but never got a chance to run the project.) Hagens again interjected his opinion that the TVRP board had lost interest because of Freeman's activity in partisan politics.

Mr. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, said he hasn't heard anything about Freeman. A friend, Winston Douglas, chairman of the board for TVRP has heard a few remarks. The board hasn't met in 3 or 4 months. Young can't really say until he knows more facts, whether more money is needed or not. He doesn't know how the present money was spent. The only dissatisfaction he's heard with Freeman was due to his influencial participating in a city council election campaign for a certain candidate. Young feels Freeman lacks the necessary ability to corral and lead adults. He is fine with young people. Young will write WAB after he talks with a few people, and let him know what's happening from a more enlightened point of view. Young said Billy Robinson has taken more or less a back seat, and left the project alone.

Staige Blackford: As per WAB's instructions, a copy of the Second Annual Report was personally given to Staige, and he seemed very happy to receive it. Staige has plans to do a story on VEP, and tie-in the TVRP. He said he may be calling on us for help.

NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA: VEP 3-9

Mrs. Norvleate Downing seems to have a productive program in process. She feels she is handicapped in voter registration in her area because: the registrar's office isn't open on Saturday nor at night, and the fact that regardless how many people they register before Oct.3 for federal elections, these same people will have to register again and pay poll tax to be eligible to vote in state and county elections.

Mrs. Downing is somewhat depressed because of these situations, but has girded herself to the task and is willing to give her best. The PCC recently conducted a "new money" contest. They sold chances at 10¢ each toward winning a new $100 bill. The PCC raised over $300 for their efforts. The PCC works in other areas besides voter registration. They are active in housing, employment, and other weaknesses that exist in the community, and need organized groups' attention for their correction. VEP funds are kept strictly for voter registration and nothing else. Although it is not to be made known to the general public at this time, but Mrs. Downing told me of a vacancy that will occur for registrar in Newport News sometime in January, and she tentatively plans to run for that position. She said she had the backing of some other civic groups in Newport News.

PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA -CENTRAL CITY FORUM (Grant not completed as yet. js)

David Muckle was out of town and could not be reached. J. Hugo Madison suggested I contact Atty. James Overton, who said the CCF wasn't doing much of anything right now because they are just getting reorganized under new leadership with Dr. James Holly as president. The CCF is the clearing house of the seven civic leagues in Portsmouth. The civic league directors make up the executive board of the CCF. Dr. Holly will send the information WAB requested , namely the financial information, so the grant procedure can be complete. WAB's question about Riddick was put to Dr. Holly who requested a direct grant since the CCF is organizing and pointing ahead in the right direction. Dr. Holly said they would need more money, and I told him to submit a budget. I attended the final organizational meeting of the CCF. They are organized seemingly with good leadership, and can possibly promote voter registration. Dr. Holly predicts they will have at least 5,000 registrants on the books by October 3, 1964. Dr. Holly asked me to send him a copy of the Second Annual Report. Holly feels the potential is there among the people of Portsmouth to turn out in large numbers to register and vote. Holly didn't know too much about the background of VEP. I gave him a copy of the First Annual Report, and he is to receive the second one when I get to the office. (Note: It has been mailed out.)

While in attendance at the CCF meeting, I was introduced to the people present, and made a few remarks about voter registration, along with suggestions here and there. A reporter from the Journal and Guide took a publicity shot (me included) to give the CCF a little publicity in the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

SUFFOLK, VIRGINIA - VEP VEP 4-19

I attended a meeting of the Saratoga Civic League, reviewed two films, "Right Now!" and "Politics is My Business." I was introduced to the people present, and gave a few words of inspiration to them about voter registration. Riddick said our film was quite helpful in teaching

voter education. Riddick said there was some voter registration going on in Isle of Wight, and Southampton counties, respectively. Riddick seems to have a good program underway. He registered about 168 persons last week, and plans to take 200 persons to the registrar's office this Saturday, August 22, in a "March to Vote" demonstration. I spent five hours talking with Riddick about voter registration. [redacted]

While with Riddick, I met a Mrs. Lassiter, [redacted] lady Justice of the Peace, [redacted] in Virginia. She won over a white man her first time running in an election. She won mainly because Nansemond county is 95% Negro, and their votes helped.

VEP can expect a full report shortly with newspaper clippings, the total registered, and other pertinant facts, about the fine work I think these people are doing.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT VEP 4-33

David Gunter: Gunter said there was a possible break in the Byrd machine. When asked why, he said, "The dissension in the Byrd machine is due to the dissatisfaction among the people, both Negro and white." This is so, I'm told, because of the Byrd machine, which consists of a few powerful people and many weak puppets who refuse to let bills out of the committee which are hurting both Negro and white people who aren't for the Byrd machine. The time is ripe for them to break the Byrd political machine if they can get enough anti-Byrd people (mostly Negro) to register and vote. The members of the Fourth Congressional District voter registration committee wants to capitalize on this situation by having an intensified voter registration program. "We will need money, " he emphasized. I told him to submit a budget and await a decision as to what VEP could do to help. The Fourth plans to actively pursue voter registration until October 3, 1964, then push these voters to vote for S. W. Tucker for congress from the Fourth District. The Fourth Congressional District covers 18 rural counties and 3 cities. The cities are Hopewell, Petersburg, and Suffolk. See attached map for the counties.

Gunter said the Fourth district is now conducting a citizenship school, had 40 enrolled. Herbert Coulton was the instructor. The graduates were turned over to precinct leaders to help others, in the various areas prepare themselves to pass the registration test. (See example of certificates given successful graduates.

Gunter and the financial committee estimated they need $35,000 (not all from VEP) to put this project over. I suggested they make a separate budget and submit it to VEP concerning the VEP interest, but definitely,

this grant if made, could not be used in a partisan way. I think the project has good, sound leadership, organization and direction. The Fourth district is in the heart of the Virginia black belt, and I think the potential is there to register a large number of Negro registrants, regardless of seemingly restricted office hours in the registrar's office. Coulton works along with Gunter, and other organizations in Petersburg. They have one goal, to register people to vote. The people in the Fourth feel the battle for the Negro's rights should now be through the ballot, the day of demonstrations is over.

Herbert Coulton - SCLC, Petersburg, Virginia: Coulton wasn't in, so I talked to his secretary, and later the same day, I talked to Coulton himself.

(Interview)

Secretary/- Miss Allen: There seems to be an increase in voter registration since a Negro, J. H. Owens, was elected to the city council inJune, 1964. SCLC has a test case at the registrar's office of a new type voter registration blank. They have filed suit through Tucker and Marsh, and are awaiting a ruling by the courts. Last week, they registered an estimated 15 people. The previous week, they registered more than 15. SCLC has some citizenship school going. Mrs. Olivia Marshall's school is the largest, with 15, five now being ready to register. SCLC has a transportation pool of volunteer drivers to take people to the polls. SCLC plans to show a five minute movie between features at the local theater about voter registration. They plan to buy radio time about the last week in September before the books close, telling people to get out and register, then vote. They have signs in business establishments where all employees are registered to vote. If there isn't 100% registration, the establishment gets no sign. They have 15 volunteer workers working on voter registration. They have two problems which somewhat hamper voter registration: Three hours a day to register (12-3), Monday through Friday; The blank ballot literacy test voter registration blank.

Herbert Coulton Interview: Coulton reiterated what his secretary had said. Right now, he is organizing ways to get people to register and vote. He teaches citizenship schools and is one of the organizers of the Fourth Congressional District registration committee. He is quite concerned about the short length of time the registrar's office remains open. It is a handicap because most people are working and can't get off. It is even more difficult with the blank registration sheets.

Richmond, Virginia: S. W. Tucker was out of town, so I talked with his law partner, H. L. Marsh. Marsh feels that if they could get away from school suits long enough, they think they could get some unregistered people on the books, and then possibly put S. W. Tucker in the congress-

man's seat from the Fourth District. They are trying to get workers throughout the Fourth District, but need funds to attract capable, responsible people to do the job. Marsh stated the same desire and feeling as did Coulton and Gunter. Marsh stated to me that the law states that a Registrar must accept people at other times besides those times set aside by the state for a fee of 35¢. Marsh is sending me a breakdown by county in the Fourth Congressional District showing the number of registerred and unregistered Negroes in each county.

Since Tucker nor Marsh cannot pull away completely from their law practice, they have plans to continue their organization of the Fourth District, and use county directors (of which funds are needed for small salaries) and volunteer workers who must be reimbursed for their expenses. The situation is now to the point in the Fourth Congressional District where further organization or a greater production of registered voters cannot be effectively made until there are funds in the treasury or commitments of financial made to the Fourth District.

(VEP 4-37)

John Brooks:/ Brooks gave me an oral outline of what his organization was doing. They have door to door canvassers in their district, which is the Third. They work hand in hand with the Crusade for Voters. Most of the work done by the CFV is done in Brooks' office. He said he sits on top of both sets of funds so he didn't mind which organization, his or the CFV, received funds from VEP. A budget was recently submitted for consideration by VEP. He wants to know as soon as possible what action has been taken on it. I promised to let him know as soon as possible. Brooks feels there is a lot of work to be done in the Fourth District. He feels that financial assistance would be very helpful in registering more voters.

Brooks said the major difference between his organization and the CFV is that the CFV can actively campaign for a certain candidate, and his organization must remain completely non-partisan. Brooks stated further that one of the goals of his organization is to get people to register and vote, whereas the goal of the CFV is not only to get people registered, encourage them to vote, but also while voting, to vote for a particular candidate.

Seemingly, the leaders in voter registration all over Virginia are either in leadership capacities, on various boards, or work in the various voter registration drives all over the state. They all seem to be working toward one common goal, that is, to put more Negroes on the books as registered voters. They feel that if they can get financial assistance, they can then secure the otherhelp needed to get people registered in the Fourth district mainly, and then throughout the other 9 congressional districts in Virginia. Brooks and his volunteer workers are very active in the Third District. The reason stated to me why a program is so badly needed in the Fourth Cong. District is due to the greatest concentration of Negroes in Virginia are situated in the

Fourth District. It is called the "Virginia Black Belt." If a sizable number of Negroes can be registered, positive gains can thus be assured.

JLT:js

Attachments: On original.

File original: Joe Tucker Field Trip Reports, and all others as designated.

Norfolk Poll Story

The Virginia-Pilot 8/19/64
By Staff Blackford

Many Sign Up, Few Pay Tax

NORFOLK—A voter registration drive jointly sponsored by the National Student YWCA and the Tidewater Voter Registration Project has ended with 2,564 new voters signed up.

But of the 2,564 registered, only about 200 to 300 paid the poll tax required to vote in state and local elections. No poll tax payment is required to vote in federal elections.

Results of the drive were announced Tuesday by Miss Rosetta E. Gardner, director of the Student YWCA campaign, and TVRP director Arthur Freeman.

Both said the drive "more than satisfied" their expectations, but agreed that there was "a great deal to be done" in the field of voter registration.

A large number of the YWCA-TVRP total were registered during the July 20-31 campaign sponsored by the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Jaycee drive resulted in 5,325 new voters.

Miss Gardner said there would be no registration problem in Norfolk "with more places to register."

Electoral Board Secretary Joseph T. Fitzpatrick recently introduced a plan for neighborhood night registration between now and Oct. 3, but the plan was rejected by the other two board members, Republican James M. Wolcott and Democrat James Baylor.

"Most people have to take a day off to register under the present plan," Miss Gardiner said. "This is very discouraging to people."

Miss Gardiner also said that during the July 2-31 night registration drive of the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce one busload of 68 people was turned way from City Hall Annex at 7:30 p.m. because there were so many people already waiting in line.

The YWCA project brought to Norfolk 11 students from 10 colleges and universtieis.

The students were given a week's orientation in the city's educational, political and civic life before beginning 12 days of house-to-house canvassing in six public housing projects and one private development.

The projects were Diggs Park, Oakleaf Park, Roberts Park, Morton Park, Young Park and Bowling Park. The private development was Marshall Manor.

Miss Gardiner said the YWCA students were "greatly enriched" by their stay in Norfolk. "We had a wonderful project," she said.

While praising the job done by the YWCA students, Freeman pointed out that "there are still many thousands of Norfolk citizens who have not registered to vote."

The deadline for the 1964 presidential election is Oct. 3.

TVRP is the local affiliate of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The project, which seeks to increase Negro voter registration throughout the South, has been in operation since early 1962.

August 17, 1964

Dear Rev.

The Peninsula Coordinating Committee is endeavoring to register a minimum of 1,000 voters before the deadline for registration which is October 3, 1964, in order to have as many of our colored citizens qualified to vote in the November presidential election as we possibly can.

On Saturday, August 15, we launched a Voter Registration Drive which will continue until the deadline. Our goal can easily be reached with the full cooperation of our Ministers and Churches. Therefore, we are appealing to you for support in this effort which is to benefit us all regardless of affiliations, denominations and individual credit. This is the one time in our lives that we must work together for a common cause.

Below are listed a few suggestions by which you can help in this effort:

Appoint a strong pillar of your Church, chairman of your Voter Registration Committee which should include the Chairman of all the Church departments. This Chairman would then work with the PCC Voter Registration Committee.

I. CHURCH DEPARTMENTS: The Committee's first function will be to urge, teach and lead all members of the various Church departments to become qualified voters. When all members of a department become qualified voters, they will be given special honor and recognition by the Church and the PCC. We will award Citizenship awards to each department reaching 100% voter registration.

II. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP: The Committee's second function will be to carry on a voter registration drive to qualify the general membership. Due to high examples set by the Minister and Church departments, the general membership will be more inspired and interested in becoming qualified voters.

We are merely giving suggestions to use or discord. We realize that the minister is the most qualified person to formulate a registration program for his Church. But we do offer some aids for such a drive:

1. Post an honor roll of all qualified voters in the Church.
2. Conduct a voter registration contest between the various Church departments.
3. Have a qualified voter in your Church lead a non-voter to the registrar's office. Let the name of each be a matter of record so the Committee can check on progress being made,
4. Information on how, why, where and when to go to the registrar's office will be furnished your Committee by the PCC.

We believe you can conduct a successful drive under your inspiring leadership as minister. May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norvleate Downing
Executive Secretary, PCC

David Gunter

FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
106 SOUTH AVENUE
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

August 3, 1964

Dear "Worker-for-Voter":

The Co-chairmen of the Fourth Congressional Voter Registration Committee met at separate instances to discuss methods and map plans whereby the necessary funds can be raised to insure and secure a much larger electorale in the Fourth Congressional District. With certain modifications, the following steps were approved:

1. That the Finance Committee accepts $35,000 as its quota and pledges to reach this goal.

2. That the present committee be expanded to include a representative from each of the 21 sub-divisions in the Fourth District.

3. That the county or city wide leader set up a functioning finance committee immediately--notifying this committee at once the person to represent your area on the District Finance Committee.

4. That Mrs. S. W. Tucker, of the District Finance Committee will head the Special Gifts Committee.

5. That your area Finance Committee be sufficiently large to cover every segment and section of your county or city.

6. That you let this committee know at once what portion of this $35,000 your area is accepting as its quota.

7. That accurate records be made and kept of all monies received and all monies turned in to the treasurer, Mr. James Duvall, Petersburg.

8. That, for a fast and sure method of raising funds, we recommend that every adult person in your county be contacted and asked to give not less than one dollar. This method will serve a dual purpose: to get the individual's dollar and at the same time attempt to secure his registration to vote.

9. That your area need not necessarily be confined to this method, but is free and at liberty to employ whatever method you deem advisable to secure your quota.

10. That August 10 be considered the deadline date for your response to this committee in order that any modification of area quotas, if necessary, might be considered.

Very truly yours,

Marietta H. Cephas
(Mrs.) Marietta H. Cephas, Chairman

Moses Riddick
(Mr.) Moses Riddick, Co-chairman

Julia Tucker
(Mrs.) Julia Tucker, Co-chairman

DEG/jmw

VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE-NAACP
301 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Concerned Citizen:

"Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before." The two Big Events in the lives of the Negro Americans in 1964 are: (1) The 1964 Civil Rights Act and (2) The Federal Election on November 3.

Yes, our concerned friend, "Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before" and the awesome shadows the Two Big Events of 1964 are casting even in mid-summer, will lengthen into a decade of darkness for the American Negro, other minority groups and perhaps for democracy itself, if the Negro does not transform his concern and fear into ACTION. To accomplish this:

THE VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEES
of the
Virginia State Conference and your Local Branch of the
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
and
Cooperating Community Organizaitons
Urge your Presence
at a
VOTER REGISTRATION ACTION MEETING
for the
2nd CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
Saturday, August 22, 1964
at
THE JEFFREY WILSON RECREATION CENTER
Airline Turnpike, Portsmouth, Virginia
1:00 P.M.

The future of the American Negro (which includes you and your children) will be influenced by what we do in Voter Registration not next year, but NOW.

For further information relative to the Coming Events in 1964, please read carefully the message on the reverse side of this letter.

Your presence is expected and will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

W. Lester Banks
Executive Secretary
Virginia State Conference, NAACP

John M. Brooks, Director
NAACP National Voter Registration

Enclosure
August, 1964

Name _____
Title _____

Name _____
Title _____

Name _____
Title _____

COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE

THE TWO BIG EVENTS IN 1964 ARE

I. The 1964 Civil Rights Act
II. The Federal Election on November 3

The 1964 Civil Rights Act, the most far reaching law ever enacted by the U. S. Congress to ensure, protect and extend the Negro citizen's constitutional and human rights, must be strictly enforced in every Precinct, Ward, Magisterial District, County, City and Town in Virginia just as it must be enforced elsewhere in our Nation. But we know the fight our Senators, our Congressmen, our Governor and the members of the General Assembly put up to prevent the Bill from becoming law.

We are painfully aware and deeply concerned that Senator Goldwater not only voted against shutting off debate in the Senate (cloture) but also voted against the Bill itself.

As we look toward the November election, our well founded concern increases to almost outright fear. This deep concern and yes, outright fear, was increased as we witnessed the methods used by the Goldwater forces to beat down the liberal wing of the Republican Party, thus preventing the convention from adopting a strong civil rights plank in the Party's platform.

The Republican National Convention nominated Senator Goldwater who, may we remind you again, VOTED AGAINST THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL; virtually read the Negro out of the GOP in an Atlanta speech; and who proclaimed in his nomination acceptance speech "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." The extremist groups of which Virginia has its share, are already placing an interpretation on Goldwater's words similar to those placed on the words of the late Bilbo of Mississippi who declared: "the best way to keep the niggers from the polls is to visit them the night before the election."

We do not have a Bilbo in Virginia; therefore, Negro leadership must shoulder the blame for the following:

VIRGINIA NEXT TO MISSISSIPPI

There is now one qualified Negro voter for every six white voters in the South.... Southern white registration is 13,600,000. Negroes account for one-fourth the voting age population in the South.... Texas showed the greatest growth in the Negro registration and Mississippi the least. The figures showed that Virginia had 27.7 per cent of its eligible Negroes registered, placing just above Mississippi and Alabama in the list of 11 Southern states.

Voter Registration work by Virginia Negroes must be waged on a 24 hour basis; seven days a week, every week, every month until November 3.

-REGISTER TODAY-

SO THAT YOUR VOTE

WILL INFLUENCE

THE

SHADOWS TOMORROW

Big "Civil Rights" Rally

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11

UNION HALL--8:00 P. M.

509 EAST WASHINGTON STREET SUFFOLK, VIRGINIA

GUEST SPEAKER

SENATOR LEROY JOHNSON

OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The South's First and Only Negro Senator Since "Reconstruction Times"

It is often said these days, "give us our 'Civil Rights' ". It must be considered also that with Civil Rights go CIVIL RESPONSIBILITIES.

Now is the time to obtain your Rights by Registering to Vote in the Presidential Election on November 3, 1964

REGISTRATION BOOKS CLOSE OCTOBER 2, 1964

WHERE TO GO IN ORDER TO QUALIFY

City: Frank Watkins, Registrar, 5th Floor, Professional Building, Suffolk.

County: Raye V. Knight, Registrar, 158 Corner Saratoga & West Washington Streets—2nd Floor, Suffolk, Va.

NOW IS THE TIME TO GET READY AND STAY READY

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Your community civic league leaders; representatives in the Union Hall and IVL representatives on the corner of the Professional Building any Saturday morning from 10:30 until 12:30 P. M. Phone 539-6662.

MEETING SPONSORED BY I. V. L.

ALSO, VISIT PEEL-RIDDICK DEPARTMENT STORE FOR YOUR NEEDS IN CLOTHING, VOTING INFORMATION INCLUDED.

[illegible] WHEN YOU CAN WRITE IT CORRECTLY FROM MEMORY.

I apply to register.

My name is _____ (Your full name).

I am _____ (give age) years old.

I was born _____ (Month - Day - Year).

I was born in _____ (Place of birth - City or Town or County & State).

I live in _____ Precinct of the

(City) (County) of _____.

I have lived here for more than a year.

I am a _____ (Kind of work you do).

I have done this kind of work for more than a year.

I have never voted.

_____ (Signature of Applicant)

_____ (RFD, Route or Street Number)

_____ (Town or City)

It is very important that the following words be spelled correctly in your application. Study them. Check them each time you practice writing your application.

apply	register	than
County	here	Virginia
voted	live	born
year	lived	years

YOU DON'T HAVE TO PAY
Poll Taxes
TO REGISTER AND VOTE
In Federal Elections
In 1964

QUALIFY TODAY
It's Easy

(See Pages 2 & 3)

President Kennedy, Medgar Evers and others gave their lives -

WILL YOU GIVE A VOTE FOR YOUR FREEDOM?

YOU CAN VOTE IN THE 1964 FEDERAL ELECTION WITHOUT PAYING A POLL TAX

IF YOU WERE BORN BEFORE NOVEMBER 4, 1943
and
IF YOU HAVE LIVED IN VIRGINIA SINCE NOVEMBER 3, 1963

YOU CAN VOTE THIS YEAR

IN THE NOVEMBER 3 ELECTION WITHOUT PAYING A POLL TAX.

IF YOU ARE NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE

REGISTER

-NOW-

IT'S EASY TO REGISTER
(For detailed instructions see pages 4 & 5)

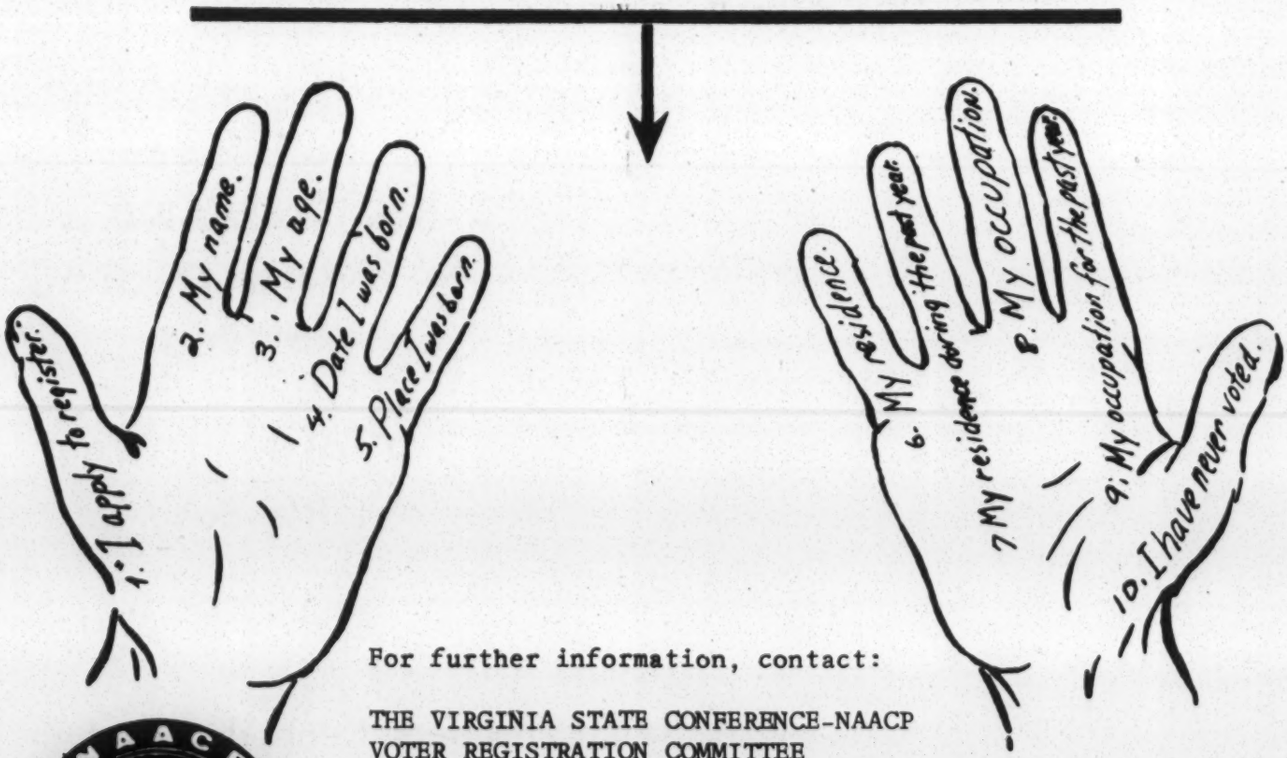
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR REGISTRATION AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 20 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA ARE THUSLY NUMBERED:

(1) "...he make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating therein his (2) name (3) age (4) date and (5) place of birth, (6-9) residence and occupation at the time and for one year next preceeding, and (10) whether he has previously voted, and if so the state, county and precinct in which he voted last;...."

YOUR LOCAL REGISTRAR MAY REQUIRE YOU TO MAKE YOUR APPLICATION ON A PRINTED FORM OR ON A BLANK SHEET OF PAPER OR A MODIFICATION OF THE TWO. YOUR NAACP VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE WILL ADVISE YOU - PLEASE ASK.

- BUT REGARDLESS -

TO REGISTER
Is As Easy As Counting On Your Fingers



For further information, contact:

THE VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE-NAACP
VOTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE
301 East Clay Street, Richmond, Va. 23219
Phone: 644-5678 or 648-2435
- or -
Your Local NAACP Voter Registration Committee

NAACP · FOUNDED 1909 · OVER 50 years

Please turn to page 5

• Register Now To Qualify To Vote In The 1964 Federal Election

Election Date: November 3, 1964

NAACP's CRUSADE FOR VOTERS

For further information
call MIlton 4-9337

YOU DON'T HAVE TO PAY Poll Taxes TO REGISTER AND VOTE In Federal Elections In 1964

QUALIFY TODAY
It's Easy

(See Pages 2 & 3)

President Kennedy, Medgar Evers and others gave their lives -

WILL YOU GIVE A VOTE FOR YOUR FREEDOM?

It's Easy To Regiter In Richmond
Every Man And Woman Can Do It

Go to the registrar's office, 804 West Main Street (Mosque Building) and say to the pleasant registrar, "I want to register for the 1964 federal election."

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS FILL OUT A SIMPLE FORM LIKE THIS:

1. Name _____

2. Street Address _____

3. Place of Birth _____
(City and State)

Year _____, Month _____, Day _____, Age _____

4. Occupation _____

5. Have you ever voted before? Yes ☐ No ☐ City and state last voted _____

6. Virginia _____, Richmond _____, Precinct _____

THE REGISTRAR's OFFICE IS OPEN MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY
FROM 8:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

NOTE: Section 20 of the Constitution of Virginia provides who may register, and expressly directs that in the written application to register the applicant shall give certain information. Below are set forth such parts of Section 20 as concern the application.

"Who May Register. Every citizen of the United States, having the qualifications of age and residence required in Section Eighteen, shall be entitled to register, provided: . . .

" . . . . . he make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for one year next preceding, and whether he has previously voted, and if so, the state, county and precinct in which he voted last; . . . . ."

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____ Date

_____ Signature of Applicant

SAMPLE

S C L C

HONOR ROLL

FIRST CLASS CITIZENS

of the _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

REGISTER TO VOTE! GET YOUR NAME ON HERE!

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE HOUSE OF MURPHY, PRINTERS, ATLANTA

The League of United Voters
of
Petersburg and Vicinity

presents this

Certificate of Appreciation and Completion

to

_____

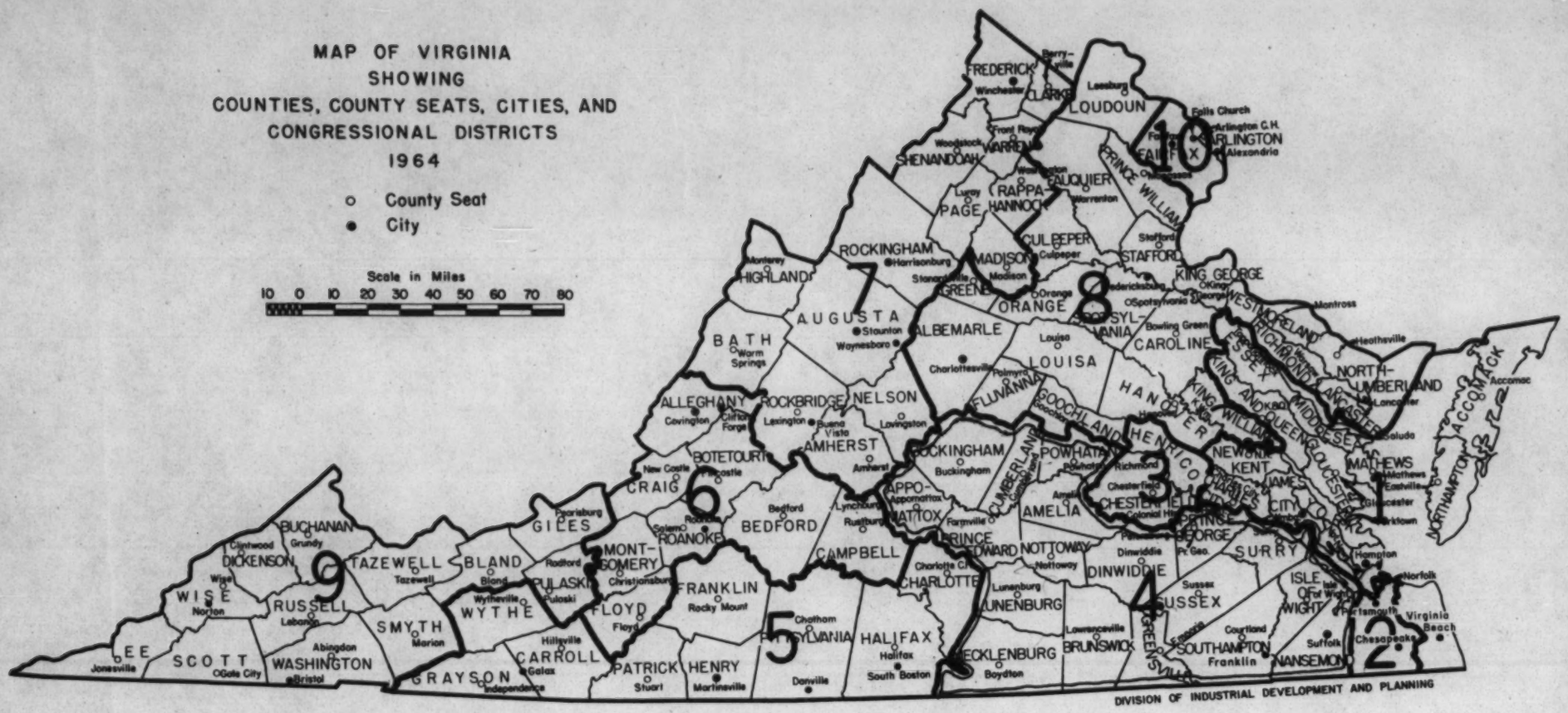
for having successfully completed in a commendable manner, the necessary requirements of instruction in Voter Registration Education. Be it known that the recepient is qualified and adjudged as an instructor in the field of Voter Registration Education.

Dr. L. C. Johnson **Treasurer**	**David Gunter** **Chairman**
Herbert V. Coulton **Advisor-Instructor**	**(Mrs.) Ruth Cooley** **Secretary**

MAP OF VIRGINIA
SHOWING
COUNTIES, COUNTY SEATS, CITIES, AND
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
1964

○ County Seat
● City

Scale in Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80



You Too Can Vote For The President In 1964

YOU DON'T HAVE TO PAY POLL TAXES TO REGISTER AND VOTE IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN 1964

THIS IS ALL YOU HAVE TO DO

IT IS EASY TO REGISTER IN RICHMOND. EVERY MAN AND WOMAN CAN DO IT.

REGISTER THIS WEEK!! Go to the registrar's office, 804 West Main Street (Mosque Building) and say to the pleasant registrar, "I want to register for 1964 federal elections."

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS FILL OUT A SIMPLE FORM LIKE THIS:

1. Name .....

2. Street address .....

3. Place of birth .....
(City and State)

Year....., Month..... Day..... Age .....

4. Occupation .....

	Yes	No
5. Have you ever voted before?	☐	☐

City and state last voted .....

THE REGISTRAR'S OFFICE, 804 WEST MAIN STREET (MOSQUE BUILDING), IS OPEN MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY FROM 8:30 A. M. to 5 P. M. (If necessary, your employer will give you time off to register).

NEGROES IN THE SOUTH DON'T WANT YOUR PITY, THEY WANT YOU TO REGISTER AND VOTE.

.. YOU DON'T HAVE TO FILL IN LONG DIFFICULT REGISTRATION FORMS
... NOBODY WILL FIRE YOU FROM YOUR JOB, IF YOU REGISTER
.... NOBODY WILL PUT YOU OUT OF YOUR HOME, IF YOU REGISTER
..... NOBODY WILL DO YOU BODILY HARM, IF YOU REGISTER
..... NOBODY WILL SHOOT, KILL OR PUT YOU IN JAIL FOR URGING YOUR NEIGHBORS TO REGISTER AND VOTE

— REGISTER THIS WEEK —

— To Thine Ownself Be True —

CRUSADE FOR VOTERS **RICHMOND BRANCH NAACP**

IF YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND OR NEED HELP CALL MI 4-5678

File original - JLT Field Trip Reports
" cc's - VEP 4-22, VEP 4-3, and VEP 4-32

WB
JML

September 8, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Joe L. Tucker

Re: Field Trips to Little Rock, Arkansas, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Nashville, Tennessee

INTRODUCTION

Friday, August 28, WAB called me in conference concerning four or five days of organizational work with Ozell Sutton in Little Rock, Arkansas, helping him to get some "crash" voter registration programs going. It was decided that I would leave Atlanta by plane early Monday morning stopping in Chattanooga to see Marvin Cousin, talk to him about the voter registration project there, get a clear picture of its organizational methods, and registration drive techniques.

- Leave Chattanooga, stop in Nashville, see Attorney Avon Williams and Mrs. Ella Boyd - see how their project is doing, and offer my services if needed in a problem-solving way.

- Leave Nashville and go into Little Rock, Arkansas, to help Ozell Sutton of the Arkansas Voter Project do organizational work in setting up voter registration programs in the southern area of Arkansas and points north of Little Rock.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE - TENNESSEE VOTER COUNCIL: Marvin L. Cousin, insurance agent, family man. Two full time office workers. Hard to get volunteer workers, most people in this town, said Cousin, expect to be paid, nobody but a few people work as volunteers. The TVC plans to get radio time on the Negro station during the last week in September to urge people to register. The TVC isn't going from door-to-door. This has been done in the past with little results. Hand bills, bumper stickers, etc., have been more effective. A lot of canvassing is done by phone using information and phone numbers gathered from past door-to-door registration campaigns. These numbers are called by the canvassers and these people are urged to get out and vote on election day.

The office is a walk-in, on the corner. The area is on the fringe of the Negro business district. Cousin expresses a wish that the office could be closer down town.

They have a motor pool of three cars on stand-by that are used when necessary to transport persons wishing to register to the courthouse.

I visited the courthouse and witnessed the registration of two Negroes and a change of address of a third. The present registrar has been in office about a month. The whereabouts of the other registrar was unknown by Cousin. While in the office, Cousin talked to the registrar and was received courteously. The assistant registrars, or clerks, were very nice, and courteous in handling applicants for registration. The voting requirements are quite simple: Age 21, be able to write your name, answer whether you have been convicted of a felony, have lived in Tennessee one (1) year, and 90 days in this particular county (Hamilton). Also, if a person becomes 21 years of age before an election, he may register to vote before the books close.

Cousin said they had about 50 people a week coming into the registration office a week seeking information on how to register. Cousin said W. C. Patton had money for possibly one more month's rent, and maybe the telephone bill.

The law states that the registrar take the books out into the county ten times a year. Cousin and his workers have circulated petitions to get the registration books in some thickly populated Negro housing areas. They are awaiting a decision which will be made around the 15th of September.

Cousin sometimes solicits the help of his fellow insurance agents in putting out auto bumper stickers and encouraging unregistered persons on their debits to register and vote.

I sat in on plans for an "Intra-Church" campaign with Cousin and Robinson. The plans states for the minister to poll his church and urge the congregation to register and vote. Each voter will get his name on a voter registration honor roll that will be placed in the lobby of each church.

Cousin said they registered about 1,350 people during the June-July drive. They have workers at the courthouse to meet and record the names of people who come in on their own to register.

I met Mr. C. B. Robinson, President of TVC, who is employed as a school principal. He voiced the same feeling as did Cousin about the TVC. Funds are at a minumum, but the TVC received about $700 from COPE. Mr. Robinson has been active in Labor for 20 years.

The whole staff of TVC put out a great registration effort for the primary election August 6, 1964. Right now, they are gathering strength and momentum for a final run of non-registered people to the courthouse by October

3 for the federal election. Mrs. Cato is chairman of the Publicity Committee for TVC. She can be reached at the TVC headquarters. Robinson said the people in Chattanooga were very complacent about voting and participating in voter registration unless they are paid. Robinson said this was mainly due to politicians buying votes and paying people to work in their individual campaigns. The people feel that the TVC should do the same thing, if not, some won't even work or participate in the program.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE: (Avon Williams, contact) - Avon Williams was busy, but gave me an audience for enough time to discuss the voter registration project. The other contact, Mrs. Ella Boyd, was out of town.

They have two paid workers, a secretary , and a worker at the courthouse who both receive $37.50 per week. The worker at the courthouse is stationed outside the registrar's office that is so situated in the courthouse where many people both, Negro and white, pass its doors daily. This worker stops as many Negroes as possible and takes them a few steps into the office to be registered. Williams states that this has brought very good results. He feels that better results have come from this effort rather than the door-to-door canvass type registration drive. This idea was put into practice due to a lack of sufficient funds and volunteer personnel to promote registration in the area.

Williams showed me a compilation of voting data and figures of which he will send VEP copies. Williams said they were just about to the end of their budget and he is thinking about submitting a request for supplemental funds.

He asked me to send him some VEP forms - progress, and financial voucher forms. (Done by phone from Little Rock 9/2/64. - Note: forms sent same day of request. js)

Williams feels that there is prevalent among the people, a condition of antipathy that prevents them from becoming registered and casting a vote. I ended my discussion with Williams by suggesting ways of getting more people registered and increasing his volunteer work force.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS - ARKANSAS VOTER PROJECT (Ozell Sutton, Director):

Tuesday: Arrived in Little Rock, was met by Ozell Sutton, and he introduced me to his staff of one paid worker - his secretary, and a volunteer worker. He took me to the ~~Tennessee~~ Ark. Council on Human Relations, and I renewd my acquaintance with Nat Griswold. Sutton gave me an introductory talk as to what the AVP is doing, what it has done, and what it plans to do by October 3, 1964. I reviewed some of the literature put

out by AVP, then plunged into the voter registration work that was to be done. The main function of AVP is to furnish impetus for people to pay their poll tax which is all there is necessary to vote in Arkansas. This impetus is furnished under the direction of Ozell Sutton by putting poll tax blanks in anyone's hand who will go out and solicit people to pay their poll tax. Booths are set up at some of the larger grocery stores with a large Negro customer ratio, barber shops, beauty shops, to solicit people to pay poll tax. Mr. Sutton has to do a lot of running around to collect this money from people who sold the poll taxes, and to get others organized. In between these errands, Sutton is constantly asking or reminding people to pay their poll tax. I went on the afternoon run to check the booths, collect money, put out more circulars and billboards (see attached examples), and replenish poll tax blanks to the various people working. Ozell Sutton is busy in other area organizing and setting up meetings to increase voter registration.

Wednesday: I met a Mr. M. J. Caruth, Box 2372, of Little Rock, who stated that WAB promised to send him a copy of the film, "Right Now!" I did some office work making up packets of placards and handbills to be distributed by a volunteer to different business establishments. I accompanied a volunteer on a voter registration distribution run to delivber said packets. We delivered poll tax blanks, posters, and handbills to various business establishments in Little Rock. I helped Ozell Sutton complete plans for the organization of projects in Hope and Texarkana, Arkansas. We left Little Rock early in the morning to make the trip into the previously stated towns. I went to deliver some volunteers at two shopping centers where they will be soliciting poll taxes this afternoon. We visited areas which had the most thickly populated Negro areas in this part of Arkansas. The AVP's programs consist of four divisions 1) churches, 2) PTA, 3) booths, 4) Poll tax marches. Another technique is drop-stations. That is, they leave a poll tax book in any extablishment that will promote the "Pay Your Poll Tax-Vote" program.

Thursday: We left Little Rock early and went to Hope, Arkansas. We met with seven leaders of the community in Hope, Arkansas, and got the program organized and explained to the leaders what was expected of them, what financial help the AVP could give them, and discussed ways in which to stimulate the purchasing of poll taxes in this general area. The seven people at the meeting represented churches, schools, the Negro political leadership in the community, and a county farm agent who gave to the group many valuable contact names.

We went on to Texarkana, ~~Texas~~ Arkansas, to contact Negro leaders there to see if we could organize a voter registration program there. We contacted the leaders in the community and luckily, they had planned for the evening a meeting to discuss a voter registration drive. We stayed over in Texarkana to attend this meeting. Both Ozell Sutton and I spoke on the program. The people enjoyed hearing what we had to say, and chose a

chairman to head their "Voter Registration-Pay Your Poll Tax" drive. In Hope and Texarkana, there was unorganized, sporatic attempts to urge people to pay their poll tax and vote. The AVP is all over the state organizing these attempts, and an increase of registered voters is beginning to show up on the registrar's books. (Note: The AVP is well aware of the fact that a payment of poll tax is not necessary for state and local elections. In order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding, the AVP is urging people to pay the poll tax so they can vote in all elections. They even have to pay a poll tax in order to vote it out of existence.)

The AVP plans to organize voter registration drives all over the state and they are very close to realizing that goal.

Friday: I did some work with publicity registration material in the office, met Mrs. Daisy Bates, discussed voter registration with her, and helped some volunteers get their material ready for distribution in their assigned areas.

The AVP seemingly is a well-organized project. The most glaring weakness I found to exist is the need of someone of a responsible nature and know-how, to assist the project director. My short period of assistance to him seemingly was very helpful. I feel assured we may expect very good results from the AVP, especially under the qualified, dedicated leadership of Ozell Sutton.

As a result of our efforts during the week, an estimated 1,000 persons paid their poll tax and are now eligible to vote.

JLT:js

Attachment

WB/
JM2

September 25, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Joe Louis Tucker

Re: Field Trip to Northern Alabama: Gadsden, Decatur, Tri-county Area, and Rome, Georgia.

In a conference on Friday, 9/18/64, it was decided that I should make a field trip into northern Alabama. I rented a car (Budget Rent-A-Car) and made a successful trip. Courtesy calls were made to Mr. Melvin Sykes in Decatur, Alabama, and Dr. John Cashin in Huntsville, Alabama.

Explanations to the following questions, plus other information, was received from the contacts indicated.

Gadsden, Alabama - Mr. Q. D. Adams, Citizens Improvement League:
1. What days are open for registration at the courthouse?
2. What plans do you have for the remaining periods while the books are open?
3. Who makes the decisions for the organization?

Decatur, Alabama - Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Sykes:
1. Courtesy call.
2. What's going on in voter registration in Decatur and vicinity?

Tri-county area: Mrs. Bernice Owens and Mr. Charlie Burgess:
1. What's going on in Lauderdale County?
2. What days do you have to register in October?
3. Has Mr. Burgess shown the film VEP sent? If so, what were the comments?

Huntsville, Alabama - Mr. R. C. Adams - Madison County Coordinating Committee:
1. Hasn't sent a financial report since 7/30 - why? Mr. Adams owes VEP an accounting for $200.85. See why it hasn't come into the VEP office.
2. Courtesy call to Dr. Cashin. - Talk to Dr. John Cashin, a Negro dentist who ran for mayor. Ask how his campaign went along. Ask what's going on in voter registration in Huntsville. Ask for some voting statistics concerning Huntsville.

Rome, Georgia - Donald Jackson: Project is closed, but check results and discuss evaluation of the project with Mr. Jackson.

Gadsden, Alabama - CITIZENS IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE VEP 3-30:

Q. D. Adams out of town for two days. Talked to a Dr. Stewart, who works with Adams. He couldn't give me any pertinent information about the organization. Mr. Adams can be reached at: 546-2443, residence, and 547-9154, business. Dr. Stewart can be reached at: 547-5784, office, 219 North Sixth Street.

They have raised some money, along with VEP's grant and a grant from SCLC, but Dr. Stewart said they really could use some more funds. He said the people just didn't seem to care about voting. A worker from one of SCLC's citizenship schools has been helping with voter registration in Gadsden, but could not be reached.

Stopped by Q. D. Adams' on return trip. Here is what he had to say: There are 19.6% of 58,000 people in Gadsden who are Negroes. Mr. Adams dry cleaning establishment was shotgunned last week, and $60 worth of clothes were ruined by double O slugs.

The reason Alabama changes its voting test every 30 days is because civil rights leaders were familarizing people with the voting test, so to cross everybody up, they change it every 30 days.

He has about 14 volunteer workers who do door-to-door canvassing, and help train people in the fundamentals of the voting test. Mr. Adams stated that it is difficult to know when the registration board will be open. They never tell you until the last minute. They will have eight days to register in October, and the CIL plans a massive all-out registration drive to put more people on the books. Mr. Adams stated that the CIL has been in existence for 30 years. They have worked for the betterment of the Gadsden, Alabama, Negro community, and feel that some progress has been made despite bombings, police brutality, and economic reprisals.

Mr. Adams has an organized project in existence that is governed by a group of elected officials. (See attached sheet from the League). They are working and the community respects their effort, and gives them support.

In closing our conversation, Mr. Adams made known a plan he thinks might work with the registration board. As a notary public, he is going to sign every affidavit brought to him acknowledging a person's age and years of schooling, then leave it up to the registration board to prove the affidavit invalid. He doubts if the necessary records can be found, so he figures to aid many people in their registration effort in this way.

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DECATUR, ALABAMA: File VEP 4-5 (white copy)

Mr. Melvin Sykes - 1004 Banks Street, Decatur, Alabama - Mr. Sykes stated that there wasn't anything going on in voter registration. People are very apathetic; will not go themselves, or be asked to go. Sykes states that the Negroes want freedom brought to them on a platter. He feels that a lot of work could be done in Decatur, but due to the lack of interest and participation of the Negro population in Decatur, it all seems futile. Mr. Sykes is disgusted about the way the Negroes refrain from participating in voting. He stated that many of them fear economic reprisals.

Mr. Sykes also said there was one segregation law on the books in Decatur, Alabama, and that is: A cab shall not be occupied by Negroes and whites at the same time. Other than this one law, Decatur is "wide" open for voter registration, public accommodations, etc., but the Negroes are content not to test them for their validity as acknowledged by the city government of that city.

Mr. Sykes has received correspondence to attend a voter's meeting October 18 in Birmingham at the Masonic Temple given by W. C. Patton of ASCARV. Mr. Sykes plans to attend and give a report that nothing is being done in Decatur because of a disinterested population.

* * * * * * *

TRI-COUNTY VOTERS LEAGUE (COLBERT COUNTY VOTERS LEAGUE) VEP 3-19:

Mrs. Bernice Owes, Sec.
25 actual volunteer workers; they have registered about 250 people, overall; there are no paid workers. Volunteers make phone contacts and do door-to-door canvassing. They also use the voter lists that are printed in the newspaper; meet once a month; reception is good in the community.

No trouble with registrar (see attached sample registration form) here in Colbert County. After the volunteer workers make their contacts, they report the results to Mrs. Owes, the secretary, or Mr. Burgess, the president. Have voter registration training classes about every three months. The meetings take place in the Labor Union Building.

Registrar's office is now open 9/21-22 and 9/28 in ~~October~~ September. The office will be open the 1st and 3rd Monday in October. Mrs. Owes gave me a contact name in Lauderdale County: Rev. David Tolbert, 818 West Irvine, Florence, Alabama - Phone, 766-1368.

Mr. Burgess: They change the application form every month. It's done by Gov. Wallace. Usually get about 25 people a day when the books are open. One thing that makes the number low is due to cotton picking season. There are 2,500 registered Negroes in Colbert County, 15,000 white registered voters. Mr. Burgess said that 80% whites are registered and 60% Negro. The people in the registrar's office are polite and courteous. Haven't shown the film as yet, but will do so at the Tri-County voters annual meeting October 11., at 3 p. m. in Tuscumbia, Mt. Carmel church.

Lauderdale Voters League is run by ministers. Mr. Burgess helped to organize the league. Registration is slow, but they are moving.

Tri-County makes radio announcements concerning voter registration over programs that appeal to most of the people. Tri-County is pushing toward a goal of 500 voters for the November election. Mr. Burgess stated that one reason the Negroes in the Tri-county don't go to the polls is because they haven't been "emotionally disturbed." That is, if one Negro goes to the polls and is turned down for no good reason, Mr. Burgess said the Negroes would turn out by the hundreds. As Mr. Burgess stated, they would then be "emotionally disturbed." Announcements are made in church as to when the registrar's office will be open. In every district in the county, Tri-city voters league has a committee of four people who are responsible for voter registration in that area.

* * * * * * * * * *

LAUDERDALE COUNTY - Rev. David Tolbert 818 W. Irvine, Florence, Alabama, 766-1368.

Rev. Tolbert is chairman of the Lauderdale County Voters League.

He has been out of the city for three months. While he was away, the vice-chairman did not call any meetings, or push voter registration. Now that he has returned to the city, he is planning to begin a drive toward registering some people. Rev. Tolbert said the registration procedure wasn't hard at all, the problem is getting the Negro people out to register and vote. One main problem of Rev. Tolbert's is that he is getting refusals from people who tell that since President Johnson's name won't be on the ballot due to the electors situation in Alabama, the people say they have nothing to vote for, and plan to stay at home on election day. He also stated he was faced with a lot of Negroes who tell white politicians everything that goes on in the neighborhood. Rev. Tolbert said he would make all attempts to get the voter drive going.

Rev. Tolbert said the 9-12 grades of school are integrated, but only one Negro student attends. Others offer the excuse of not wanting to go to a white high school, and others offer no excuse at all. Rev. Tolbert said this may be encouraged by some of the teachers who fear a loss of employment by integration in the school system coming to Florence, Alabama, in large degrees.

I asked Rev. Tolbert to send me the number of registered white and Negro people in the county. He graciously consented to forward this information to me.

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MADISON COUNTY COORDINATING COMMITTEE VEP 4-21

Mr. R. C. Adams, Huntsville, Alabama: There are 2,700 registered Negroes in Huntsville. Mr. Adams doesn't have any volunteer workers. There are about 4,000 registered Negroes in the county as a whole. There is one paid worker, a secretary who works part-time. Mr. Adams stated that, "....to get any help out of anybody, you have to pay them. We pay them when we have the money."

If you fail the voter test, you have to wait six months before you can take the test again. The registration board determines the length of time you have to wait. The main problem is the voter test, which the state of Alabama makes as difficult as possible. (See attached sample.) There are eight days to register in October. First Monday and Tuesdays of each week.

There are 23,000 white registered voters in Madison County, and 4,000 Negroes registered. There are 21,000 Negroes in the county, and 100,000 whites.

There are five districts in Madison County. Mr. Adams has four district committees that work on voter registration in the county.

Mr. Adams has prepared the financial statement (I saw it) that will show accounting for $200.85. He said he was holding it until it was time to mail it into the office. He said the books were closed in August, and that is why VEP got no financial statement from him then. The Madison County Coordinating Committee has a balance in their account of $.85. Adams stated that if he had more funds to pay some experienced voter registration workers, he could do a better job, and increase voter registration. He said he was proud to get 25 people registered in a day because its so hard to get the Negroes out to meetings and down to the registrars office.

Mr. Adams also stated that there were trained voter registration workers who live in Huntsville and could help in the voter drive, but he would need some funds to pay their expenses if he sought their assistance. He said these young people were trained at Dorchester County Training School in Georgia.

Mr. Adams is in hopes that VEP will continue its support of the voter program in Huntsville because it has been a very helpful boost in the registration drive.

* * * * * * *

Dr. Cashin: (File white copy: VEP 4-21)

Dr. Cashin came in 6 out of 7 in the mayor's race with 527 votes. He's glad he didn't get more votes because this can prove some of his beliefs, such as: 1) The lack of Negro leadership in Huntsville; 2) The people who do lead take "grafts" from white politicians for the Negro vote; 3) There is no needed possible Negro block vote in Huntsville. Dr. Cashin plans to make an expose' of the so-called Negro leadership in Huntsville. Included in this expose' will be R. C. Adams, who Cashin said takes "pocket" money from some of the politicians.

Cashin said nothing is going on in voter registration. He stated that Adams was trying, but needed someone to outline what to do, and then he certainly would do it. Dr. Cashin stated that when Randolph Blackwell was here, he told Adams what to do, and things went smoothly, but not with Blackwell gone, Adams has no one to tell him what to do and he somewhat "flounders around" - but he does try, seemingly with not too much progress being made.

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, 2333 Galatin, Huntsville, Alabama, 539-4648:

While in Huntsville, I talked briefly with Ed Stanfield, and he sent greetings to the staff of VEP and SRC. He asked that I send him the names and addresses of VEP project directors in Alabama for contact purposes. This will be done on approval from WAB.

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Mr. Donald Jackson, 512 Branham Ave., Rome, Georgia VEP 4-29 (NAACP-Georgia Cities): (File white copy in VEP 4-29)

The project in Rome is closed, but WAB wanted me to stop and somewhat evaluate the project in a discussion with Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Jackson couldn't be reached, but I left my card, and in the mail on 9/24/64, received a note and some newspaper clippings (see attachments) which might merit upon approval from WAB, a field trip to Rome to discuss first-hand the situation of registration and voting in that city.

JLT

js
Attachments

ANNOUNCING THE BIG REGISTRATION DRIVE
AND THE
REGULAR MEETING OF THE CITIZEN IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE (VOTER LEAGUE)

The Registrar Office finally announced their opening date for registration for the month of September. They will be open Sept. 23,24,25,28, and 29th.

TITLE I. - VOTING RIGHTS ENACTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE U.S. IN 1964

Section 101-2004 and further amended by Section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 amended as follows:

Any peron, who have completed the Sixth grade as a maximum requirement, is entitled to register and vote in Federal Elections with no Poll Tax required.

Any person that meets this requirement may fill out an affidavit, sworn before a Notary Public, and present same to the Registrar's Office.

Clinics will be set up in all sections of the county to aid persons to become registered voters. Also, the registrar's office will be open in October ten days, this will be your last opportunity to register to vote in the General Election, 1964.

* *

AGENDA
Of the Regular Meeting of the Citizen Improvement League
(Voters League)
Wednesday Night, September 30, 1964 - 7:30 P. M. At The
Tuscaloosa Community Center
* * * * * * * *

Devotion . . . . . Rev. J. S. Dudley

Opening Remarks . . . . . President

Reading of Minutes - Mrs. Romaine Johnson

Reports from All Committees

Presentation of Speaker

Speaker . . . . . Rev. Horton

Miscellaneous Period

Reports by Units:

Unit No. 1.	_____	No. 7.	_____
2.	_____	8.	_____
3.	_____	9.	_____
4.	_____	10.	_____
5.	_____	11.	_____
6.	_____	12.	_____

Presentation of Visitors
Closing Remarks and Benediction

Mrs. Romaine Johnson, Secretary Mr. Pasco Chatman, Trea.
Mr. Grover Coats, Vice-President Mr. Q.D.Adams, President

WB

October 5, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Joe L. Tucker

Re: Field Trip to South Carolina and Virginia September 29 to October 2, 1964

INTRODUCTION

After a discussion with our project director, Wiley Branton, I left Atlanta on a field trip that originiated from the VEP office to Anderson, South Carolina, Greenville, South Carolina, Roanoke, Virginia, Lynchburg, Virginia, Farmville, Virginia, Halifax, Virginia, South Boston, Virginia, and Danville, Virginia.

Contacts and information sought was as follows:

Anderson, South Carolina: Rev. Joseph Rich, First Baptist Church, 324 West Reed Street.

We wanted to know how the re-registration was going on. This re-registration came about due to the annexation of North Anderson. It caused much confusion on the voter lists, so, to solve this confusion, all registered voters were stricken from the books, and asked to register again.

Greenville, South Carolina: Rev. Brockman, 125½ Falls Street.

This project has received its final grant from VEP. We were interested in how this money was being spent, what were the methods of utilizing the workers, both paid and volunteer; what plans, if any, did Rev. Brockman and his associates have for voter registration when the books close October 3, 1964, and VEP terminates its financial assistance.

Roanoke, Virginia: A. Byron Smith, P. O. Box 312; DI 3-5219, office, DI 3-3893, residence.

This project functions under a NAACP grant from Richmond, Virginia. We wanted to know what, if any, other organizations in Roanoke were active in voter registration. What progress is being made. What other financial assistance, if any, they are getting from other sources. We also wanted to know their methods of operation.

Lynchburg, Virginia: M. W. Thornhill, Jr., President, Lynchburg Voters League; 909 5th Street, Community Funeral Home, VI 7-7775; home address, 525 Smyth Street.

The LVL is an independent project that received a grant from VEP direct. We wanted to know what progress was being made in voter registration, what other financial assistance, if any, they are getting, and their methods of operating the project and its workers.

Farmville, Halifax, South Boston, and Danville, Virginia:

Farmville: (Area 10 NAACP), Rev. L. Francis Griffin, Box 464;

Halifax and South Boston (Area 16 NAACP), J. B. Coleman, RFD, Halifax;

Danville: (Area 17 NAACP), Mrs. Doyle Thomas, 352 Ross Street;

Pittsylvania County, (Area 18 NAACP), Irvin Barton, Rte. 360, Danville.

All of these projects are VEP financed ~~and governed by~~ through the NAACP office in Richmond, Virginia. We wanted to know their progress, what other organizations were active in voter registration, and their methods of operation.

Rev. Rich, Anderson, South Carolina (VEP 3-20):

Estimated 800 Negroes registered since North Anderson was annexed; most eating places open to Negroes; all hotels and motels are open except one - John H. Calhoun; no Negro policemen, but Anderson will take applications to be considered; no Negro firemen; a few promotions in the food stores and 10¢ stores for Negroes.

Rev. Rich stated that at the present, there is no organized effort in Anderson to register people. The only activity is people who have to re-register going in sparse numbers to do so. There were 8,000 registered voters who had to re-register. 25% of that 8,000 total are Negroes. Many of the Negroes have not bothered to re-register. There are a few persons who registered for the first time, but not many. Rev. Rich feels that night registration periods were very helpful in Anderson, and brought about an increase in registered Negroes. Rev. Rich expressed the feeling that it was a difficult task to get the unregistered Negroes to participate in voter registration.

I asked Rev. Rich to send me the total figures of white and Negro registered voters after the books close. He promised to do this, and told me the only way he could get that information was to have someone copy it from the registration books because it isn't printed any where else.

This was all the information Rev. Rich could give me on voter registration. With the usual courtesies, I left for Greenville, South Carolina.

Greenville, South Carolina: (VEP 4-25)

Rev. Brockman's project has stopped paying people to make contacts. The registration is picking up, but still slow. The office secretary is stationed at the courthouse to help people fill out the registration blanks. She can aid the prospective voter in every way except write for them. In Spartanburg, a person can take the registration form away from the courthouse, fill it out, return it, and sign names before the board - and that's it - they are registered to vote. About eight ministers have been canvassing to get registered voters in their respective areas in Greenville.

Rev. Brockman plans to remain in operation after October 3. They will have no funds. (Not for publication). Brockman's project was given $200 by the Greenville County Democratic party to help their financial situation. The money will be spent in Greenville County per se. The GCDP plans to give Brockman's organization some more funds when they get their share from the national office.

Rev. Brockman said he would send a financial report to VEP Special Delivery 9/30/64, which will bring his financial reporting up-to-date.

Roanoke, Virginia: (VEP 4-46) - A. Byron Smith, P. O. Box 312, DI 3-5219, office, and DI 3-3893, residence.

Smith is a real estate man and oil man. The name of the project he directs is the Citizens Coordinating Committee. This organization received $500 from COPE, $280 of which was spent for five workers COPE sent in to help the drive. Smith's group had to pay all expenses of these five workers while they were in town. They stayed three days officially, and one day due to inclement weather. These workers were primarily organizational helpers rather than workers.

The NAACP sent $100 initially, and planned to send $35 thereafter each week. This started September 1, 1964. So far, all Smith has received is $100. The next day after leaving Roanoke, Smith received $300.00 from the NAACP office. Two days later he received $200.00 more dollars. He informed me of this over the phone

This is how Smith's project works. They have one paid worker, a secretary. Her salary is $25 per week. Smith's telephone bill is due, expense bills are due. The rent at the building is due. Smith said he has about 50 volunteer workers. The volunteers keep up with the registration lists, make telephone canvass calls, canvass in the neighborhoods on foot. They call the canvassers members of "Operation Ting-a-Ling." Others are used in the small transportation pool. There are also semi-volunteers who work alone in their various communities. Smith has other volunteers who explain the registration form to prospective registrants. Smith's goal is to get at least 2,000 persons on the books by October 3. Some civic groups - Y Teens, Jack and Jills, National Council of Negro Women, have aided Smith in the program. Smith's project has registered, since August 8, 1964, an estimated 1,900 Negroes.

Smith is in the position where he is responsible for the bills that are outstanding. His project uses office space and telephones in three locations: The First Baptist Church, the COPE office, and Smith's private office. The Jaycees had a voter drive in Roanoke for two weeks, and they catered only to white non-voters. Smith estimated he has spent in credits, $375 for voter registration since August 8, 1964.

The registrar's office is open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m., Tuesday Wednesday, and Thursday for September. There are no problems encountered in registering by non-voters. The registrars are polite.

The people in Roanoke are enthusiastic about voter registration. So are the people working. I visited the registrar's office, and saw a line of 42 people waiting to register - 20 were Negroes. All the volunteers bear their own expenses.

There were five people, plus Smith, who conceived the idea of the voter project for Roanoke. When it came time to organize, they saw their own money possibly being spent, and they backed out. I was impressed by the voter activity I saw while there, and I suspect we can expect good results from Smith and his volunteers, due to their efforts in their voter drive.

Lynchburg, Va. - (VEP 4-43), M. W. Thornhill, JR., 909 5th St., (Community Funeral Home, Inc.), VI 7-7775

Lynchburg has 10,960 Negroes, with 2,240 registered prior to the voter registration drive. Thornhill hopes to get 1,000 new voters by October 3. He has about 150 volunteer workers who make door-to-door contacts in every block; there are workers who check each church membership for non-voters. Thornhill feels that between the block workers and church membership workers, he has the area under 100% contact and exposure to voter registration.

There are two paid workers, both secretaries, who receive $1.50 per hour. There are plans to have two paid workers go to the courthouse next week to get the names and addresses of all registered Negroes. Thornhill plans to establish a card system and follow-up the voters for the election.

The registrar's office is open from 8:30 a. m. to 5 p. m. Monday through Friday, and 8:30 a. m. to 12 noon on Saturday. The registrar is very cooperative. Finance is in keeping with the proposed budget.

Reprints of the registration lists were put in public places and the public checked for their names and the names of neighbors. When a neighbor's name wasn't found on the lists, he is pressured by his peers until he registers.

The project has a small motor pool of funeral cars and private cars that transport people to and from the polls.

Announcements are made in all churches every Sunday about voter registration and after October 3, announcements will be made to go to the polls on November 3. The Lynchburg Voters League is the only Negro group in Lynchburg working on voter registration. From their efforts, it is estimated that a white group, the Lynchburg Women's Voters League, is working in the white community. They are working in Lynchburg, and the community is interested and cooperative. Results can be expected. (See attachments.)

I saw in the Lynchburg proposed budget where they had allotted money for block parties. I asked Mr. Thornhill the extent of the block parties' success. He stated that the reception was good, and it served to motivate some of the non-voters.

Farmville, Halifax, and South Boston, Va.: (VEP 4-14)

While in these three areas, the contacts or other persons working in voter registration could not be reached. I could not find evidence of a voter registration drive going on.

Danville, Va. (NAACP project):

Mrs. Doyle Thomas, a minister's wife, is area director. She is the only person working in voter registration in Danville. She has some limited volunteer help from high school senior students, but no adult help. The Negro community seems to be divided into cliques working against each other. The Negro community, for some undisclosed reason, dislikes Mrs. Thomas, and her effectiveness with the community, to a large degree, is lost. She is working seemingly against unsurmountable odds. What can be expected of this project remains, in my opinion, to be seen.

Rev. and Mrs. Thomas have been the victims of cross burnings and other types of intimidation. The reason of this lack of cooperation from the Negro community may be due to a fear of similar treatment by these unknown persons.

Whatever progress or results Mrs. Thomas has in her voter registration efforts, she consented to forward to the VEP office.

JLT:js
Attachments

jlt

10/6/64 WB JM

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: WAB

FROM: JT

RE: Voter Registration in the South

Now that voter registration has terminated in all of the Southern states except Alabama and North Carolina for the November 3, 1964 general elections, a problem arises in my mind that I would like to share with you.

In reading newspaper accounts, witnessing firsthand, and talking with people in various parts of the South, I gather there were many people waiting in line to register when closing time came for the registrar's office. These people were turned away and told to come back when the office opened the next day. I will not take the time to be statistically correct, but from my superficial research, there were an estimated 750 persons in the South who wanted to register but were not accommodated by the various registration boards when the closing time came on the last day to be eligible for voting in the November elections.

The registrars vary in their interpretation of whether to cut the line of prospective registrants at the front or at the back. Most of them cut it at the front. I think this is very discouraging to the persons in line and to the voter registration workers who have worked in their respective communities to encourage and sometimes take these persons to courthouses and other places of official voter registration to be registered.

All sorts of excuses have come from the registrars--"We don't have enough office help;" "There are just too many;" "Where are all of these people coming from?"

I realize the registrars are human beings doing a salaried job and can become tired, nervous, and short on patience having to deal with so many people all day, but this is no real valid excuse to turn away people who are in line to register when closing time comes.

I feel this should be brought out in the final summation of the VEP report. I would like to see a South-wide interpretation of the registrars' behavior which would allow them to cut the line only at the back when it is closing time for the office. Then

register those persons in line if they qualify, and then and not before, call it a day and leave the office. Additional help could be put in the registrar's office just for the heavy registration periods. The registrar's office is open to serve the people, and it could serve them better if the various offices had more flexible hours suitable to the employed people in the area rather than being open when everybody is working and closed when everybody is off and available to go and register.

I think this irregularity should be brought to the attention of city and state officials for possible correction in future voter registration drives in the South.

JT:bs

jt

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

NAACP

CONVENTION THEME:

"THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA"

O. HENRY HOTEL

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

October 8 - 10th, 1964

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES, YOUTH COUNCILS AND COLLEGE CHAPTERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Kelly M. Alexander	President
Mrs. Ruth Morgan	Vice President
T. H. Leonard	Vice President
Reverend Oscar Burwick	Vice President
Burdell Harvey	Vice President
Charles McLean	Field Secretary
Mrs. Beatrice Burnette	Recording Secretary
Mrs. Willie Winfield	Assistant Recording Secretary
N. L. Gregg	Treasurer
Attorney C. O. Pearson	General Counsel
Attorney J. K. Lee	Assistant General Counsel
Reverend James Brown	Auditor

ACTIVE COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

J. B. Harren	Public Relations
Reverend J. E. Arnette	Church Committee
Earlie Crosson	Labor Committee
Mrs. L. L. Graham	Christmas Seal and Membership Committee
Dr. Marguerite Adams	Housing Committee
Mrs. U. S. Brooks	Education
Reverend W. E. Banks	State Youth Adviser and Youth Committee
Reverend C. H. Ward	Political Action Committee

YOUTH OFFICERS

Mr. Quenton Baker	President
Miss Constance Sprangle	Vice President
Miss Sylvia Crudup	Secretary
Mr. Morris Johnson	Treasurer
Reverend W. E. Banks	Senior Advisor

GENERAL INFORMATION

THE CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS AND REGISTRATION BUREAU will be in the O. Henry Hotel, 101 Bellemede Street.

THE REGISTRATION FEE is $2.00 per delegate. Youth delegates $1.00 registration fee. Registration entitles you to an official badge and admission to all sessions of the Convention. CONVENTION ASSESSMENT IS REQUIRED OF EVERY BRANCH, College Chapter, AND YOUTH COUNCIL, THE CONVENTION ASSESSMENT IS $5.00. This assessment is to be paid to Mr. N. L. Gregg, Treasurer.

MEETING: All business sessions, workshops and committee meetings will be held in the O. Henry Hotel, 101 Bellemede Street.

MASS MEETING: On Friday evening, October 9, the opening Mass Meeting will be held at the Saint James Presbyterian Church, Ross Avenue, Greensboro, North Carolina. Reverend Julius Douglas is Pastor.

THERE WILL BE NO SUNDAY MASS MEETING.

YOUTH SESSION: All Youth sessions will be held in the O'Henry Hotel, 101 Bellemede Street

ACCOMMODATIONS AND RATES: Upon registration, out-of-town delegates will be assigned to rooms in the O. Henry Hotel. The minimum rate per night is $4.50. Youth delegates will pay $3.50 per night.

LENGTH OF SPEECHES: Speakers at business sessions are requested to observe strictly the time limit set by the chairman.

FINANCIAL REPORT: ALL FINANCIAL REPORTS ARE TO BE MADE TO MR. N. L. Gregg, Treasurer. Mr. Gregg may be contacted at the Registration Desk.

HOURS OF MEETING: ALL SESSIONS ARE AS NOTED IN THE PROGRAM.

GROUP PHOTOGRAPH: Saturday, October 10, a Convention Photograph will be taken of all delegates, alternates and visitors. Copies may be secured by placing individual orders with the photographer.

ENTERTAINMENT

THURSDAY EVENING, October 8th, a special Banquet for Ministers, Church Committee Chairmen, and Delegates who have arrived in the city will be given at 8:00 P.M. at the Hayes Taylor Y.M.C.A., 1001 Market Street, Greensboro. This affair is sponsored by the North Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches. General Capus Waynick, Special Assistant to Governor Terry Sanford and Reverend Edward J. Odom, National Church Secretary, will be the guest speakers.

FRIDAY EVENING, October 9th, at the close of the opening Mass Meeting, a reception will be sponsored by the Convention Entertainment Committee for the delegates. The place of the reception will be announced during the Friday session.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, at 12:00 Noon, a luncheon for all lawyers attending the Convention will be held. Attorney William R. Ming, Jr., Chicago, Illinois, guest speaker. Attorney Ming is a members of the National NAACP Board of Directors; member, Illinois Bar; Bar, U. S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois; Court of Appeals, 5th and 7th Circuits and Bar of the Supreme Court of U. S. since 1937.

OCTOBER 10, at 8:00 P.M. The NAACP Talent and Beauty Contest and Freedom Ball will be held in the Grand Ballroom of the O. Henry Hotel.

ADDITIONAL ENTERTAINMENT: All other entertainment of the Convention will be announced each day during the sessions.

MUSIC: The State Conference, the Greensboro Branch and Convention Committee Express their appreciation to the choruses and individual artists for the musical talent so graciously contributed.

EXPRESSION of appreciation is also extended to the ushers who have given their services so generously.

APPRECIATION: The entire NAACP Family wishes to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation for every kind act and hospitality extended bv the citizens of Greensboro to make our stay delightful and enjoyable.

THERE IS ALWAYS A TOMORROW FOR THOSE WHO KEEP THE NAACP IN THEIR LIVES

MINISTERS AND CHURCH COMMITTEE CONFERENCE

ST. JAMES UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — 830 ROSS AVE.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1964

THEME: *"Crucial Challenges Facing the Church in Civil Rights"*

9:30 A.M. Registration of Ministers, Church Work Committee Representatives and Delegates

10:30 A.M. OPENING SESSION
Presiding, Reverend J. E. Arnette, *Chairman, N. C. NAACP Church Committee*

SONG

DEVOTIONAL ..... Reverend Julius Douglas
Pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church

WELCOME REMARKS

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT ..... Kelly M. Alexander
President, N. C. State Conference

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Southeast Regional Secretary

Reverend Edward Odom
National Church Secretary

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER ..... Reverend Cecil Bishop
Pastor, Trinity AMEZ Church
Greensboro, North Carolina

KEYNOTE ADDRESS ..... Dr. Louis J. Baptiste
Editor, Department of Church School Literature
AMEZ Church, Charlotte, North Carolina

PANEL TOPIC No. 1 — *Racial Violence — Cause and Prevention*

A. ..... Dr. Jerry Drayton
New Bethel Baptist Church
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

B. ..... Reverend Moses S. Belton
Director, Public Relations
Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

1:15- 1:30 APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES
BENEDICTION

1:30- 2:30 LUNCH

2:30- 4:30 PANEL DISCUSSION CONTINUED

2:30- 4:30 No. 2 — *Church Action, Civil Rights and the National Election* — How does the national election affect the civil rights cause (Goldwaterism, state and local men and measures)?

A. ..... Reverend W. E. Banks
Pastor, First Baptist Church, Thomasville

B. *Effective Church Political Action and Education* (Voter Registration Approaches, Getting Out the Vote)
Reverend C. Ward, *Pastor of First Baptist Church, Raleigh*
Mr. Charles A. McLean, *N. C. State Conference Field Secretary*
Mr. John Brooks, *Director, NAACP Voter Registration*

No. 3 — *Religious Responsibilities to Youth in an Area of New Opportunities*

A. *The Changing Picture of Minority Youth Opportunities* (Improved educational and employment advantages)
Father Richard L. Hicks, *Priest In Charge, Church of the Redeemer, Greensboro, North Carolina*

B. *Church Action in Preparing Youth for Increased Opportunities* (Counseling — Parent Education, Combatting School Dropouts)
Dr. Grady Davis, *Pastor, Union Baptist Church, Durham, North Carolina*

C. Supporting the NAACP Program (Church Membership, Program and Financial Support for the NAACP)
Mrs. Ruby Hurley, *Southeast Regional Secretary*

4:30- 5:30 MEETING OF COMMITTEES

8:00 P.M. ANNUAL MINISTERS BANQUET—Hayes-Taylor YMCA

GUEST SPEAKER ..... Capus Waynick
Special Assistant to Governor Sanford

GUEST SPEAKER ..... Reverend Edward Odom
National NAACP Church Secretary

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9

8:00 A.M. And Continuing All Day — Registration of Delegates — Ballroom Foyer

BUSINESS SESSION — Civic Room

CONVENTION ORGANIZATION MEETING
Presiding ..... Reverend Oscar Burwick
Vice President, N. C. State Conference of Branches
High Point, North Carolina

9:30 A.M. Song ..... Audience

Devotionals ..... Reverend James Brown
President, Durham Branch

Memorial Service for NAACP Members Deceased Since the Previous Convention

Minutes of the 20th Annual Convention - Mrs. B. G. Burnette
Secretary, N. C. State Conference
Tarboro, North Carolina

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION

Introduction of State President ..... Reverend B. B. Felder
President, Dunn-Harnett County Branch

President's Annual Address

Presentation of National Office Staff

Presentation of State Officers

Remarks ..... Chas. A. McLean
N. C. Field Secretary

1965 NATIONAL CONVENTION — HILTON HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, JUNE 28-JULY 3

Activity Reports of Branches

12:30 P.M. LUNCH

2:00- 5:00 CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION
Presiding

I UNDERSTANDING THE YOUTH PROGRAM IN THE NAACP — SPEAKER ..... Mr. Laplois Ashford

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

II DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE BRANCH COMMITTEES

SPEAKER ..... Charles McLean
N. C. State Conference Field Secretary

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

III NECESSARY FUND RAISING TO IMPLEMENT A VIGOROUS FREEDOM PROGRAM IN NORTH CAROLINA FOR 1965 — SPEAKER ..... Mr. N. L. Gregg
Treasurer, N. C. State Conference

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

IV IMPLEMENTATION OF AN EFFECTIVE VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAM

SPEAKER ..... Mr. John Brooks
Registration Field Secretary

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 9

8:00 P.M. OPENING MASS MEETING — St. James United Presbyterian Church

Presiding ..... Dr. George Simpkins, D.D.S.
President, Greensboro Branch NAACP

GREETINGS

GUEST SPEAKER ..... Gloster B. Current
National Director of Branches

RECEPTION — Immediately following Mass Meeting

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10

9:00 A.M. CONVENTION PLENARY SESSION — Civic Room

Presiding ..... Mr. Kelly M. Alexander
President, N. C. State Conference of NAACP Branches

Song ..... Audience

DEVOTIONAL

COMMITTEE REPORTS
Resolutions — Time and Place — Grievance — Youth Work — Nominating — Financial

PLENARY SESSION

Presiding — Mrs. Willie Smith, *Secretary, Greensboro Branch*

1. Memberships and Fund Raising Program

   Speaker — Miss Lucille Black, *NAACP National Membership Secretary, New York*

   Branch Membership Reports

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

2. Understanding The Relationship of the Regional Office with Branches — Branch Election Procedures

   Speaker — Mrs. Ruby Hurley, *NAACP Southeast Regional Secretary*

3. PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

   SPEAKER ..... Percy H. Williams
   Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman
   The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

4. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

   Presiding ..... Attorney C. O. Pearson

   Participants Attorney Julius L. Chambers
   Member, N. C. NAACP Legal Committee

Attorney Michael Finklestine
U. S. Civil Rights Commission

Attorney Norman Amaker
Attorney NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc

Attorney William R. Ming
Member, NAACP National Board

1:00 P.M. LUNCHEON FOR LAWYERS — Bellemede Room

GUEST SPEAKER ..... Attorney William R. Ming
Member, Illinois Bar
Chicago, Illinois

1:00 P.M. LUNCH

2:00 P.M. 1. LABOR AND INDUSTRY PROGRAM

Presiding ..... Mr. James A. Griggs
President, Reidsville Branch

SPEAKER ..... Mr. Herbert Hill
National NAACP Labor Secretary

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

2. POLITICAL ACTION AND THE NEGRO IN THE 1964 ELECTION-VOTER REGISTRATION

Presiding ..... Reverend Charles W. Ward
Chairman, N. C. State Conference Political Action Committee

Participants ..... Mr. C. A. Boulware
Department of Mathematics
N. C. College, Durham

Mr. Charles A. McLean
N. C. State Conference Field Secretary

Attorney Theaoseus T. Clayton
Warrenton, North Carolina

Mr. John Edwards
Special NAACP Voter Registration Worker

6:00 P.M. DINNER

8:30 P.M. THE FIRST ANNUAL TALENT AND BEAUTY CONTEST AND FREEDOM BALL WILL BE HELD IN THE GRAND BALLROOM OF THE O'HENRY HOTEL — MUSIC MY VETS COMBO, A&T COLLEGE

YOUTH PROGRAMS

YOUTH COUNCILS AND COLLEGE CHAPTERS

O'Henry Hotel — 101 Bellemede Street

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9

3:00 to 6:00 P.M. REGISTRATION

5:30 P.M. Conference Orientation Session

Devotional Service

Introductions

Conference Procedure

Parliamentary Procedure

8:00 P.M. MASS MEETING (Youth and Adults)

Speaker ..... Gloster B. Current
National Director of Branches
New York, New York

REGISTRATION FOLLOWING MASS MEETING

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10

8:00 A.M. Registration

Opening Session

Devotional ..... Reverend W. E. Banks
State NAACP Youth Adviser, Thomasville, N. C.

Freedom Songs

Greetings ..... Kelly M. Alexander
President, N. C. State Conference of Branches

Remarks ..... Mr. Laplois Ashford
NAACP National Youth Secretary
New York, N. Y.

Remarks ..... Reverend W. E. Banks
State NAACP Youth Advisor

Remarks ..... Chas. A. McLean
N. C. Field Secretary

Freedom Songs

Roll Call and Announcements

10:15 A.M. WORKSHOP I PROJECTING AND FINANCING YOUTH PROGRAMS — Speaker ..... Mr. Laplois Ashford
National Youth Secretary

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

11:15 A.M. WORKSHOP II JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Speaker ..... Mr. Herbert Hill
National Labor Secretary

12:00 Noon LUNCH

1:00 P.M. WORKSHOP III IMPORTANCE OF YOUTH IN THE REGISTRATION AND VOTER PROJECT

Speaker ..... Mr. John Brooks
Director, NAACP Voter Registration

Speaker ..... Mr. John Edwards
NAACP Voter Registration Field Secretary

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

1:45 P.M. ACTIVITY REPORTS — Youth Councils and College Chapters

Presiding

3:00 P.M. PROJECTING NEW ACTION IDEAS

Presiding

4:00 P.M. YOUTH BUSINESS SESSION —

Constitution
Per Capita Tax
Election of Officers

6:00 P.M. DINNER

8:30 P.M. First Annual Talent and Beauty Contest and Freedom Ball in the Grand Ballroom of the O. Henry Hotel, 101 Bellemede Street.

PLAN NOW TO ATTEND THE 1965 NATIONAL CONVENTION

JUNE 28-JULY 3

HILTON HOTEL

DENVER, COLORADO

"An NAACP Family"

NOT ONLY ARE OUR CHILDREN ACTIVE IN *FREEDOM PROTESTS*, BUT, WE PAY OUR NAACP MEMBERSHIP FEES EVERY YEAR.

WELL, EVERYBODY COULD PAY A MEMBERSHIP FEE — HOW ABOUT YOU?

WB-
JBM
JDC

October 12, 1964

MEMORANDUM - FIELD TRIP TO GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

To: WAB

From: JLT

INTRODUCTION

WAB felt it would be advantageous to VEP if I attended the North Carolina State NAACP convention in Greensboro, N. C., and talk to many of our voter registration contacts who would be in attendance at the convention.

WAB asked me to get some idea of the voter registration activities that are carried on by the various chapters of the NAACP in N. C.

Specifically, I was to see:

Dr. George Simkins, who ran the Greensboro project, and talk with him and investigate the possibility of a crash program in Greensboro.

Mr. Kelly Alexander, President of the N. C. State NAACP, and ~~Alexander~~ Ask him, who is going to be in charge of the Charlotte project.

Rev. Charles W. Ward, state chairman of NAACP voter registration. WAB asked that I take and give to Rev. Ward, a voting machine, and discuss the NAACP's role in the 22 counties where they have voter registration programs in progress.

(VEP 4-37)

Dr. Jackson, of Winston-Salem, for a discussion of voter registration in and around his city, and about the two week projects coordinated by the NAACP and CORE.

Dr. Simkins: President, local NAACP. - They are working a little in Greensboro, but are having difficulty in getting the people to register. Simkins said they were hurt by the national NAACP's inability to support their program during a two-month period. Simkins said he had to let all the voter registration workers go because he had no funds to support their program. The national NAACP has started once again to financially support the Greensboro program. They promised to give the Greensboro NAACP chapter $1,500. They gave them $500, and are presently supplementing the rest. Simkins feels the two-month delay of funds was due to the national NAACP's loss on their television show of stars.

There are 11,000 Negroes registered in Greensboro. This represents ¼ of the total registered population there.

The books close October 12, for the November 3 elections. Persons may register thereafter, but they would only be qualified for

state and local elections. Simkins said they encountered no problems from the registration office. Simkins feels they have done, and are doing, just about all they can do toward voter registration, due to apathy on the part of the Greensboro Negroes.

The registration books are open every day, year-round. It is a lack of interest that has kept the number of registered Negroes so low.

Simkins had the data on Negro registration in Greensboro put through an IBM machine, and it produced results as to exactly where to work and who to work on for voter registration.

A unique thing about Greensboro - they have deputy registrar's who are able to go from door-to-door and register people in their homes. Simkins paid them for each person registered. This was stopped when the head registrar refused to allow the deputy registrar's to go into the community, getting people to register. The head registrar feels that if people want to register, they should come to the courthouse, or some designated public place, and not have the deputy registrars coming to their homes.

What results of this project remains to be seen.

Dr. Simkins' address: 500 South Benbow Road, Greensboro, N. C.

Kelly M. Alexander, 112 N. Irwin Avenue, Charlotte, N. C (VEP 4-48): I talked as best I could with Mr. Alexander; he was quite busy at the convention. He said Fred Alexander is in charge of the Charlotte project. Mr. Alexander said the project closed October 12, 1964, which was the last day to register for the November 3, 1964, general election.

Mr. Alexander said there has been in increase of 135,000 Negroes registered since the 1960 Census in North Carolina.

Rev. Charles Ward, minister, First Baptist Church, 101 So. Wilmington Street, Res., 501 S. Bloodworth Street, Raleigh, N. C. , VEP 4-48: I gave Rev. Ward the voting machine, and we talked extensively about the projects which he supervises. I think the organization is fine, and we can expect gratifying results from the efforts made. (See attachments from Rev. Ward's office.)

I attended some briefing sessions held by John Edwards, who assists John Brooks (VEP 4-37). He outlined the voter registration grants and their expenditures to some area coordinators. The way the requirements of VEP were explained to the area coordinators, left no stone unturned, and I feel they have a clear understanding of what is required of them.

John Edwards spoke to a Negro history class at North Carolina A & T College. I attended this class meeting with Edwards. He talked about voting machines, voting requirements, and the idea of getting registered so as to vote in North Carolina.

Dr. Jackson wasn't at the convention, and could not be reached for a conference.

Rev. B. B. Felder, Dunn, North Carolina (Hornett Co.) - Refused to accept his NAACP branch grant of $400.

Felder felt that this was too much "red tape" - (filling out vouchers and expense forms), to go through to receive $400. He stated that his county needs help, but he couldn't accept it under the circumstances set by VEP and the NAACP. He stated he wouldn't oppose anyone who did come in to work, but that he just didn't want the money under such stipulated conditions.

I think Felder wants to be the whole show. He stated that he was the only one working in his county. He may have some professional jealously in regard to Rev. Ward and himself. When informed of this, Rev. Ward said he would use the grant in another county. (Probably Craven County.)

JLT:js
Attachments.

Text from John Brooks speech at the NAACP Convention.

POINTS ON HOW TO GET OUT THE VOTE ON ELECTION DAY

Many elections are lost because the voters fail to go to the polls on election day and vote.

A vote not cast is a vote against you.

So you can see that it is very important to get every voter to the polls on election day.

This however, can not be done by wishful thinking. You must organize and work toward the end of getting every known and unknown voter to the polls. To accumplish this task, I would suggest:

1. Call the interested leaders of every ward and precinct together and organize a "GET OUT THE VOTE CAMPAIGN."
   (a) Elect a campaign chairman and several co-chairmen.
   (b) Elect a campaign director.

2. Organize a car pool for the people who need transportation.

3. Organize a corp of baby sitters to take care of the children while the parents go to the polls.

4. Fifteen days before the election, organize a telephone committee to call all the voters and urge them to go both to your voters meeting and to the polls on election day.

5. Arrange community meetings the night before the election to give the voters the needed information.

6. Send announcements to the churches about your meetings to urge the people to go to the polls.

7. Assign a worker to every block to be responsible for knocking on the door of every voter ten days before the election and tell them of the coming election and other needed information.

8. The block workers should call the block captain who will make a second call to the home of every voter, the day before the election to inquire if the voter needs transportation to the polls, and if they need a baby-sitter.

   The block captain should tell the voters of the arrangements to provide transportation, the baby sitters, and the voters meeting.

9. The time for beginning the organizational structure is now (thirty days before the election).

10. Make use of everybody, the retired, the invalids, the shut-ins, the unemployed, the professional workers, the factory workers and the housewives, etc.

11. A list of the names, addresses and telephone numbers should be provided the block captains, the telephone committee members and members of the car pools.

12. Members of the telephone committee should continue to call until one hour before the polls close on election day.

13. Radio spot announcements are very helpful on election day -- the announcements should not only urge the people to go to the polls, but should give the telephone number of the headquarters where transportation is available.

14. Funds to take care of the expenses involved in the campaign should be raised locally, far in advance of the time for the election.

VOTER REGISTRATION - NAACP

October 7, 1964

Dear Coordinator:

The President of the State Conference of Branches, the members of NAACP and I, as your State Chairman of Voter Registration, are all glad that you have consented to serve as Chairman of your county in our registration drive to get qualified Negroes to register.

We will pay you as coordinator $25.00 per week, plus seven cents (7¢) per mile for travel as long as this does not exceed $10.00 per week. Two stipulations are these:

(1) That the money is to be cut off if the counties do not work.

(2) If reports are not sent in.

Please get your county to work and get in the reports. Any questions you wish to ask, do not hestitate to call me.

Hope to see you in Greensboro this week at the State Conference of Branches.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Ward, State Chairman
Voter Registration NAACP

CWW:mdv

Enclosures

50 counties in North Carolina. - Rev. C.W. Ward

NUMBER OF WHITES AND NON-WHITES REGISTERED AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE POTENTIAL REGISTERED BY COUNTY, 1961

County	NUMBER OF WHITES REGISTERED	PERCENTAGE OF WHITE POTENTIAL VOTE REG'D	NO. OF NON-WHITE REG'D	POTENTIAL OF NON-WHITE REG.	POPULATION
Franklin	8,600	90.1	1,600	27.0	12,718
Gaston	72,671	126.3	4,954	5.4	16,560
Gates	2,654	99.0	351	15.0	5,009
Graham	4,025	126.3	0	0.0	0
Granville	8,550	73.9	1,487	20.9	14,717
Greene	4,882	110.3	385	10.4	8,424
Guilford	81,816	66.8	10,596	33.5	51,159
Halifax	15,406	93.7	1,954	13.9	31,926
Harnett	12,207	63.5	600	9.5	13,029
Haywood	24,889	113.9	329	61.4	867
Henderson	33,838	162.2	629	50.6	1,961
Hertford	6,415	110.7	537	8.3	13,398
Hoke	4,459	107.1	650	15.7	7,931
Hyde	1,949	89.2	173	16.1	2,435
Iredell	31,080	95.5	3,106	51.5	11,125
Jackson	8,570	99.1	1,531	176.1	341
Johnston	43,883	165.2	4,252	64.7	13,756
Jones	3,336	104.4	562	24.3	5,162
Lee	9,267	76.3	947	30.6	5,884
Lenoir	14,603	74.8	2,220	11.6	21,847
Lincoln	14,068	98.1	978	60.0	3,523
McDowell	20,095	143.7	785	104.2	1,373
Macon	9,045	114.0	55	33.5	278
Madison	12,200	135.2	200	303.0	181
Martin	8,040	106.0	1,253	21.3	13,554
Mecklenburg	96,074	72.8	14,729	34.7	66,701
Mitchell	6,127	81.7	13	49.3	38
Montgomery	9,985	122.5	812	35.8	4,580
Moore	17,022	108.0	1,750	34.6	9,666
Nash	25,914	121.0	2,015	18.0	24,205
New Hanover	31,421	95.4	7,353	62.5	19,865
Northampton	6,700	108.7	1,300	16.9	17,093
Onslow	13,574	37.9	1,303	23.9	10,511
Orange	13,988	68.6	1,510	29.3	10,131
Pamlico	4,017	109.4	442	27.3	3,611
Pasquotank	7,527	76.4	1,894	35.1	10,114
Pender	6,240	116.0	889	21.3	8,886
Perquimens	3,559	117.0	610	28.4	4,303
Person	10,098	103.4	2,402	46.2	9,306
Pitt	23,441	103.5	2,520	17.4	30,367
Polk	10,103	175.9	705	93.6	1,422
Randolph	34,000	102.0	1,000	37.2	5,105
Richmond	14,349	91.8	1,793	30.2	11,774
Robeson	25,537	125.1	11,994	52.1	26,256
Rockingham	19,250	58.7	4,800	61.1	14,649
Rowan	47.074	111.1	4,798	62.7	13,917
Sampson	23,790	145.1	5, 726	66.8	17,251
Rutherford	24,500	107.4	1,050	39.0	5,391
Scotland	11,903	152.1	1,045	20.4	19,374
Stanly	24,625	114.9	1,500	60.7	4,482
Stokes	13,574	121.0	562	51.2	2,258
Surry	27.042	106.0	469	31.9	2,795
Swain	4,650	131.8	150	19.8	70
Transylvania	11,435	134.6	478	107.9	854
Tyrrell	1,976	125.6	298	33.6	1,974
Union	15,912	78.7	2,098	44.6	9,562
Vance	13,912	79.1	1,526	22.1	14,017
Wake	53,625	66.2	6,576	27.3	43,851
Warren	6,123	143.1	881	15.7	12,306
Washington	4,700	108.1	600	20.8	6,083
Watauga	9,535	103.8	65	50.4	228
Wayne	18,779	62.3	3,165	18.8	30,165
Wilkes	27,116	120.0	1,374	93.0	2,694
Wilson	14,256	70.8	2,662	23.1	23,207
Yadkin	11,480	92.8	1,314	220.1	1,128
Yancey	6,935	95.2	51	57.9	136
TOTAL	1,861,330		210,450		

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

WB
JTV

Department of Justice
Washington

OCT 13 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30300

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you for your letter of September 29, 1964 with the enclosed statement of Mr. Joe Louis Tucker of Atlanta concerning his difficulty at the Bel-Aire Motel in the Florence, Alabama area.

I have asked that an investigation of this matter be begun. Any violation of federal law will be dealt with appropriately.

Sincerely,

Burke Marshall

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

File
Let
Personal

September 29, 1964

The Honorable Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Joe Louis Tucker of 974 Ashby Grove, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, a field representative for the Voter Education Project, complained of alleged racial discrimination and the denial of motel facilities while in the Florence, Alabama, area on September 21, 1964. I asked him to write up a statement regarding his experience, and I enclose the same for such action as you may deem appropriate.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
Encl: 1

File
Let
Personal

September 24, 1964

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Monday night, September 21, 1964, I was in Florence, Alabama, seeking accommodations for the night. Howard Johnson's motel was full - Holiday Inn was full. I asked the clerk at Holiday Inn could she recommend any other places. She recommended the Bel-Aire Motel across the river on the Muscle Shoals-Sheffield highway. The clerk at Holiday Inn got Bel-Aire Motel on the phone. I talked to a woman who replied to my question that she had a vacant single and asked when would I be in. I told her about 15 minutes. She said, "All right," and hung up.

I drove up to Bel-Aire Motel. The office door was locked. After a little pounding, a middle-aged woman came to the door. I told her who I was, and said I wished to fulfill my reservation. She said she was sorry, but she didn't have any vacancies. I told her I had just called and she said she had a vacancy. In an effort to make an explanation, she said she was across the court in the restaurant when she took the call, and didn't know the motel was full. She again said, "I'm sorry." I didn't look at the book.

I then asked her for recommendations of places. She replied, "The only place I know is Jack's Chicken Shack," which is a run-down slummy place on a very dark street. The building was virtually unfit for human occupation.

I found accommodations at Hotel Muscle Shoals in Sheffield, Alabama. (A white hotel - I was accepted, no questions asked.)

I feel that the Bel-Aire Motel wasn't filled to capacity on the above mentioned night, and that my civil rights under the Public Accommodations section of the Civil Rights Bill 7152, were violated because of my racial identity.

SIGNED:

Joe Louis Tucker

JOE LOUIS TUCKER

JLT:js

File: Jet - Personal

WB
JM
JD

October 23, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: WAB

From: JLT

RE: Field Trip to North and South Carolina

WAB felt that a VEP representative should check the operation of some of the voter registration projects in North Carolina. These projects are financed by VEP, but sanctioned by the NAACP. I went to western North Carolina, (Asheville, Shelby, Charlotte), and another staff member (JD) went to eastern North Carolina.

During the field trip, I called the Atlanta VEP office and received instructions to phone WAB, who came up to middle North Carolina to assist briefly in checking out some of the projects.

I called WAB in Warrenton, North Carolina, and he asked me to perform the following duties:

1. Visit the registrar's office in Charlotte, try to get a racial breakdown on voting strength in each precinct.
2. Talk to Dr. Reginald Hawkins who got a $5,000 grant to conduct a voter registration drive in Charlotte. Inform him that VEP was satisfied with the operation and results of the project. Inquire as to his opinion about the effectiveness of the project.
3. Talk to Kelly Alexander about his opinion of the Charlotte project.
4. Talk to Fred Alexander who coordinated the Charlotte project for results of the voter registration drive.
5. Stop in Greenville, ask Rev. Brockman to please speed up his final reports, both financial and progress.

Trip to North Carolina - October 19 through 23, 1964:

Asheville - Robert L. Harrell, attorney: No problem with the registrar and registration process. The Democrats are in control, and the Republicans are on the upsurge, so both groups are trying to get all possible people registered so as to gain a balance of power.

They have promoted door-to-door campaigns They have a motor pool that is organized and run by retired people. They got 125 persons registered last week. The ministers stress the importance of voter registration from the pulpit each Sunday. Atty. Harrell has a problem

getting young adults to work. Some civic organizations have helped in the door-to-door campaign. The books close Saturday, October 24 1964. The Democratic Women of Asheville (white and Negro together) and the League of Women Voters are working in the community, and this has made the work of Atty. Harrell and his co-workers much easier. These groups have worked both in the Negro and white community. Basically, their drive is one of publicity, whereas Atty. Harrell's group publicizes and then follows through by taking the people to the registrar's office, also. Asheville has a Negro registrar in one precinct, also a Negro precinct captain. The registrar's office is open from 9 to 6 on Saturday. If a person wants to register any other time, they can go by the registrar's private home and register. This wasn't possible until they got the Negro female registrar, although the law stated this was possible, Negroes were afraid to exercise this law until a Negro was appointed registrar.

Atty/ Harrell went to the registrar's office in the beginning of his drive and got a list of registered voters. He took a city directory and compared names. This set the basis for the drive, and all names that did not show up on the registration lists were then contacted and asked to register. The registrar's office will not release a racial breakdown of registered voters. Atty. Harrell said they aren't spending too much of their allotted money. Most of the people refused to accept repayment for expenses incurred in their voter registration drive.

Shelby, North Carolina - Mr. Ray Cabiness: Mr. Cabiness said he had a problem getting the young people to help in the registration drive. When asked how many have they put on the books, Mr. Cabiness said he wasn't sure because some of the people promise to go themselves. Mr. Cabiness stated he personally has carried 35 people to the registration office. Altogether, his workers have carried about 60 persons to register. Mr. Cabiness estimated more, but he's unsure as to an exact figure.

The registrar is generally cooperative. Mr. Cabiness is faced with problems of people not being able to read and write, although they are willing to register and vote.

One reason this county will have so few voters is due to every registered ~~treed~~ person having to re-register as of last June, 1964, and some have not done so because they cannot pass the voter registration test. The re-registration took place because the officials said so many people had moved, and others were deceased, so they thought it best to re-register each individual again. This applied only to Cleveland County.

Mr. Cabiness called a meeting on Tuesday, October 20, 1964, of his county chairmen, and not one of the chairmen showed up. Mr. Cabiness explained that they must be working in their areas getting people to go and register. I stayed in Shelby to attend this meeting but it never materalized.

The registrar's office is open from 8 to 5 every Saturday. You can register at the registrar's home if you can catch the registrar there.

Mr. Cabiness said he has received only $25 for the county coordinator so far. He stated that he had submitted vouchers, but hasn't received the checks as yet.

Charlotte, North Carolina - Mr. Kelly Alexander: I talked with Mr. Alexander, and he stated that the people who worked on the Charlotte voter registration drive are quite pleased with the results. They were successful in registering 1,536 people. There was a misinterpretation of the procedure in reporting financial vouchers to Rev. Ward by Fred Alexander. This has been cleared up, and the procedure moved along smoothly during the time the books were open. Mr. Alexander and his associates plan to promote a "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign until the election.

Charlotte, North Carolina - Mr. Fred Alexander: I talked briefly with Fred Alexander, who coordinated the project in Charlotte. He, too, voiced satisfaction over their voter registration drive. I asked him to send me a racial breakdown of the voting strength in each precinct in Charlotte. Having been to the registrar's office and finding this material not ready for release, Mr. Alexander promised to send me this information when it is completed.

Charlotte - Dr. Reginald Hawkins: Dr. Hawkins could not be reached for a discussion while I was in the city.

Greenville, South Carolina: WAB asked me to stop in Greenville, and ask Rev. Brockman to please speed up his final reports, both financial and progress, to our office. Rev. Brockman could not be reached to receive this information.

South Carolina: I went to Columbia and Orangeburg to try and get some further information on the status and operation of the South Carolina VEP. This venture didn't materalize because I could not see any of the officers or director of this organization.

In passing through a few South Carolina towns, I checked for signs of a SCVEP "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign. The results were negative. No evidence whatsoever.

JLT:js

WB
JM

October 27, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: WAB

From: JLT

Re: Field Trip to S. C. State NAACP Convention and Executive Committee Meeting of the S. C. Voter Education Project
Orangeburg, S. C.

The NAACP state convention was poorly attended because of inclement weather that hampered travel of delegates all over the state. Of the few official delegates present, the convention proceeded with dedication and determination to make its influence felt in the November 3 election.

The convention had three different voter registration workshops. It is not necessary to explain these workshops separately because they all followed the same format. Each workshop had either Richard Miles, SCVEP director, or Dr. C. H. Thomas, SCVEP president, explain the origin and structure of the SCVEP, a statement on a possible "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign, then a question and answer period of a prolonged nature.

SCVEP Executive Committee Meeting - Holiday Inn - Orangeburg, S. C. :

The SCVEP executive committee meeting met and discussed ways to finance a "Get-Out-The Vote" campaign, the results of the delegations visit to Washington, D. C. Nothing new was said or discussed that the Atlanta VEP didn't already know. It appears to this observer that the committee is waiting on possible funds from some source or another to finance their "Get-Out-The Vote" campaign. Although the SCVEP executive committee members say they will have a "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign regardless whether or not they receive funds, I doubt it.

Since no decisions were reached at this meeting, another meeting was tentatively set for the following Friday, October 23, 1964, at which time the executive committee hopes to have received financial assistance and can proceed with their "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign.

JLT

JLT:js

October 30, 1964

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
2333 Gallatin
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

With registration books closed in all the southern states, I can take a moment to catch up on correspondence and fulfilling requests such as the one you made of me when I visited Huntsville.

Enclosed is a succinct list of contact names from our files in Alabama. These persons cooperated with us in our VEP activities. Possibly you can get similar cooperation for the Alabama Council.

I hope you have adjusted to Huntsville, its people, and its problems. I wish you success at the helm of the Alabama Council.

If I can be of service, feel free to call upon me at any time.

Very truly yours,

Joe Louis Tucker
Field Representative

JLT:js
Encls.

Contact Names from VEP Files in Alabama:

Montgomery Improvement Association, Inc.
Mrs. Idessa Williams
712 Dorsey Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36108

Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee
Mr. W. L. Herzfeld
2621 9th Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dallas County Voters League
Mrs. A. P. Boynton
P. O. Box 774
Selma, Alabama

Mr. Q. D. Adams
1907 E. Broad St.
Gadsden, Alabama

Calvin C. Pryor, Atty.
238 Monroe St.
P. O. Box 1213
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Charlie Burgess
Colbert Cty. Voters League
200 Central Avenue
Muscle Shoals, Alabama

Mr. William P. Mitchell
Tuskegee Civic Assn.
PO Box 467
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Mrs. Bernice C. Johnson
1630 Fourth Avenue, No.
Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. H. P. Snodgrass
234 Church St., NW
Huntsville, Ala.

Bernard LaFayette
21 Franklin St.
Selma, Alabama

Rev. Ezekiel Bell
Mr. R. C. Adams
2300 Shanley Drive
Huntsville, Ala.

Orzell Billingsley, Jr.
1630 Fourth Ave., North
Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. Freeman Pollard
507 Davis Ave.
Mobile, Alabama

Mr. C. W Lee
731 So. Holt St.
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Elizabeth Hayes
712 Bagsey St.
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Gordon A. Rodgers, Jr.
PO Box 1523
Anniston, Ala.

Thelma J. Williams
1630 No. 4th Avenue
Birmingham, Ala.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Div. of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Inst., Ala.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THAT'S ENACTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE U.S. 1964

TITLE I - VOTING RIGHTS

Sec. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C.1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and as further amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), is further amended as follows:

(a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(2)" No person acting under color of law shall-

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law or laws to vote in any Federal election, apply any standard practice, or procedure different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied under such law or laws to other individuals within the same county, parish, or similar political subdivision who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote;

"(B) Deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or

"(C) Employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is administered to each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, and (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974-74e; 74 Stat.88): Provided, however, That the Attorney General may enter into agreements with appropriate State or local authorities that preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests in accordance with the provisions of applicable State or local law, including such special provisions as are necessary in the preparation, conduct and maintenance of such tests for persons who are blind or otherwise physically handicapped, meet the purposes of this subparagraph and constitute complaince therewith.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection-

"(A) the term "vote" shall have the same meaning as in subsection (e) of this section;

"(B) the phrase "literacy test" includes any test of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter."

(b) Insert immediately following the period at the end of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant fact there shall be a rebuttable presumption that any person who has not been adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election."

(c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":

"(f) When used in subsection (a) or (c) of this section, the words 'Federal election' shall mean any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives."

(d) Add the following subsection "(h)":

"(h) In any proceeding instituted by the United States in any district court of the United States under this section in which the Attorney General requests a finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination pursuant to subsection (e) of this section the Attorney General, at the time he files the complaint, or any defendant in the proceeding, within twenty days after service upon him of the complaint, may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the entire case. A copy of the request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

"In any proceeding brought under subsection (c) of this section to enforce subsection (b) of this section, or in the event neither the Attorney General nor any defendant files a request for a three-judge court in any proceeding authorized by this subsection, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

"It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited."

EXCERTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION

1. "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

2. "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed."

3. "Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

4. "The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath of affirmation, to support this Constitution."

5. "The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

6. "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills."

7. "Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States."

8. "The times, places, and manner holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators."

9. "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state."

10. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

11. "The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same."

12. "The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state."

13. "The electors' shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves."

14. "The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

15. "Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

16. "Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States."

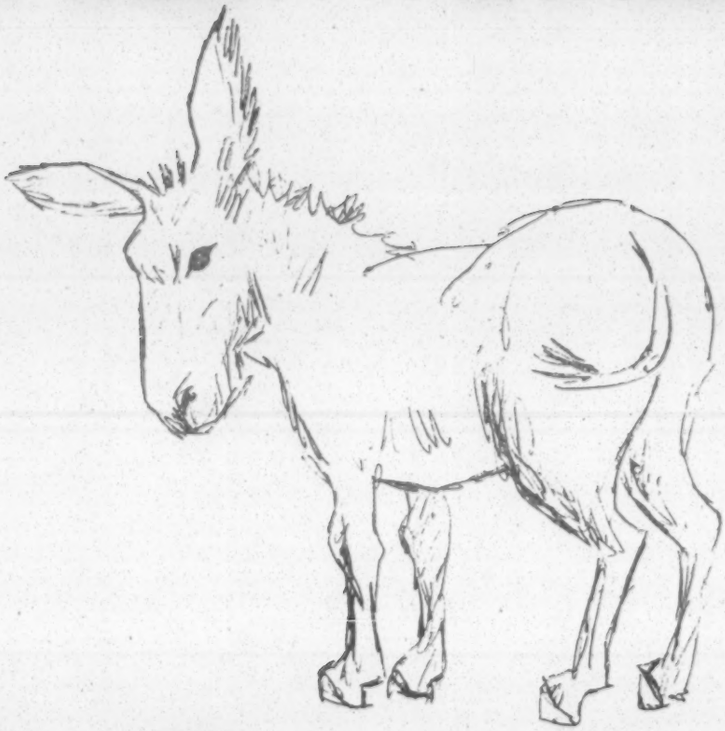
Hours of Registration in 4th Cong. Dist.

Petersburg	VA.	12 – 3 pm mon. thru friday
Hopewell	VA.	2 – 5 pm friday only
Suffolk	VA.	9 – 5 pm mon. thru friday
Dinwiddie County		2nd & 4th Wed.
Prince George	"	2nd & 4th Friday 9 – 12 NOON
Greensville	"	Every Sat. 9 – 12 pm
Prince Edwards	"	Every monday
Powhatan	"	Once a week

Sample pattern of the voter registration office hours in the 4th Cong. dist. VA.

i Can't Vote

BUT THEN . . . I'M A JACKASS



WHAT'S YOUR EXCUSE?

PAY YOUR POLL TAX TODAY

Arkansas Voter Project—Ozell Sutton, Director

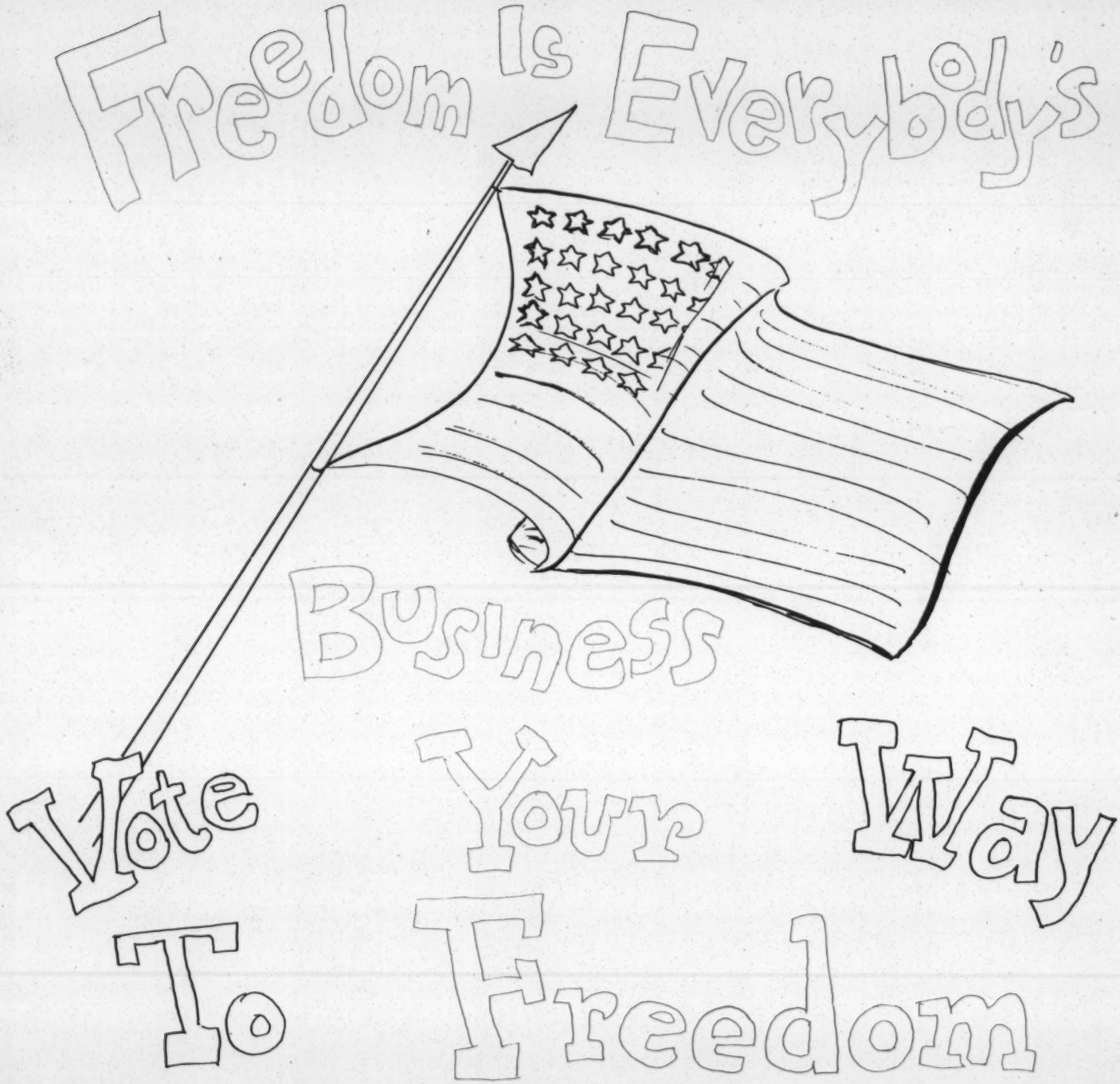
Freedom's Honor Roll

1. John F. Kennedy
2. Medgar Evers
3. Four Birmingham Sunday School Children
4. Three Civil Rights Workers in Mississippi

They Gave Their LIVES.... Will You Give Your VOTE?

PAY YOUR POLL TAX TODAY

Arkansas Voter Project—Ozell Sutton, Director



PAY YOUR POLL TAX TODAY

Arkansas Voter Project—Ozell Sutton, Director

3 Civil Rights Workers Gave Their Lives In Mississippi!

WILL YOU GIVE YOUR VOTE?

PAY YOUR POLL TAX TODAY

Arkansas Voter Project—Ozell Sutton, Director

TENNESSEE VOTERS' COUNCIL

INSTRUCTION SHEET TO WORKERS

The worker in a political campaign is the most important single person in the campaign structure. The wards, districts and precincts are the fields of combat in the battle of votes. No organization can rise above the level of performance of the men and women who go from door-to-door talking with voters and urging their support of candidates. If this job is done well, nothing can hinder. If this job is done poorly, nothing else can help. Therefore, as a worker, yours is the most vital job of the campaign.

You will have the following materials with which to work:

1. Your worker worksheet.
2. Literature on the candidates to be passed out among the voters.

The use of the materials and hints on canvassing, the street sheet is the key stone of your program. In it should be recorded the name and address of every voter upon whom you believe you can count. Your objective is to get the name and address of thirty-two (32) voters who will not vote, but who will vote for the candidates in whose behalf we are working.

Try to be as brief as possible, but at the same time try to give the voter enough information so that he or she will understand the importance of his voting in support of the Tennessee Voters' Council's slate of candidates.

Urge everyone with whom you have talked to watch for the candidates on T.V. so that they may become more informed. Only when you are convinced that a voter is sold on the Tennessee Voters' Council's candidates, should you list him or her on your street sheet. Mere names and addresses will look good only up to _____, however, on _____, you and we all will be embarrassed if the thirty-two (32) people you have contacted have not been adequately informed or failed to support our program.

Once you have compiled your list of thirty-two (32) cooperative voters (you should try to do this as soon as possible) make it a point to keep in contact with them between now and election day. Tell them about meetings you have been to and points of interest concerning the candidates. Try to find out if they have any special problems on election day which may be eliminated by you, the precinct leader, or by the area team. Do this before hand so that adequate plans may be made to be helpful. Explain to them that it is important not only to vote for one or two candidates, but it is important if Negroes are to gain all of the objectives we seek in this election. EACH VOTER SHOULD VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATES ENDORSED BY THE TENNESSEE VOTERS' COUNCIL.

TENNESSEE VOTERS' COUNCIL

WORKER'S WORKSHEET

VOTING UNIT DISTRICT _____ WARD _____ PRECINCT _____

WORKER'S NAME _____ LEADER'S NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE _____ TELEPHONE _____

. . . . . .

Ask each voter for his cooperation, support, and vote for TENNESSEE VOTERS' COUNCIL candidates.

VOTER'S NAME	ADDRESS	TELEPHONE	DO YOU NEED TRANSPORTATION, TIME	WILL YOU VOTE FOR TVC TICKET YES/NO
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				
15.				
16.				
17.				
18.				
19.				
20.				
21.				
22.				
23.				
24.				
25.				

WHAT'S IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The major provisions of the 11 Titles in the bill, whose number is H.R. 7152, are meant to assure all citizens, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, their equal rights: In voting; in access to hotels, restaruants, theaters and other places of public accommodation and to such other public places as libraries and parks; in education; in Federally-assisted programs; and in employment. To accomplish this, the bill would give the Justice Department additional powers, establish two new agencies - an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and a 6-man Community Relations Service--and extend the life of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission another four years.

TITLE I. PROTECTING VOTING RIGHTS

A young Negro veteran in Jackson Parish, La., was rejected on his first attempt to register to vote because the registrar found an error on his application card. He himself was unable to find it after checking and rechecking and when ge got up to leave he inquired, "Ma'am, would you do one thing for me?"

"What is that?"

"Will you tell me the mistake I made?"

"Oh, sure. You underlined 'Mr.' when you should have circled it."

-Condensed from the U. S. Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting (1961-Pg. 54) on how immaterial errors are used to disqualify Negro voters.

SUMMARY OF TITLE I

To further protect voting rights in Federal elections, it would prohibit: (1) the application of different tests, standards, etc. to white and colored voters and (2) the denial of registration for immaterial errors in applications. It would require all literacy tests to be given in writing or transcribed. To expedite handling of cases filed under the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, it would authorize the Attorney General or a defendant to ask for trial by a three-judge court, with direct appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. In any such proceeding it establishes a presumption of literacy for those who have completed the sixth grade. A sixth grade education is the maximum requirement.

TITLE II. RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

"White people of whatever kind - prostitutes, narcotics pushers, Communists, or bank robbers --are welcome at establishments which will not admit certain of our Federal judges, ambassadors, and countless members of our Armed Forces."

-U. S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, in testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee, July 1, 1963.

SUMMARY OF TITLE II

It would prohibit discrimination in most hotels, motels and other places of lodging; restaurants, cafeterias and other eating places; motion picture houses, theaters, sports arenas, stadia and other places of exhibition and entertainment; gas stations; and such places as specialty shops and barber shops in hotels subject to the section and stores with eating facilities covered by the bill. An aggrieved individual or the U. S. Attorney General would be able to enforce these rights through injunctions or other civil actions. There is a specific exemption for small rooming houses with no more than five rooms to rent and used by the proprietors as their own residences.

TITLE III. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

"It is no longer open to question that a State (or city) may not constitutionally require segregation of public facilities."

-Ruling a three-judge court in New Orleans, enjoining segregation in a municipal auditorium.

SUMMARY OF TITLE III

The Attorney General would be empowered to initiate or intervene in suits aimed at desegregating public facilities other than schools-such as parks, libraries, hospitals and playgrounds--where the injured party is unable to pursue the remedy. He would also be authorized to intervene in private actions brought by persons seeking relief from a denial of equal protection of the law because of race, creed, color or national origin.

TITLE IV. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

"(In our school decisions we) never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay."

-The U. S. Supreme Court in Watson V. Memphis, May 27, 1963.

SUMMARY OF TITLE IV

It authorizes the Attorney General to initiate or intervene in school desegregation cases. It provides for technical assistance, grants and training institutes to help communities prepare for school desegregation. But it exempts from its definition of desegregation, the transportation of students to end racial imbalance.

TITLE V. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"The outstanding success of the Commission to date proves how valuable it is and indicates that the public interest will be well served by extending its life."

-Former U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers.

SUMMARY OF TITLE V

It would extend the life of the Commission another four years and give it additional duties of investigating vote fraud cases and serving as a national clearing house on civil rights.

TITLE VI. NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS

"I will say this--I repeat it, I have said it again and again: Wherever Federal funds are expended for anything, I do not see how any American can justly--legally, or logically, or morally--a discrimination in the expenditure of those funds as among our citizens. All are taxed to provide those funds. If there is any benefit to be derived from them, I think they must all share, regardless of such inconsequential factors as race and religion."

-President Dwight D. Eisenhower, press conference, March 19, 1953.

SUMMARY OF TITLE VI

It would prohibit discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal assistance under grant, contract or loan. It directs Federal agencies to establish programs of compliance and would authorize denial of funds to those programs that discriminate. But any denial is subject to judicial review. A hearing is guaranteed before funds are cut off, and a report to Congress is also required before funds can be denied. Presidential approval is required before any general cut-off of funds is approved.

TITLE VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

"The withholding of jobs and business opportunities from some people does not make more jobs and business opportunities for others. Such a policy merely tends to drag down the whole economic level... Intolerance is a species of boycott and any business or job boycott is a cancer in the economic body of the nation. I repeat, intolerance is destructive; prejudice produces no wealth; discrimination is a fool's economy."

-Eric Johnston, former Chairman of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

SUMMARY OF TITLE VII

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce would be prohibited from discriminating. Coverage would include employers and unions with 25 or more employees or members. But coverage would apply at first to those with 100 or more employees or members and drop by stages to 25, after 4 years. An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would be established to investigate and voluntarily settle complaints. Upon failure to settle, the Commission would be authorized to file suit to enforce nondiscrimination. Prohibited discriminations include sex, as well as race, creed, color or national origin. The House excluded from coverage those denied employment because they are atheists or communists.

TITLE VIII. REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS

"... a jealous care of the right of election by the people--a mild and safe corrective of abuses ..."

-Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801.

SUMMARY OF TITLE VIII

It directs the Secretary of Commerce to conduct a voting census by race in geographic areas recommended by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

TITLE IX. REMOVAL PROCEEDINGS IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

"... this inability to appeal remand orders has effectively barred citizens from obtaining a redress to their denial of civil rights."

-Rep. William McCulloch (R.,O.) and six other Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee, in views on H. R. 7152.

SUMMARY OF TITLE IX

The orders of Federal courts sending certain civil rights cases back to state courts are not now reviewable. This would make them reviewable by appeal.

TITLE X. ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

"... the objective of the Community Relations Service is to settle race problems across the conference table if humanly possible.."

-Rep. Wm. J. Randall (D.,Mo.) during House debate, Feb. 10, 1964.

SUMMARY OF TITLE X

It would establish in the Department of Commerce, a Community Relations Service with personnel limited to six persons.

TITLE XI. MISCELLANEOUS: FINANCING, SEVERABILITY, PREEMPTION

"The struggle of today, is not altogether for today--it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence, all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us."

-Abraham Lincoln, Message to Congress, 1861.

SUMMARY OF TITLE XI

It contains a number of customary provisions. One, authorizes appropriations to carry out the purpose of the bill. Another--a "severability clause"--says that if any provision of the act is held invalid, the rest of the act shall not be affected. A fairly standard "preemption" clause, added during floor debate, specifies that nothing in the Act shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress "to occupy the field in which any ... title operates to the exclusion of State laws on the same subject..."

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF ALABAMA

_____ COUNTY ALABAMA

DATE: _____

This is to certify that I have completed six (6) grades of formal education which is the maximun educational requirement for registering to vote, as set forth in Title One of the Civil Rights Bill passed by the Congress of the United States in 1964.

_____
APPLICANT SIGN

WITNESSES:

_____

_____

Sworn to and signed this the _____ day of _____, 19___.

_____
NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission expires _____

Mr. Tucker
Sorry I did not hear you . I was in the rear of the house working. I would have liked to talk this mess over with you.

Yours truly
Donald Jackson
Donald Jackson

JMV

Meetings were held in local churches, polls taken. and the candidates did appear before Negro groups. The candidates listed below was the Negro selection.

With results as listed

What Bloc Vote?

599

Be Wise Be Smart GO AND VOTE!

It is the duty of every citizen to vote. We are asking everyone to get out and vote. Where we have sufficient numbers voting, we have found we receive better treatment from officials both city and county.

A. There is power in the ballot. It gives us the power to put people into office who will see that everyone has his rights.
B. The right man in office serve all citizens; vote for him.
C. The wrong man should be voted out at the first opportunity.

VOTE AS YOU PLEASE, BUT VOTE. GO YOURSELF! AND TAKE ANOTHER ONE WITH YOU.

YOU the people through your VOTER EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE ENDORSE the following CANDIDATES.

County Commissioners

To succeed Hoyt Barron
TOM W. MANIS RUN OFF

To succeed R. W. Fincher
RAYMOND LAMBERT RUN OFF

To succeed Ebb Gaines
DUANE CLEMONES LOST

To succeed Ralph Primm
HUBERT J. HOWELL RUN OFF

To succeed T. H. Selman
CHAS. L. (Chuck) WILLIAMS WON

For Sheriff
JOE ADAMS WON

For Tax Commissioner
MRS. SARAH CARTER KEOWN WON

For County Treasurer
SID WHITE WON

Senate
J. BATTLE HALL WON

Coroner
JOHN L. DAVENPORT WON

FREEDOM
Rights
Education
Employment
Dignity
Opportunity
Medical

If You Don't Vote Don't Squawk!

VOTER EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE
Donald Jackson, Director

County Commissioners
To succeed Hoyt Barron
TOM W. MANIS
To succeed R. W. Fincher
RAYMOND LAMBERT

For Sheriff
JOE ADAMS
For Tax Commissioner
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For Tax Commissioner

MRS. SARAH CARTER KEOWN

For County Treasurer

SID WHITE

Senate

J. BATTLE HALL

Coroner

JOHN L. DAVENPORT

Above endorsed by

VOTER EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE, Donald Jackson, Director

On Friday, Sept. 18, Mr. Andrew W. Moore stated in an advertisement in The Rome News-Tribune, in an attempt to mislead the people of Floyd County, as to certain candidates trying to get the "bloc vote" of Floyd County Negroes. He reproduced a piece of paper listing certain candidates in several races. He identified this as the NAACP ticket but his reproduction did not even mention the NAACP.

Why did Mr. Moore fail to show the two endorsements expensively printed and distributed in the dark of night, house to house in the Negro community, the night before election and continuing throughout election day at the polls.

The method used in distributing these lists of candidates suggests that there was an attempt to keep the white voters from knowing the effort being made to get Negro votes for these candidates.

As a matter of fact all of the local candidates were invited and did appear in person before Negro groups in our churches speaking in their own behalf. We believe that even the defeated candidates will admit that they were well received and treated with utmost courtesy. We know of no wrongdoing on the part of any candidate to solicit votes, but if there was any, we feel that Mr. Moore should have called such wrongdoing to law enforcement officers at the proper time instead of waiting until after the count of the vote showed that he was defeated.

We wish to make it clear that the Negro citizens of our county only wish to vote for the best qualified candidates for all offices, for men who will work together in the interest of the whole community.

This Is a paid political advestisement by a group of members of the Floyd County Negro Community concerned with good government.

BLOCK VOTING
(Rome Box)

You, as voters, interested in good government, and most of all, FAIR PLAY — clean, legal and decent elections, will be interested to know what went on at the Rome precinct Sept. 9.

BELOW is the instructions passed out by the NAACP within 250 feet of the polls in violation of the New Election Code.

For a continued progressive community, We recommend you vote for:

J. Battle Hall
Joe Adams
Sara Keown

This was handed out at polls, by the NAACP president as the NAACP endorsement. They [redacted] the people wanted by the power structure.

Bernard Storey ✓
H. G. (Hank) Carrico ✓
Clifford C. Meroney ✓
Ralph Primm ✓
J. E. (Red) Jordan
John Davenport

It's a shame and disgrace that in World War I, II,, and the Korean Conflict we lost approximately one million men fighting to preserve Democracy and free elections, and yet this kind of block voting goes on in OUR OWN COUNTY to thwart the will of the people, by the power-structure of vested interests.

NOW IS THE TIME TO STOP IT. Show your resentment by voting against those listed above and checked who are in the run-off Sept. 23.

A. M. "Andy" MOORE

(Paid Political Advertisement)

Warrants Issued

Warrants have been issued against three Negroes, two from Rome and one from Cedartown, on a misdemeanor charge, alleging that the three distributed facsimile ballots at the Rome box in support of certain candidates in the Sept. 9 Democratic primary.

Named in the warrants were Andrew King, agent for the Pilgrim Life Insurance Company and president of the Rome Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Rev. E. G. Hinton, pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Church, Rome, and Robert L. Parks, operator of a Cedartown funeral home. The warrants were sworn to by A. W. (Andy) Moore, an unsuccessful candidate for the state Senate in last week's primary.

Meanwhile, 11 persons, who have been subpoenaed by Moore, were waiting to appear before the Grand Jury today in connection with the charges. The group includes certain election officials, two unsuccessful candidates for office and others.

The three warrants, which were issued by Justice of the Peace Albert Kirby, are identical and specify the following charges:

"Violation of Georgia Election Code Section 34-1307" and de-

Huntsville, Ala.

(1)

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, QUESTIONNAIRE, AND OATHS

(This is to be filled in by the Board of Registrars or a duly authorized clerk of the board. If applicant is a married woman, she must state given name by which she is known, maiden surname, and married surname, which shall be recorded as her full name.)

Full Name:_____
Last First Middle

Date of Birth:_____ _____Sex_____Race_____

Residence address_____

Mailing Address_____

Voting Place: Precinct_____Ward_____District_____

Length of Residence: In State_____County_____
Precinct, ward or district_____

Are you a member of the Armed Forces?_____

Are you the wife of a member of the Armed Forces? _____

Are you a college student?_____ If so, where_____

Have you ever registered to vote in any other state or in any other county in Alabama?_____If so, when and in what state and county and, if in Alabama, at what place did you vote in such county?_____

_____

Highest grade, 1 to 12 completed_____Where_____

Years college completed_____Where_____

PART II

(To be filled in by the applicant in the presence of the Board of Registrats without assistance)

I,_____, do hereby apply to the Boare of Registrars of _____County, State of Alabama to register as an electro under the Constitution and laws of the State of Alabama and do herewith submit my answers to the interrogatories propounded to me by the board.

_____
(Signature of Applicant)

1. Are you a citizen of the United States?_____

2. Where were you born?_____

3. If you are a natur lized citizen, give number appearing on your naturalization papers and date of issuance_____

_____

4. Have you ever been married?____If so, give the name, residence and place of birth of your husband or wife_____

_____ Are you Divorced?_____

5. List the places you have lived the past five years, giving town or county and state_____

_____

6. Have you ever been known by any name other than appearing on this application?___If so, state what name_____

7. Are you employed?_____If so, state by whom. (If you are state employed, state this) _____

_____

8. Give the address of your place of employment_____

_____

9. If, in the past five years, you have been employed by an employer other than your present employer, give the name of all employers and cities and states in which you worked

_____

_____

_____

10. Have your name ever been stricken for any reason from any list of persons registered to vote?____If so, where, when, and why?_____ _____

_____

11. Have you previously applied for and been denied registration as a voter?_____If so, when and where? ____ _____

_____

12. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces? _____
If so, give dates, branch of service, and serial number_____

_____

13, Have you ever been dishonorably discharged from military service?_____

14. Have you ever been declared legally insane?_____If so, give details_____

_____

15, Give the names and addresses of two persons who knew you and can varefy the statements made by you relative to your residence in this state, county, and precinct, ward or district_____

_____

16. Have you ever seen a copy of this registration application form before receiving this copy today?____ If so, when and where?_____

17. Have you been convicted of any offense or paid any fine for violation of the law?___(Yes or No) If so, give the following information concerning each fine or conviction; charge, in what court tried, fine imposed, sentence, and if paroled, state when, and if pardoned, state when, (If fine is for traffice violation only, you need write below only the word "traffice violation only")

_____

_____

_____

(Remainder of this form is to be filled out only as directed by an individual member of the Board of Registrars)

Part III

Part III of this questionnaire shall consist of one of the forms which are insert Part III as herein below set out. The insert shall be fastened to the questionnaire. The questions set out on the insert shall be answered according to the instructions therein set out. Each applicant shall demostrate ability to read and write as required by the Constitution of Alabama as amended, and no person shall be considered to have completed this application, nor shall the name of the applicate be entered upon the list of registered voters of any county until after such Inserted part III of the questionnaire has been satisfactorily completed and signed by the applicant.

(4)

PART IV
OATHS

STATE OF ALABAMA

_____ _____COUNTY

Before me,_____

a registrar in and for said county and state, personally appeared _____an applicant for registration as an elector, who being f first duly sworn

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the foregoing answers to the interrogatories are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information and belief. I do further personally swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama; that I do not believe in nor am I affiliated with any group or party which advocated or advocated the overthrow of the United States or State of Alabama by unlawful means. I do further solemnly swear (or affirm) that in the matter of this application for registration I have spoken truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help me God."

_____
(Signature of Applicant)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the ____day of _____

_____
(Signature of Board Members)

EXPLANATION AND REMARKS

(Board members interviewing applicants may place here any special such as of residence status, or other remarks for purpose of clarification. If person is blind or is otherwise physically handicapped to such an excuse that he cannot fill out this application form, the circumstances are to be recorded here, along with an explanation of the method used to determine.

...(9)

* changes every month.

If the person is, in fact, literate and can spell words and reconginize the word spelled to him, or can read large block letters and words in the person with slight handicaps.

Part V

ACTION OF THE BOARD

STATE OF ALABAMA

_____COUNTY

The applicant,_____ __, appeared before the board of registrats for said state and county in a regular session and executed the foregoing application in the manner prescribed by law, The Board having further examined said applicant under oath, touching his qualifications under Section 181, Constitution of Alabama, as amended, and having fully considered the foregoing application for registration, questionnaire and oaths, adjudges said applicant entitled to

be registered and he was duly registered this the ____day of ____ ___,19_____.

Signed:_____
Chairman

_____
Member

_____
Member

(Note: The Act of actually determining an applicant entitled to be registered is judicial. A majority of the Board must concur A majority must be present. The power cannot be delegated. Each member must vote on each application. Not until this is done may a certificate be issued the applicant)

The applicant,_____,due to failure to meet the requirements of the state law for registration as an elector, is hereby rejected on the the _____day of_____19_____.

Signed:_____
Chairman

_____
Member

_____
Member

(6)

Part VI

EXAMINATION OF SUPPORTING WITNESS

(The witness shall be placed under oath to tell the truth, the person administering the oath being a Board member of other person authorized to administer oaths and acting under the direction of the Board.)

Name of Witness_____

Address_____

Place of Voting_____

"I have known the Applicant_____for___years and _____months, and I have personal knowledge that his place of residence is_____

_____ _____

and that he has resided in the State of Alabama at least one year and in_____County for at least six months."

_____
Signature of Witness

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the____day of_____, 19_____.

_____
(Person administering Oath)

Date_____

9 . . . .

Insert Part III (5)

(The following questions shall be answered by the applicant without assistance.)

1. What is the chief executive of Alabama called? (GOVERNOR)

2. Are post offices operated by the state or federal government? (FEDERAL).

3. What is the name of the president of the United States? (LYNDON B. JOHNSON)

4. To what national lawmaking body does each state send senators and representatives? (UNITED STATES CONGRESS)

INSTRUCTIONS "A"

The applicant will complete the remainder of this questionnaire before a Board member and at his instructions, The Board member shall have the applicant read any one or more of the following excerts from the U.S. Constitution using a duplicate form of this Insert Part III. The Board member shall keep in his possession the application with its inserted Part III and shall mark thereon the words missed in reading by the applicant

---

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION

1. "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

2. "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed."

3. "Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

4. "The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution."

INSTRUCTIONS "B"

The Board member shall then have the applicant write several words or more if necessary to make a judicial determination of his ability to write. The writing shall be placed below so that it becomes a part of the application, If the writing is illegible, the Board member shall write in parentheses beneath the writing the words the applicant was asked to write.

HAVE APPLICANT WRITE HERE, DICTATING WORDS FROM THE CONSTITUTION.

_____

_____

_____

Signature of Applicant: _____

(8)

INSERT PART III)

The following questions shall be answered by the applicant without assistance)

1. What City is the Capital of the United States?_____

2. How many states are there in the United States?_____

3. How many senators from each state are in the United States Senate?_____

4. The president of the United States is elected for a term of how many years?_____

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION

1. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

2. "The judicial power of the United States by shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equality, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state."

3. "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed."

4. "The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

INSTRUCTIONS "A"

The applicant will complete the remainder of this questionnaire before a Board member and at his instructions. The Board member shall have the applicant read any one of more of the following excerpts from the U. S. Constitution using a duplicate form of this Insert Part III. The Board member shall keep in his possession the application with its inserted Part III and shall mark thereon the words missed in reading by the applicant.

INSTRUCTIONS "B"

The Board member shall then have the applicant write several words, or more if necessary to make a judicial determination of his ability to write. The writing shall be placed below so that it becomes a part of the application. If the writing is illegible, the Board member shall write in parentheses beneath the writing the words that applicant was asked to write.

HAVE APPLICANT WRITE HERE, DICTATING WORDS FROM THE CONSTITUTION

_____

&_____

_____

Signature of Applicant:_____

Tri-County voters league

PLEASE DO NOT TAKE THIS APPLICATION TO THE COURT HOUSE

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, QUESTIONNAIRE AND OATH

I, _____, do hereby apply to the Board of Registrars of _____ County, State of Alabama, to register as an elector under the Constitution and laws of the State of Alabama, and do herewith submit answers to the interrogatories propounded to me by said Board.

_____
Name of Applicant

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. State your name, the date and place of your birth, and your present address: ____

_____

_____

2. Have you previously applied for and been denied registration as a voter? _____

(a) If so, give the facts: _____

_____

_____

3. Has your name been previously stricken from the list of persons registered? _____

_____

4. Are you now or have you ever been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard? _____
If you are or have been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard, explain as fully as you can: _____

_____

5. Have you ever been legally declared insame? _____ (a) If so, give details:

_____

_____

6. Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experience:

_____

_____

_____

7. Have you ever been charged with or convicted of a felony or crime involving moral turpitude? _____ (a) If so, give the facts: _____

_____

_____

8. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States Government: _____

(a) If so, state when and for approximately how long: _____

_____

9. Have you ever been expelled or dishonorably discharged from any school or college or from any branch of the Armed Forces of the United States, or from any other country? _____ (a) If so, give the facts _____

_____

10. Will you support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of State of Alabama? _____

11. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government or the Government of any state of the United States by unlawful means: _____

12. Will you bear arms for your Country when called upon by it to do so? _____
(a) If your answer is no, give reason: _____

_____

13. Do you believe in free elections and rule by the majority? _____

14. Will you give aid and confort to the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama? _____

15. Name some of the duties and oblications of citizenship: _____

_____

_____

(a) Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict? _____

16. Give the names and post office addresses of two persons who have present knowledge of your present bona fide residence at the place as stated by you: _____

_____

_____

17. Are you married or single? _____ (a) If married, give name, residence and place of birth of your husband or wife as the case may be: _____

_____

_____

18. Give the names of the places, respectively, where you have lived during the last five years; and the name or names by which you have been known during the last five years: _____

_____

19. If you are self-employed, state the nature of your business: _____

_____

(a) If you have been employed by another during the last five years, state the nature of your employment and the name or names of such employer or employers and his or their addresses: _____

_____

_____

20. If you claim that you are a bona fide resident of the State of Alabama, give the date on which you claim to have become such bona fide resident: _____.
(a) When did you become a bona fide resident of _____ County _____.

21. If you intend to change your place of residentce prior to the next general election, state the facts: _____

_____

_____

9-1-63

Submitted by:
G. James Fleming, Director
Institute for Political Education
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
(Ford Foundation-Supported)

THE FOURTH YEAR, 1962-63

The fourth year (1962-63) of the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College was devoted not to valedictory but (1) to the regular projects in political education and also (2) to the planning and negotiating of proposals for a new supporting grant from the Ford Foundation, (3) to the outside examination of the program by a two-man team appointed by the Ford Foundation and (4), because of the receipt of a new grant, to a beginning of the new four-year program--even before the schedule of 1962-63 had been concluded. Thus, for most of the year, the director's responsibility was akin to carrying two programs.

This report will deal briefly, with some of the findings of the examination which are applicable to the future, to the new grant and its application to date, and to a review of the program for the year 1962-63. It will also refer to some of the practices followed during the first four years, 1959-63, and to some of the results of the first four years.

I. APPLICATION FOR NEW GRANT

On May 31, 1962, the Director of the Institute submitted a "discussion paper" to the President of the College, setting forth the possible future of the political education program with its present special emphases--to terminate it altogether, to continue it in a very skeletal form on normal college resources, or to seek new foundation support for another four year. The decision was to seek foundation support in order to continue and expand the program.

On July 17, 1962, the Director of the Institute submitted a "discussion paper" to the Public Affairs Program of the Ford Foundation (through the offices of Miss Jane Hinchcliffe and Mr. William Pincus). This working paper set forth our thinking as to a program for 1963-67 for which we would eventually seek support from the Ford Foundation. It was a minimal program following, more or less, the guideliness which had been found mutually acceptable to the Foundation and the College for 1959-63. It was also a reasonable one, fashioned out of regard for the fact that the Foundation had already so generously given our program its start (1959-63).

Looking back, however, it was not a proposal which adequately

reflected the College's awareness of new areas in which it should proceed, both as to type of program and depth of program.

The happy result of the submittal of the discussion paper was the appointment by the Ford Foundation of two political scientists as an examination team, to help the Foundation decide what position it should take in reference to the Morgan program and the College's application for new support. The examiners were Dr. Bernard C. Hennessey, director, National Center for Education in Politics, New York City, and Dr. Bernard James, director, Center for Programs in Government and Administration, University of Wisconsin--Milwaukee. They visited the Morgan State Program October 10-11, 1962.

After receiving the report of the examination team, followed by revised drafts of the Morgan prospectus, several conferences and another visit from Dr. Hennessey, the Ford Foundation, on April 19, 1963, voted a grant of $175,000 to Morgan State College, "for continued support of its program of education in public affairs," for a period beginning July 1, 1963. It was stipulated that $164,000 is intended for the four-year program, per se, and that the remainder, $11,000, is "to be held in reserve for preparation, publication and distribution of a summary evaluation and report ..." (The request document on which the Ford Foundation based its grants was dated March 20, 1963).

(In the state of Maryland a college cannot actually utilize foundation funds until the Governor has formally approved that the funds may be accepted. This approval was given on April 25, 1963).

II. EXAMINATION AND EVALUATION

Since the establishment of the Institute for Political Education in 1959, the Institute's directors and the College have been evalution-conscious; not only of major evaluation of the long-term effect of the program, but also of *ad hoc* and short-term informal examination and checking of the program and its parts. For example:

1. After each new project and after every field experience in practical politics, students at large have been invited to a clinical discussion of their experience; the program per se, how it was managed, whether it proved significant; how it might be improved, etc.

2. The "Political Education Scholars," who should be more knowledgeable than the student body at large, have also been probed, and have contributed, along the same lines but more in depth.

3. Members of the Faculty Advisory Committee, as individuals or small groups, have been invited to programs and projects and specifically asked to share their thinking, pro and con, on their experience.

4. Practising politicians, as individuals, have been asked from time to time, to comment on aspects of the program.

5. The Citizens Advisory Committee, made up of leading and

representative citizens of the community, have been kept informed on every aspect of the project; the members, as individuals, have attended the Institute's programs, and, at least once per year, the entire Committee has convened at a dinner meeting, to hear reports from the Director, but more important to ask questions, make criticisms and offer contructive suggestions.

6. In conncection with the application for a new grant, the President created an ad hoc 7-man faculty committee, including the Dean of the College, which committee reviewed the existing program and the conversations that had gone on with the Institute and the Ford Foundation. This committee held two long night sessions. Its thinking and concensus led to the drafting of a memorandum dealing with the following:

a) Towards a Philosophy for Political Education at Morgan State College.

b) More In-Depth training of Undergraduates.

c) Adult Education and off-campus Aspects.

d) Integration Into Larger College Program.

e) Faculty Internships to Morgan.

f) Undergraduate Scholarship Grants.

7. A major evaluation has been in process for the entire life of the project (four years), to ascertain the effectiveness of the program, including what it has meant in developing the political awareness, knowledge and skills of the student body. These results will be compared with the pretest given to the outgoing senior class immediately preceding the launching of the Ford Foundation-supported project. This evaluation has been under the complete jurisdiction of Dr. Mae P. Claytor, professor of psychology, and who is now completing her report (book-length) on the first four years. One fringe benefit of the evaluation, we believe, will be the several evaluation and testing tools which have been constructed and developed by Dr. Claytor.

VISIT OF SPECIAL EXAMINERS

The visit of the examiners appointed by the Ford Foundation (Drs. Hennessey and James)--referred to earlier--was very good for Morgan State College and its political education project. It provided an outside, disinterested but competent examination. There were probing, reviewing, needling, criticism, recommendation. The directors of the Morgan project do not know the contents of the report made by the examiners to the Foundation, but it is to be presumed that it played its own important part in bringing about the extension of the Foundation grant for another four years.

One outcome of the Hennessey-James examination will be the incorporation of two formal political science courses into the work

of the holders of Political Education Scholarships, regardless of the academic major of the grantee. Another will be more required writing by the Scholars, in the direction of simple political research.

The examination and its recommendations also helped to clarify for the College its freedom to involve in more political education in the larger community, as contrasted with the campus-centered policy suggested by the Foundation in 1959.

The visit of Drs. Hennessey and James and the return of Dr. Hennessey also helped to lift the sights of the College as to the new programs it was, and is, prepared to conduct in the future--programs such as the internships and the visiting undergraduate scholarships.

It should be stated that, independent of the directors, the examiners interviewed and conferred with past and present Political Education Scholars, members of the faculty, and the president and dean of the College. They also met with the Citizens Advisory Committee at an unhurried dinner meeting. They gave much attention to Dr. Claytor and the evidence of the continuous evaluation of the total program that she had been conducting since 1959.

III. THE PROGRAM AS EVOLVED FOR 1963-67

As a result of the months of conversations, examinations and revisions, the program in political education for 1963-67 includes, and/or provides for, the following (in summary):

1. Five undergraduate internships annually, to permit Morgan State students to spend 13 weeks working full-time in the office of a political leader or government official as a means of learning public affairs by way of apprenticeship.

2. An unfixed number of part-time internships to permit students to spend a maximum of 15 hours per week per student in the offices of pressure groups, city councilmen or state legislators (A maximum of $1,000 annually is allowed for this item).

3. Five Visiting Undergraduate Scholarships for students from colleges with no programs in political education to enable them to spend a year at Morgan State College participating in the political education program and taking a full year's academic course at the college.

4. Ten Visiting Faculty Awards to permit teachers from other colleges and universities to spend five days annually in a resident seminar on applied politics at Morgan State. It is expected that these visiting teachers will participate in all phases of the Institute program.

5. An annual conference for high school teachers of civics, largely those from Maryland schools. These conferences will be held with the cooperation of the Morgan Department of Education.

6. Twenty special Evening College scholarships to enable adults to enroll in an evening program in applied politics. This program

will begin in September 1964.

7. Continuation annually of an average of 15 Political Education Scholarships ($500.00 each) for Morgan students who have a particular interest and flair for politics.

8. Continuation of one-day workshops for the public and alumni, cooperative programs with other departments of the college and special projects such as mock political conventions, mock legislative sessions and special assemblies presenting outstanding political figures.

MATCHING FUNDS

The new program of internships will compel the College to seek "Matching Funds" since the Foundation believes that "the more the College and the community share in the support of the program the more significant it will be." Securing matching funds from alumni, organizations, trustees and other members of the community will also give evidence that those who know the program best regard it highly enough to help support it. All matching funds will be devoted totally to student benefit. Thirteen-week internships require $195 per student in matching funds; parttime internships require a total of $400 annually.

IV. REVIEW OF PROGRAM, 1962-63

1. Congressional Internships. In order not to wait 12 to 14 months to get the new program started, the Institute accepted as part of the year's challenges the placing of Congressional interns during the summer of 1963 and the starting of the Visiting Undergraduate Scholarship program by the opening of the new school year in September, 1963.

Several well-wishers of the program felt it would be next to impossible to place Morgan State students in the Washington offices of Maryland Congressmen. It was decided by the Institute, however, that the Maryland lawmakers should be given the first opportunity. The month of May was rather late to initiate conversations for 13-week internships to start in June. Nevertheless, four law-makers warmly agreed to participate in the internship program. Indeed, Representative-at-large Carlton R. Sickles (Democrat) offered to accept an intern before Morgan's first letter reached him. Others accepting were Senator J. Glenn Beall (Republican), and Representatives Clarence D. Long (Democrat) and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (Republican) The students assigned were:

Miss Marlene Jeffries, Baltimore (to Beall)

Miss Charlotte Hall, Baltimore (to Long)

Frank McDougald, Baltimore (to Sickles)

Reginald Kearney, Jersey City, N. J. (to Mathias)

Both the lawmakers and the students have been enthusiastic about

the experience. However, at this writing, since the internships have not been concluded, neither the lawmakers nor the students have submitted their formal reports.

The students have had a variety of experiences: clipping newspapers for important political items, typing a variety of material, reading and answering constituents' mail, doing research for speeches and bills, attending open committee meetings, and attending confidential briefings. In addition, the four interns were enrolled in a seminar for interns conducted jointly by the American Political Science Association and the National Center for Education in Politics. In these seminars the students learned politics and government-from-the inside from White House aides, Senators and Representatives, Judges, veteran chief clerks of government agencies, and representatives of the National Committees, labor and pressure groups.

The matching funds for the 1963 Congressional interns were provided (in whole or in part) by Senator Beall, Representative Long and the Classes of 1923 and 1928 of the Morgan State College Alumni Association.

Since the beginning of the internships, other Maryland Congressmen have written indicating their interest in accepting an intern for the summer of 1964.

2. Visiting Undergraduate Scholarships. Again, in order to get the new and expanded program started, a crash effort was made to inform other colleges of the Visiting scholarship program and its objectives. Announcements were sent to all the undergraduate colleges of Maryland and Delaware, to the member colleges of the United Negro College Fund, to the Negro Land Grant colleges, and to a number of organizations. For most institutions it was too late in the school year to participate in the program. Nevertheless, three colleges will send Visiting Scholars to spend 1963-64 at Morgan--Morris Brown, Atlanta, Georgia; LeMoyne, Memphis, Tennessee, and Knoxville, in the city of the same name. All three are private, church-related institutions.

The Visiting Undergraduate Scholars are obligated to return to their college of matriculation at the completion of their scholarship year at Morgan. At least they cannot remain at Morgan.

3. National Capital Area Center for Education in Politics. During 1963-64 Morgan State College became a charter member of this new affiliate of the National Center for Education in Politics (formerly the Citizenship Clearing House). The new affiliate, geographically, is open to colleges in the District of Columbia and the states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia. The Institute for Political Education represents Morgan and the Institute's director serves on the executive committee of the regional center.

Under center auspices Morgan students attended the annual Capital Area Conference on Politics. With center funds, the Institute was able to inaugurate a "Visiting Politician" project. This provides for a practicing politician to spend a full day and a night on the campus, speaking to, and meeting with a variety of campus groups. This

This program, a limited version of a "Politician in Residence," was allowed $100 by the NCEP affiliate. Morgan requests no other funds from the affiliate, out of deference to the large number of colleges it must provide for.

4. A Film is Produced. During the year the film, Politics is Our Business, in color, was completed. It was produced for the Institute and Morgan State College by Samuel Schulman Enterprises of Trenton, New Jersey. The script was written by the director with the assistance of Dr. Dwynal B. Pettengill, former assistant director of the Institute. It was directed by the director of the Institute. The film has been well received. The first print was bought by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to use in voter registration campaign in the South. Since then the U. S. Information Agency has bought three prints.

This kind of learning and teaching tool does not sell in large numbers. Rather, interested organizations borrow or rent from those who own the film. Six prints have been sold to date. Requests to rent or borrow have come from as far away as New Mexico.

The first public showing of the film took place on November 28, 1962; and was attended by 200 persons, including city government officials, library and organizational representatives and the public in general. Earlier, special previews had been given for the Ford Foundation and other New York organizations, Federal government and pressure group representatives, and the the Morgan student body.

5. Weekly Workshops and Related Tasks. The two-hour weekly workshop continued to be the core of the formal work in political education. Every week the fifteen Political Education Scholars and some non-scholars heard a discussion of some topic in practical politics from the Institute's staff or from a practicing politician; they analyzed current public issues; they occasionally viewed a political film, and they planned projects.

In non-workshop time each Scholar also was allotted two hours per week of reading newspapers and selecting and/or clipping items of political importance. This was more than a menial chore as it led to discussion of issues, to comparing of editorial views, and to spotting matters for further investigation. It also introduced students to newspapers, from different sections of the country, some of which they had never heard of before.

Incidentally, the clipping of newspapers, never at first popular with students, was the first assignment given to the Congressional interns and has constituted part of their continuing duties. A former Scholar, now actively engaged in politics, on a recent visit, also reported that he partly won election to office because he had kept a good file of clippings on his opponent.

6. Field Trips to Government Centers. Following long practice at Morgan College, the Institute sponsored field trips to Congress, to the Maryland State Legislature and to the Baltimore City Council. These, like all other Institute programs, were open to all students. Thirty went to Washington and Annapolis; only the Scholars to the City Council. On each trip, by prior arrangement, members of the

legislative body spoke to the attenders and answered their questions. In the case of all-day trips to the Congress, the students were divided in three small groups and met in the offices of several lawmakers for one-hour periods of discussion and questions and answers. They also attended committee hearings, and later saw either the House or the Senate in action.

On the trip to Washington this year two groups held similar talk and "buzz" sessions with representatives of the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

On their trips to the state legislature and the city council the students attended committee hearings, in addition to attending the formal meetings of the respective chambers.

Morgan College is fortunate in that its students do not attempt to make recreational trips out of these field experiences but take them seriously as learning devices. This is shown by their questions to lawmakers and by their subsequent reports, as well as their on-the-spot demeanor.

7. Campaign Activities. One of the barriers to overcome in any college is the inclination of students to regard practical politics and its practitioners as being of low repute. One device for overcoming this attitude or, at least, for separating fact from fiction, is to provide opportunity to work intimately in actual, competitive politics and to be exposed at close range to practical politicians. During 1962-63 the following took place:

a) During the gubernatorial primary, 200 students worked on the campaign teams of several aspirants for the State Legislature, and were involved in all the usual tasks for publicizing and nominating a candidate. On Primary Day they manned polling places or worked on the streets.

b) About 150 worked in the pre-election campaign, and on election day, for candidates of both parties.

c) About 200 students worked in the mayoralty primary and later election campaigns, some in city headquarters, others in the districts.

d) On two occasions, one televised, a panel of students joined other area students in questioning candidates for mayor.

e) Two political rallies were held on campus--both at all-student assemblies. At one of the rallies, candidates for the state legislature were presented, with a student panel questioning the four speakers who spoke for all the other candidates. This large meeting was followed by a coffee hour at which another group of students raised additional questions. Twenty-one candidates attended, including those for the legislature as well as the judiciary. The second rally was organized around the mayoralty campaign. The Republican and Democratic candidates were invited to present their cases.

(more)

f) In addition to working with and for candidates, on both primary and election nights twelve students helped a television station and a newspaper to tabulate election returns. They worked in groups at the TV station, the Central Police Station and a hotel converted into a TV reception center. This was a new opportunity to observe another aspect of the political process.

g) Student Government again this year fashioned student elections so as to have a nominating convention. The student candidates also invited several Scholars of the Institute to manage their campaigns. The elections were held on regular voting machines.

8. Young Republican and Democratic Clubs. These clubs, which are encouraged by the Institute as an important means of political involvement, have never drawn large-scale support at Morgan. One reason, perhaps, is the one-party tendency of Baltimore City politics; the other is that students seem to take very seriously this matter of voting for the man rather than the party. This past year, however, was better than usual, partly because Baltimore had an extremely popular Republican running for the office of Mayor and, earlier, a vigorous campaigner, a Republican, running for the office of Congressman at large. Thus, there was real contest which tended to give stimulus to the clubs. They remained in operation all year. Their members worked for candidates and they sent representatives to at least four party conferences. The clubs also furnished debaters to a high school group which was interested in the question, "Resolved, that 18-year-olds should be allowed to vote in all states."

9. The "Visiting Politician." This addition to the program, previously referred to, was adopted in order to make a practicing politician available on the campus for a longer time than is usually possible or practicable. This year's visiting politician, Augustin Doward, was a former Scholar in the Institute and a 1960 graduate of Morgan. In 1962 he was a candidate for the Senate of the U. S. Virgin Islands and won election over a veteran incumbent. His closeness to the age of the students and the recency of his experience were assets in his favor. The students felt at home probing him about all the conditions of his short political life and the special conditions of his home territory. It is hoped this project can be continued in conjunction with the Assembly Committee.

10. Politics and Iced Tea. For the fourth year the Institute sponsored a 5-week film-and-discussion program, meeting at 9 p. m. every Tuesday, for the special benefit of summer school enrollees. An average of 50 attended weekly--about 10 per cent of the entire enrollment and a much larger percentage of those residing on the campus. Many of those attending were enrolled in the institutes for teachers of high school science and for bright high school students. The Institute has felt that these science-centered persons could profit from a greater understanding of the political process. Each meeting showed a political film, heard a short discussion by a staff member or a visiting political figure, and then was opened for questions and answers.

(more)

11. Citizenship Birthday Party. Again during the past year, on Washington's Birthday, the Institute sponsored a semi-social affair, in conjunction with the Student Union, for all students who would be 21 years of age during the year. In addition to a birthday cake and music there is always a speaker in lighter vein. Down the years, however, no speaker has failed to say something central to the Institute's objective of developing citizen politicians, with an awareness of what politics really is, with interest in public affairs, and with the skill to use politics and government in the public interest.

12. Joint Programs. In addition to working with Student Government in campus elections, the Institute serves the more formally academic areas of the college. During 1962-63, the Institute, at the request of the Student Personnel Office, gave a film-discussion program for entering freshmen. It also arranged programs for five different classes, or groups of classes, from different departments.

13. Closing Ceremonies. Each year the Institute holds a closing ceremony at which time certificates are presented to those students who have completed the Institute year satisfactorily, as measured by their participation in the weekly workshop and the projects related to it. The speaker this year was Biehl Clarke, director of Civic Affairs Associates, Inc., Washington, D. C., a research and fact-gathering organization whihc supplies business with business-related political information. Mr. Clarke has also developed a number of visual aids for promoting registration and voting.

V. INSTITUTE PARTICIPANTS AND STAFF

So far, this report has covered programs. Perhaps a word about the persons who give substantial time to the program, both students and staff.

1. The Students. The fifteen students selected as "Political Education Scholars" represented seven different departments, four states, and two foreign areas. Eight of the enrollers reside in Maryland. Five of the total were women.

It is Institute policy to include some student or students from the new, developing nations, in the belief that these overseas students may benefit from the American experience in, and approach to, politics. The Director especially believes that the American spirit of "Give and Take" in politics is a quality that some others peoples might well adopt.

The Scholars are selected because of their flair for citizen politics, their interest in public affairs, and their promise for leadership--even leadership of the quiet kind.

2. The Institute's Staff. The staff and the Institute's office increasingly have become a resource used on and off the campus. Calls are received for information or clarification of some fact or issue from government offices, newspapers, civic leaders, other colleges, or foreign visitors who wish political enlightenment about the United States.

(more)

Another slant on the status of the Institute is that the director during the year was elected president of the Maryland Chapter, American Society for Public Administration, and named to the Mayor's Committee on Redistricting Baltimore. He was also guest lecturer before the class on Political Parties in the Graduate School of Johns Hopkins University. The director is often invited to confidential conversations and planning by opposing candidates, across party and factional lines, each candidate knowing he, has no exclusive claim on the director.

The assistant director during 1962-63, Dr. Gilbert Ware, resigned as of June 30, to accept an assistant professorship in the Fels Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania. This was an amicable separation, from both Alma Mater and former teacher, Dr. Ware being a graduate of Morgan, 1955. Pennsylvania came to know of Dr. Ware through his association with the program at Morgan.

The new assistant director is Mr. Augustus A. Adair, who has just completed a Congressional Fellowship in Washington. He spent half of the year in the office of Representative Bradford Morse (Republican Mass.) and the other half with Senator Joseph Clarke (Democrat, Penna.). He was appointed Congressional Fellow by the American Political Science Association.

Mr. Adair last was on the faculty of Grambling College, Grambling, Louisiana. He is a graduate of Morehouse College; holds the master of Arts degree from Atlanta University; has studied at the University of Michigan and is a doctoral candidate at Boston University.

VI. CONCLUSION

This report, ending the first four years of the Morgan State project in political education, would have ordinarily called for a statement at this point on how the program has gone. This is not necessary, however, since the Hennessey-James report to the Foundation has partly filled this role, while Dr. Claytor's evaluation is being made ready for submittal.

What the words of the several reports cannot totally reflect is the unanticipated warm support that the program has received from students. No project has gone unsupported. Some have been supported overwhelmingly. The College dean once said that "No non-athletic or non-jazz activity has caught the students imagination as has the program of the Institute." Similarly, the support of the faculty and administration has been warm, the Citizens Advisory Committee has been a strong supporting arm, and community citizen groups have been appreciative.

The reports may not indicate, either, that the Institute program has helped to widen the interracial involvement of the College. The Institute has invited students from Maryland and Washington colleges to all its major programs. They constituted some of the state delegations at the mock convention; they served as officers and members of the mock state legislature; they have attended political rallies. The attendance at the sessions of Politics and Iced Tea has been about

33 per cent white. All this is in keeping with the fact that while Morgan State is predominantly Negro in its student body and faculty, it welcomes all students and is actually more integrated than any other college in Maryland.

As the director during the past years, the writer is grateful for this support, and especially for the understanding, helpful cooperation of the Public Affairs Program of the Ford Foundation. He is also grateful for the confidence which the Foundation has shown in the Morgan program and its eloquent expression of that confidence in recent months.

The second phase of the program takes up where the first four years have ended, with no break.

G. Lenox Fleming

September 1, 1963

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INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
Morgan State College

UNDERGRADUATE WORKSHOP-SEMINARS--FIRST SEMESTER, 1963-64

Sessions Usually Convene at 3 p. m., Tuesdays
(Appropriate films will also be shown occasionally)

Sept. 24--a) Introduction: Programs, organization, scope; opportunities for practical experience. Assignment: Read Machiavelli, The Prince (Written report, Oct. 8)
b) "Why Study Politics"--Prof. Adair
c) Description of Institute's headquarters.
d) Analysis of important issues of the day (weekly throughout the semester)

Oct. 1 --a) The genesis of politics: From the folk to constitutional and legal bases, with special reference to the American political party system.
b) Questions and Answers: Important political issues of the day.
c) Activation, if necessary, of Young Democrats and Young Republicans.

Oct. 8 --a) Where organized practical politics begins: The Precinct I
b) Important political issues of the day.
c) Election of student officers of Institute.
d) Reports Due: The Prince.

Oct. 15 --a) Working the precinct for registration and Voting, II. --Guest Lecturer.
b) The role of the volunteer (the "citizen politician")
c) Important issues of the day.

Oct. 22 --a) "The Political Boss"--Pros and cons of so-called machine politics.
b) Anatomy and operation of a voting machine.
c) Important issues of the day.

Oct. 29 --a) The Laws affecting politics, I.
1. The Constitution and federal laws
2. State Election Laws
3. Proposed Reforms: Pro and Con
b) Important issues of the day.
c) Assignment: Examine Election Laws of Maryland.

Nov. 5 --a) The Laws Affecting Politics, II.
b) Important Issues of the day.

Nov. 12 -- No Workshop. Special Meeting of All Juniors, Seniors and Faculty

Nov. 19 -- Field Trip: Board of Election Supervisors, Baltimore (Written report required)

Nov. 26 -- Important Issues of the Day: "Political Implications of the Death of President Kennedy and the Accession of Lyndon Johnson"

Dec. 3 -- Campus Town Meeting--"Gloria Richardson Speaks for Herself"

Dec. 10 --a) Laws (and Practices) Affecting Politics III
b) Film: "Politics is Our Business" (tentative)
c) Important Issues

Dec. 17 --a) The Process of Winning Political Office
1. Feeling called, or Being Drafted
2. Methods of Selection

Jan. 7 --a) What the New Year Promises Politically, in the light of year-end news.
b) Sample oral review of hometown essays.

Jan. 14 --a) Review of semester.
b) Important issues of the day.

Jan. 20-24 SEMESTER EXAMS (NO WORKSHOP THIS WEEK).

9/17/63. Revised 12/2/63

WBB

February 10, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: Field Trip to Waycross, Georgia to 8th Congressional District Meeting

On Saturday, February 1, 1964, I attended the 8th Congressional District meeting, Georgia Voters League at the American Legion Post, Waycross, Georgia. A program is attached to this report.

The counties included in the 8th Congressional District are: Appling, Atkinson, Bacon, Berrien, Brantley, Camden, Charlton, Clinch, Coffee, Cook, Echols, Glynn, Irwin, Jeff Davis, Lanier, Lowndes, Pierce, Telfair, Ware, and Wayne. These counties are all located in the southeastern section of the state and for the most part, the economy is agrarian, with tobacco, peanuts, hogs, cattle, dairy products, corn, being the principal agricultural products. In addition, there is some forestry (slash and long needle pine, cypress, gum) and light industry (textiles, paper, lumber and wood, transportation equipment, etc.). Valdosta (Lowndes County), population 30,652, is the only city (according to 1962 Bureau of Census, County and City Data Book) within the district, while there are fifteen urban places: Alma (Bacon), Baxley (Appling), Brunswick (Glynn), Dock Junction (unincorporated, Glynn), Douglas (Coffee), Hazlehurst (Jeff Davis), Hebardville (unincorporated, Ware), Homerville (Clinch), Jesup (Wayne), McRae (Telfair), Nashville (Berrien), Ocilla (Irwin), St. Mary's (Camden), St. Simons (unincorporated, Glynn), and Waycross (Ware). VEP has supported registration activities in Telfair and Ware counties (SCLC), and Glynn (NAACP).

I was immediately impressed with the general enthusiasm of the group. The weather was inclement and probably served as a deterrent to some individuals, but there seemed to be a representative number present. There was an encouragingly large number of high school students present. They seemed to be well motivated and knowledgeable about the activities of the day. It was apparent that they had been in attendance at previous meetings and great emphasis was placed on according them recognition. It was particularly interesting to note from various reports, the number of public school principals and teachers who are becoming involved in voter registration-education activities.

It was apparent throughout the program that there are the rudimentary beginnings of organized political activity among the represented

counties. There is some need for some concentrated effort on someone's part to help the group to become more solidly organized and confident in their ability to demonstrate political strength in their respective communities. J. H. Calhoun, President, Georgia Voters League, indicated in conversation that money had at one time been requested from VEP for some non-partisan organizational activity along U. S. Congressional District lines. I got no clear understanding of the reason for rejection because I did not feel that I was knowledgeable enough to discuss the matter with him. It would seem that the Georgia Voters League does lend itself to some concerted organizational efforts aimed at educating leaders in the Negro community in the value of political participation.

The report of registration activity in several counties was interesting. The reports as given by conferees are as follows:

County	Negro Registration-1963	Total Negro Registration*
Appling	10 or 15	61
Berrien	24 (15 - 1964)	N/A
Clinch	650	700
Jeff Davis	200	600 (1400 white)
Ware	300	3000

Mrs. Pearlie Steel, Homerville, Clinch County, reported concentrated efforts to get people out to register in time for the city election on the last Wednesday in February. She also spoke at length about the role of Negro voters in defeating a bond issue for construction of schools when it became apparent that there were no suggested expenditures for additional Negro schools. P. B. McCoy indicated the books in Ware County had been purged and there was a drive afoot to try to get all of the purged registrants re-registered.

I am enclosing an account of my remarks to the group:

"The Voter Education Project, a research project of the Southern Regional Council, had its inception on April 1, 1962. Its purpose is to promote voter registration and education on a non-partisan basis. It has provided funds to projects undertaken by CORE, NAACP, NUL, SCLC, and SNCC, as well as local groups working independently or in conjunction with one of the five groups mentioned earlier.

"Since its beginning, VEP has provided funds which have increased Negro voter registration in eleven southern states over 327,000. Approximately 46,000 of these are your fellow Georgians.

*Estimates only.

"We believe a voteless people is a voiceless people. If you don't vote, you don't count. With your leadership, both at the state and grass roots level, it is the responsibility of each of you to use whatever talents at your disposal to urge your families, friends, and neighbors to register. But this is just the first step! After you register, vote! Only as you exercise your God-given responsibility and right, can you bring your weight to bear on the politicians to help us achieve our goal - a democratic society in which all can realize the fullest measure of self-development."

This was my initial attendance at a meeting of this nature since joining VEP. I was imbued with the possibilities inherent in working with an organization of this type. I am prepared to discuss this in depth with you and Randolph Blackwell should you desire.

BIW

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Atths.

Atl. World
3-2-7-64

8th Congressional District Voters In Waycross Meet

In spite of inclement weather, nearly 100 adult and youth representatives met last Saturday at the American Legion Hall in Waycross, Ga., to plan for 8th U. S. Congressional District participation in the expanded program of the Georgia Voters League. The session began with Memorial Services for the late Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs, led by Rev. J. E. Ross, of Waycross who was assisted by Rev. J. L. Butler, B. I. Shipman of Alapaha and Miss Willie Mae Richardson of Waycross.

After a welcome by Miss Eileen Cutler, of Waycross, Prof. W. M. Henderson, of Center High School, addressed the group on: "The Importance of Individual Participation in Government." There were reports on voter-registration and successful results of political action from Appling, Berrien, Clinch, Jeff Davis and Ware Counties. P. B. McCoy, District Chairman, who presided at the meeting, gave similar reports on Telfair, Irwin and other counties in the District. Assisting with instructions on voter-registration and citizenship training were: Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, of the Voter-Education Project, J. H. Calhoun, Co-Chairman of the League, Chairman of the Statewide Registration Committee, representing the SCLC and Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Field Secretary, all of Atlanta.

The following persons were named as 8th District representatives on state-wide committees: Church Work, J. B. Isom, Appling County and Mrs. Rosa Jones, Berrien; Business and Industry, S. Allen, Berrien; Organizations, Miss Annie Ruth Mack, Ware; Program, Miss Eileen Cutler, Ware and Mrs. Rosa L. Jones, Berrien, Interview, Wm. Henderson, Ware and Miss N. K. Barron, Berrien Political Guidance, Wm. Henderson, Ware and C. C. Jackson, Jeff Davis; Publicity, Miss Willie Mae Richardson, Ware; Education, Chas. Williams, Ware and Rev J. L. Butler, Appling; Voter-Registration, P. B. McCoy, Ware and Jerry Williams, Berrien. Youth officers elected were: Miss Ronie Smith, Chairman; Miss Sandra Leaphart, Co-Chairman, Miss Beverly Leaphart, Secretary and Mack Freeman, Advisor.

A second meeting, in cooperation with the Statewide Registration Committee Citizenship Clinic and SCLC Citizenship School is scheduled for Saturday, March 21 at 9:00 a.m. in Waycross.

EIGHTH U. S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT MEETING OF THE GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE
WAYCROSS, GEORGIA - FEBRUARY 1, 1964 - SUGGESTED AGENDA

1. 10:00 A. M. - Registration
11:00 2. 10:30 A. M. - Devotions - Memorial to the late Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs
Elder J. E. Ross in Charge
Prayer - Chaplain
Scripture - 90th Psalm - Assistant Chaplain.. Rev. J. L. Butler
Freedom Song - Walk in Jersualem Just Like John
Freedom Song - When the Saints Go Marching Home
Remarks on the Life of John Wesley Dobbs Mr. Shippman
Song - John Dobbs I Love You - Miss Willie Mae Richardson

3. 10:45 A. M. - Remarks - Welcome to Young People - Miss Eva Mae Montford
Purpose - Explanation of Constitutional Changes; also duties of officers and committees - J. H. Calhoun, Co-Chairman

4. 10:50 A. M. - Adoption of Agenda
5. 11:00 A. M. - Reading of the Minutes of the Last Meeting
6. Appointment of Committees
Resolutions and Issues
Time and Place (For next meeting)
Nominating
(Others)

7. 11:10 A. M. - Completion of Questionaires on Organization and Registration
8. 11:20 A. M. - Introduction of Speaker - P. B. McCoy, President
9. Address - ~~Mr. G. J. Green, Sr.~~, Social Science Instructor - Carver High School - Subject - The Value of Knowing Your Government W. M. Henderson.

10. 12:00 Noon - Adult Assembly
Reports from Counties
Discussion of Voter Registration
Youth Assembly
"Pep Session"
Naming of Temporary County Youth Officers
Naming of District Youth Officers

11. 12:30 P. M. - Recess
12. 1:00 P. M. - Joint Reassembly - Youth and Adults
Discussion of 10-Point Civil Rights Program
Recommendations on Civil Rights

13. 1:30 P. M. - Youth Report
Reports of Committees - Time and Place
Resolutions
Nominating
(Others)

Election of Officers and Committee Members from District:

Co-Directors _____ _____
Co-Asst. Directors _____ _____
Secretary _____ Asst. Secy _____
Treasurer _____ Chaplain _____
Sgt. at Arms _____ Parliamentarian _____
Youth Advisors _____ _____
Co-Senatorial District Leaders _____ _____
Committees - Two Persons for each Committee
Church Work _____ _____
Business and Industry _____ _____
Organizations _____ _____
District Organizing _____ _____
Program _____ _____
Interview _____ _____
Political Guidance _____ _____
Legislative _____ _____
Entertainment _____ _____
Publicity _____ _____
Patronage _____ _____
Education _____ _____
Voter Registration _____ _____
Finance _____ _____

14. Announcements - Semi-Annual Meeting - Macon, Ga. March 28, 1964
15. Other Business
16. Adjournment - To Shall Overcome - Benediction

GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE

DISTRICT QUESTIONAIRE ON ORGANIZATION AND REGISTRATION - DATE: _____

NAME_____ COUNTY_____ DISTRICT_____

ADDRESS_____ CITY_____ TELEPHONE_____

Committee Assignments preferred (A person may serve on more than one committee)

1.___Church Work
2.___Business and Industry
3.___Organizations
4.___District Organzing
5.___Program
6.___Interview
7.___Political Guidance
8.___Legislative
9.___Entertainment
10.___Publicity
11.___Patronage
12.___Education
13.___Voter-Registration
14.___Finance
15.___Other_____

_____ _____
NAME OF CHIEF COUNTY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION NAME OF CHAIRMAN OR PRESIDENT

_____ _____ _____
Address of Chairman City Telephone No.

Estimated Total Registered Voters: White and Negro _____ Negro Only_____

Estimated No. of Negroes Registered in 1963____Estimated No. of workers_____

_____ _____
NAME OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION SPONSORING REGISTRATION NAME OF CHAIRMAN OR PRESIDENT

_____ _____ _____
Address of Chairman City Telephone No.

Recommendations _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

TUNE : "JESUS WE LOVE YOU"

John Dobbs, we love you--
Honestly we do
You were so faithful--
And to the cause so true;
John Dobbs, we love you-
Because you led us through;
John Dobbs, we love you
Oh, yes we do.

When things were dreary
You were always near,
With such a leader-
We could never fear.
John Dobbs, we love you-
Honestly we do--
John Dobbs, we love you
Yes, we love you.

WHEN THE SAINTS GO MARCHING IN.

Mr Dobb he loved his people
What a soilder he had been
His foot step will be more steady
When the saints go marching in.

Chorus.

O, when the saints--When the saints
Go marching in--Go marching in.
O when the saints go marching in-
Lord I want to be in the number,
When the saints go marching in.

Mr Dobbs and may God bless him-
I can see him now and then.
With a robe of white around him.
When the saints go marching in.

Tune, WALK IN JERUSALEM JUST LIKE JOHN.

We want to be ready-We want to be ready
We're going to be ready
To walk in Jerusalem just like John.

LEADER--We are working for that day

ALL--Walk in Jerusalem just like John.

LEADER--When we can have these words to say

ALL--Walk in Jerusalem just like John.

Chorus

We work together--In stormy weather.
Striving for over--
To walk in Jerusalem just like John.

LEADER--Let us make our pledge this way.

ALL-- Walk on Jerusalem just like John.

LEADER--Increase our voters every day,

ALL: Walk in Jerusalem just like John.

Chorus

From 8 thousand voters-To one hundre thousand
To 3 hundred thousand.
Then walk in Jerusalem just like John.

We want to be ready-We want to be ready.
We're going to be ready.
To walk in Jerusalem just like John.

WG
JL
RTB
JS

March 25, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: ATTENDANCE AT JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE AND GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE

On Saturday, February 15, 1964, I attended the above mentioned meeting at the Americana Motor Inn, Atlanta, Georgia. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference sponsored the meeting which was called to adopt a program of coordinated action for the purpose of increasing Negro registered voters to 300,000 in the state. A program and subsequent news release are attached.

In Hosea Williams' absence, J. H. Calhoun reported on activities in the first, second, and eighth congressional districts. He indicated that there were thirty (30) citizenship schools in eighteen (18) counties in the First Congressional District. He indicated that Hosea Williams was personally responsibile for many of the changes which were taking place in this district. From the Second Congressional District, a campaign, coordinated by Willie Bolden, began in January (VEP supported through SCLC). Rev. Samuel Wells, Slater King, and Thomas Chatman, all prominent in the Albany Movement, were present and spent considerable time discussing their recent trials and convictions. They appeared quite disturbed by what they assessed as a lack of interest in their situation. They indicated that they saw few "friendly faces" during the trials in Macon. As a result of a rather impassionate presentation by Slater King, in which he indicated Rev. Wells was being dismissed from his job at the Marine Supply Depot in Albany, the assembled group decided to send telegrams to President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Justice Department protesting the prosecution of these Albany leaders. A committee was formed to contact Louis Martin to determine what pressures could be brought and where, to help her. Wells retained his employment. No report was given for the Eighth District which is also coordinated by Hosea Williams.

Vernon Mitchell, coordinator for the Third Congressional District, was also absent. It was reported that a voter registration drive was being conducted in Fort Valley (VEP sponsored through NAACP) which had been responsible for 300 new registrants in one week's activity.

File 2nd
B.I.W.

Mr. Randall, co-chairman of the Georgia Voters League, indicated that Bibb county had a highly successful campaign last year and were now engaged in a continuous program of voter registration. He reported nothing of the activity in other counties in the district.

J. H. Calhoun, co-chairman, Georgia Voters League and chairman, Statewide Registration Committee, reported on activities in the Fourth, Fifth, and Seventh districts. In the Fourth District, Spalding County, a coordinated drive by the Voters League, Civic League, and NAACP yielded 350 people in February. Coordinated drives in DeKalb and Fulton counties in the Fifth were highly successful last year. In the Seventh, registration is a continuous activity. A newly organized civic league in Cedartown (Polk County) headed by Calvin Williams recently sponsored a voter registration drive which added 200 prospective voters to the rolls.

Toombs McLendon, Ninth and Tenth District coordinator, talked at length about the resistance encountered in some counties in the Ninth District, particularly Wilkes, Lincoln, and McDuffie. He indicated that John Roseberg of the Justice Department had been asked to investigate activities of the registrar in Lincoln county. Recently the number of registered voters in that county was increased from three to eight. Ray Ware, president of the Voters League in Clarke county (Athens), gave an account of the advances in employment in various industries in the Athens environs. He felt that race relations were improving in this county, and gave much credit to the Superior Court Judge, John Barrow, who escorted the first two Negroes to enter the University of Georgia to the Registrar's office; his wife, who is chairman of the local Human Relations Council; and the Regional Employment Office.

It was interesting to note the obvious pride with which each of the aforementioned individuals spoke. Their relation of these sometimes small but significant gains made in voter registration and other areas, spoke to an interest which apparently has developed over the years. The persons present supposedly represented the leadership in the various districts. It was interesting to note that almost without exception, they spoke of isolated situations with no indication that there was cohesion within the districts. Of course, the meeting came at a time when redistricting, being considered by the Legislature, was eminent. Nonetheless, it was disturbing to this observer that there was so little consideration given to activity beyond the confines of county lines. There was too little attention given to coordinated action although this was one of the express purposes of the meeting. The attached program and schedule of Citizenship Clinics were also adapted at this meeting.

BIW

BIW

js

State Registration Group Sets Action In Political Area

Atl. World 2-16-64

Stirred by reports of prosecution of the "Albany Five" by the U. S. Department of Justice and encouraged by reports of progress in other areas of the state, the joint session of the Executive Committees of the Statewide Registration Committee and Georgia Voters League, Saturday a program of political action. At the meeting, held in the American Motor Hotel, a goal of 300,000 registered Negro voters and co-ordinated action as a program, were unanimously adopted by some forty leaders from eight of the ten U. S. Congressional Districts of Georgia.

Individual and collective telegrams were sent to Washington protesting the prosecution of leaders of civil rights as is being done in Albany and nine U. S. Congressional District Citizenship Clinics were established, which will be coordinated with District Meetings of the Georgia Voters League. Beginning with a Sixth District Meeting at St. Paul A.M.E. Church in Dublin on Wednesday, February 19, at 6:00 P. M. the following clinics were established: February 29, Columbus, Third District; March 7, Savannah, First; March 14, Greensboro, Ninth and Tenth; March 21, Waycross, Eight; March 28, Moultrie, Second; April 4, Griffin, Fourth; April 11, Cedartown, Seventh; April 18, Atlanta, Fifth; April 25, Macon, Sixth. Of course, it was announced, registricting by the State Legislature, may change some of the aligments for the meetings.

Some of the more favorable aspects of the reports were made by Rev. Andrew H. Young of SCLC, sponsors of the meetings, to the effect that there are now approximately 225,000 Negroes registered in Georgia and that his organiza-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 5)

The Weather

CLEARING AND COLDER

State Registration

(Continued from Page One)

tion would back the co-ordinated program. Mrs. Barbara Whitaker of the Voter Education Project, reported over 300,000 registered in 11 Southern states under auspices of her agency and urged the demanding of respect by getting out the vote. Slater King and Thomas Chatman of Albany; Wm. P. Randall of Macon, A. C. Touchstone, Griffin; Toombs McLendon, Washington; Jesse Hill, Atlanta; Rev. J. C. Hope, Brunswick; Ray Ware, Athens; Rev. Samuel Wells, Albany; and Eli Jackson; Greensboro, reported on increased registration and improved conditions in jobs, integration of facilities and better housing. Wm. P. Randall, Macon and J. H. Calhoun, Atlanta, Co-Chairmen, presided, with the assistance of Mrs. Ocelia Ellis and Rev. F. C. Bennettee.

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE - GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE - S. C. L. C.

JOINT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES - AMERCANA MOTOR HOTEL - FEB. 15, 1964

Suggested Agenda
Wm. P. Randall, Presiding

1. Devotions - Memorial to the late John Wesley Dobbs

2. Lunch

3. Minutes of the Last Meeting

4. Remarks - J. H. Calhoun
   Rev. Andrew Young
   Mrs. Barbara Whitaker

5. Reports from Co-ordinators - Hosea Williams - 1 + 2
   Vernon Mitchell 3
   Wm. P. Randall - 6
   J. H. Calhoun - 4, 7
   (Rev.) Fred C. Bennette 5, 9 + 10

Wells

6. Voter Registration Program for 1964-Finance

7. Political Action Program

   a. Reorganization of Georgia Voters League
   b. Time - Annual Meeting
   c. Officers, Committees and their responsibilities
   e. Nomination of Chairmen for Standing Committees

8. Other Business

9. Adjournment - Mizpah

District officers to be elected

Co-Directors _____ _____
Co-Asst. Directors _____ _____
Secretary _____ Asst. Secy _____
Treasurer _____ Chaplain _____
Sgt. at Arms _____ Parliamentarian _____
Youth Advisors _____ _____
Co-Senatorial Dis- _____ _____
trict Leaders _____ _____

Committees 2 persons for every committee from each Congressional District

Church Work _____ _____
Business and Industry _____ _____
Organizations _____ _____
District Organizing _____ _____
Program _____ _____
Interview _____ _____
Political Guidance _____ _____
Legislative _____ _____
Entertainment _____ _____
Publicity _____ _____
Patronage _____ _____
Education _____ _____
Voter-Registration _____ _____
Finance _____ _____

GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE - CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS AMENDED JANUARY 11, 1963

ARTICLE I - NAME - The name of this organization shall be THE GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE - (NON-PARTISAN).

ARTICLE II - PURPOSE - The purpose of this organization shall be to work for and with the citizens of Georgia to: (1) Have all eligible persons become registered voters and vote in every election. (2) Build an intelligent electorate by teaching techniques and procedures of the process. (3) Interview all state candidates. (4) Keep and make available to the general public daily records on all public issues as well as, public officials. (5) Promote the coordination of political activities of all individuals and organizations. (6) Improve the moral, social, economic and educational status of all citizens. (7) Recommend to our state public officials means of improving that status.

ARTICLE III - MEMBERSHIP - Any citizens residing in the State of Georgia, who are in accord with the purpose of this organization and agree to abide by its Constitution and By-Laws may become members according to provisions thereof.

ARTICLE IV - OFFICERS - There shall be two (2) Co-chairmen, two (2) Co-Vice-chairmen, two (2) Co-Directors for each U. S. Congressional District, two (2) Co-leaders of the Senate, two (2) Co-Secretaries, two (2) Co-Assistant Secretaries; one (1) each repsenting the two (2) major parties, Democrat and Republican; a Treasurer, a Chaplain, a Parliamentarian, a Sergeant-at-Arms, and such other officers as shall be created from time to time by a majority vote of the parent body; upon nomination by a committee composed of an equal number of Democrats and Republicans. Other nominations may be made from the floor, but they must conform to the provisions named herein. "Chief Officers" in this document refer to heads of groups named and "co-officers" will be elected only where considered advisable or practicable.

ARTICLE V - EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE - The Executive Committee shall consist of officers of this organization; chairmen of the standing committees, which shall be named by the two (2) Co-chairmen and accepted by the parent body; plus the chief officers of state wide auxiliaries. The Co-chairmen of the League shall serve as Co-chairmen of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI - SECTION I - TERMS OF OFFICE - The officers, except as hereinafter provided, shall be elected by the membership at the Annual Meeting and their terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors are elected and duly qualified. Vacancies in any office or on the Executive Committee may be filled by the Executive Committee between sessions of the League. Officers of districts, auxiliaries and county groups shall be elected within their respective jurisdictions as determined by the Executive Committee of the parent body, provided that those named as state officers must be accepted by the parent body.

SECTION 2 - The first election under the constitution shall be held within thirty days after the adoption of the same, and such officers shall hold office until the next annual election.

ARTICLE VII - MEETINGS SECTION 1 - The membership of this organization shall meet at least twice each year, (Spring and Fall) but special meetings may be called by the president or a majority of the Executive Committee. The Annual Meeting shall be considered the one held in the fall of the year. Notice of all meetings shall be circulated among the membership at least 7 days in advance.

SECTION 2 - The Executive Committee shall meet at such times as may be determined by the co-chairmen or by petition of a majority of the representation on the committee, from at least five Congressional Districts. Auxiliaries shall meet at such times as may be directed by their respective chief officers, executive committees, petitions of at least one-third of their affiliated units or members, or the co-chairmen or Executive Committee of the League, when those other persons or officers fail or refuse to act.

SECTION 3 - The membership shall be organized according to the several U. S. Congressional and State Senatorial Districts, statewide auxiliaries, as well as, various counties within the State of Georgia. At its discretion, the Executive committee of the League may establish and supervise between sessions of the parent body, activities of the following auxiliaries and provide such duties and responsibilities as may be determined by this committee: the Senate, comprising counties or areas of State Senatorial Districts; and a Youth Department, made up of youth, by counties and districts, not over age 21.

SECTION 4 - Each Congressional and Each Senatorial District shall be directed by its respective district co-directors and co-leaders; each county, as an auxiliary, shall be organized with a chairman, or co-chairman when practicable to have the latter, such other officers as may be needed, an executive committee and members, who meet the requirement of the state organization. Established civic and political organizations may serve as affiliated units to represent particular counties, so long as there is no contest registered with the co-chairmen, the Executive Committee or the League in session. Such contests shall be resolved by the Executive Committee, or the League in session.

SECTION 5 - Each county organization shall have the right to be represented in the state organization meetings with any part of their representatives for every one hundred (100) members or major fractions thereof.

ARTICLE VIII - QUORUM - A quorum for the regular meeting shall consist of not less than 50 (fifty) members, representing at least 5 (five) counties. A quorum for the Executive Committee, standing committees and any statewide auxiliary shall be one-third of their respective memberships or a majority of the representation from 3 (three) Congressional Districts of the state. A vote by a majority of members at which a quorum is present in any meeting shall be considered as valid action of the group so assembled.

ARTICLE IX - STANDING COMMITTEES - There shall be the following Standing Committees: Church Work, Business and Industry, Organizations, District Organizing, Program, Interview, Political Guidance, Legislative, Entertainment, Publicity, Patronage, Education, Voter-Registration and Finance. Each committee shall be composed of a chairman, named by the Co-Chairmen and approved by the Executive committee and 2 (two) representatives from each U. S. Congressional District. Respective districts shall have the power to select their representatives for each standing committee. The power of electing or appointing shall be vested in the respective U. S. Congressional Executive Committees: the actions of each standing committee are subject to the approval or disapproval of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X - REMOVAL FROM OFFICE - The executive committee shall have power to suspend or remove from office, any officer or member of malfeasance, for failure to perform the functions of his office, or for any other reason deemed justifiable by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI - DUES - Such membership dues shall be required as shall be prescribed in the by-laws of this Constitution or by vote of this parent body.

ARTICLE XII - AMENDMENTS - SECTION 1 - This Constitution may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the organization provided, that at least thirty days prior to said meeting, a written communication explaining the substance of such proposed amendment, shall have been circulated among the membership.

SECTION 2 - Affirmative votes, by two-thirds of the membership present in a duly constituted Annual Meeting, shall be required to amend this Constitution.

ARTICLE XIII - POLICY - Questions of policy shall be determined by the Executive Committee and no officers, committee members, nor individuals, shall have authority to make committments for the organization, except as specifically authorized by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XVI - BY - LAWS - By-Laws, not in conflict with this constitution may be adopted at any duly constituted meeting of the organization.

BY LAWS

ARTICLE I - FINANCES - SECTION 1 - Each county organization will be expected to contribute at least ten dollars ($10.00), once each year, toward the upkeep and promotion of the program of this organization. Individual members and voters shall be urged to make substantial personal donations to the treasury of the organization.

SECTION 2 - County organizations may set requirements for dues of members within their respective jurisdictions, consistent with the spirit of these provisions.

SECTION 3 - All funds of the organization shall be received in the name of the League by the secretary, receipt for which shall be issued by him, and turned over to the treasurer, who wall also receipt for same.

SECTION 4 - Funds shall be deposited immediately in a bank or trust company in the name of the Georgia Voters League, and shall be withdrawn only upon vouchers issued by the secretary, signed by president and shall be paid by check issued by the treasurer.

SECTION 5 - All expenditures shall be made upon approval and vote of the Executive Committee.

SECTION 6 - One or more officers of the League, who handle funds, shall be bonded at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE II DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1 - The Executive Committee shall conduct the affairs of the League in the interim of special or annual meetings, according to powers granted by the Constitution. It shall also have the power to appoint committees, conduct registration and election campaigns, canvass and endorse candidates for the League, promote a civic program, raise and disburse funds on behalf of the organization, establish offices and employ necessary personnel at its discretion.

SECTION 2 - The co-chairmen shall be the chief officers; they shall preside at all meetings of the League, and Executive Committee meetings and perform those functions customarily performed by such officers.

SECTION 3 - The co-vice-chairmen shall assist the co-chairmen in the performance of their duties and in their absence they shall, in turn assume the responsibilities of the office named.

SECTION 4 - Congressional District co-directors, Senatorial District leaders and chief officers of statewide auxiliaries shall be responsible for organizing and directing activities of their respective groups, within the various counties affiliated with the League and the jurisdictions, and regulations, as well as, supervision governing such activities shall be determined by the Executive Committee of the parent body.

SECTION 5 - The co-secretaries shall be the recording officers of the League and Executive Committee; they shall be responsible for records, keep the minutes of all meetings; they shall receive all funds, turn them over to the treasurer draw properly authorized vouchers to be signed by the president and perform such duties as are customary for such officers, or as directed by the League or the Executive Committee. With the co-assistant secretaries they may divide or distribute the duties assigned to them at their discretion.

SECTION 6 - The co-assistant secretaries shall assist the secretaries and perform such other duties as may be assigned to them.

SECTION 7 - The treasurer shall be the custodian of all funds of the League and shall issue proper receipts for same. He shall disburse funds of the organization only upon properly authorized vouchers, drawn by the secretaries and signed by a co-chairman.

SECTION 8 - The chaplain shall be responsible for all religious activities and phases of the League's program, and shall perform such duties as are customarily assigned to the office.

SECTION 9 - The Parliamentarian shall interpret the constitution, by laws and rules of order for the officers and Executive Committee when requested to do so.

SECTION 10 - The sergeant-at-arms shall be responsible for maintaining order at all meetings and shall assist the presiding officer in the enforcement of all rules, laws and regulations when requested to do so.

SECTION 11 - COMMITTEES - Standing and special committees shall have such duties and responsibilities as may be assigned by the Executive Committee or the appointing authority.

SECTION 12 - The county chairman, officers and executive committees thereof shall work under supervision of their respective district directors in carrying out the program and policies of the League. They shall hold such county meetings as may be deemed advisable.

ARTICLE III PROCEDURE

Robert's Rules of Order shall be used to determine all procedures not outlined in the Constitution and By-Laws.

ARTICLE IV AMENDMENTS

These By-Laws may be amended by majority vote at any regular or special meeting of the League, provided that the written notice of said meeting shall indicate that and amendment to the By-Laws is being proposed, and the substance of the proposed amendment is explained therein.

SUGGESTED COUNTIES TO BE CONTACTED

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

LIST OF GEORGIA COUNTIES BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

DISTRICT	COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT
II	Brooks	Quitman
	Colquitt	Moultrie
	Decatur	Bainbridge
	Daugherty	Albany
	Early	Blakely
	Grayd	Cairo
	Mitchell	Camilla
	Thomas	Thomasville
	Tift	Tifton
	Worth	Sylvester
III	Ben Hill	Fitzgerald
	Crisp	Cordele
	Dodge	Eastman
	Dooly	Vienna
	Houston	Perry
	Mason	Oglethorpe
	Marion	Buena Vista
	Muscogee	Columbus
	Peach	Ft. Valley
	Pulaski	Hawkinsville
	Randolph	Cuthbert
	Sumter	Americus
	Terrell	Dawson
IV	Butts	Jackson
	Carroll	Carrollton
	Heard	Franklin
	Lamar	Barnesville
	Meriweather	Greenville
	Pike	Zebulon
	Spaulding	Griffin
	Troup	La Grange
	Upson	Thomaston
V	Dekalb	Decatur
	Fulton	Atlanta
	Rockdale	Conyers
VI	Baldwin	Milledgeville
	Bibb	Macon
	Crawford	Knoxville
	Hancock	Sparta
	Jasper	Monticello
	Jefferson	Louisville
	Johnson	Wrightsville
	Jones	Gray
	Laurens	Dublin
	Putnam	Eatonton
	Washington	Sandersville
	Wilkinson	Irwinton
VII	Bartow	Cartersville
	Cobb	Marietta
	Floyd	Rome
	Gordon	Calhoun
	Polk	Cedartown
	Whitfield	Dalton
VIII	Atkinson	Pearson
	Berrien	Nashville
	Brantley	Na hunta
	Camden	Woodbine
	Clinch	Homerville
	Coffee	Douglas
	Cook	Adel
	Glynn	Brunswick
	Irwin	Ocilla
	Jeff Davis	Hazelhurst
	Lanier	Lakeland
	Lowndes	Valdosta
	Pierce	Blackshear
	Telfair	McRae
	Ware	Waycross
	Wayne	Jesup
IX	Gwinnett	Lawrenceville
	Hall	Gainesville
	Jackson	Jefferson
	Stephens	Toccoa
X	Clarke	Athens
	Greene	Greensboro
	Morgan	Madison
	Oglethorpe	Lexington
	Richmond	Augusta
	Taliaferro	Crowfordsville
	Walton	Monroe
	Wilkes	Washington

STATEWIDE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE .. GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE - SCLC
CITIZENSHIP - VOTER REGISTRATION - PROGRAM - 1964

I Preparations for Citizenship Clinics

A. Contacts to be made with county leaders by districts

1. Hosea Williams

a. First U. S. Congressional District
b. Second " " "
c. Eighth " " "

2. Vernon Mitchell - Third U. S. Congressional District

3. J. H. Calhoun

1. Fourth U. S. Congressional District
2. Fifth U. S. Congressional District-Jointly with Rev. F. C. Bennette
3. Seventh - U. S. Congressional District

4. Wm. P. Randall - Sixth U. S. Congressional District

5. Rev. Fred C. Bennette

1. Ninth - U. S. Congressional District
2. Tenth - U. S. Congressional District

B. Work to get coordinated county committees organized

1. To prepare for voter registration campaign and select leadership
2. Send adult and youth leaders to District Citizenship Clinics

II Citizenship Clinics February 29 - April 25, 1964

A. Dates and Places

Feb. 19	Dublin, Ga.	VI	District
29	Columbus	III	District
Mar. 7	Savannah	I	District
14	Greensboro	IX & X	Districts
21	Waycross	VIII	District
28	Moultrie	II	District
Apr. 4	Griffin	IV	District
Apr. 11	Cedartown	VII	District
Apr. 18	Atlanta	V	District
Apr. 25	Macon	VI	District - Semi-Annual Mtg.

B. 9:30 - Registration Program-Joint Sponsorship - Ga. Voters League-SRC -SCLC

9:45 1. Devotions - Memorial to the late John Wesley Dobbs

10:00 2. Organization

a. Introductions on behalf of each sponsoring organization
b. Adoption of Agenda
c. Appointment of respective committees

10:15 3. Voter Registration Clinic

a. Group Singing
b. Reports from Counties
c. Organization Procedures
(1) How to organize
(2) Financing local plans
(3) Preparing a voter registration campaign by counties

12:30 4. Recess for Lunch - Sandwiches and Coffee

1:00 5. Work Shops

a. Political Education
(1) Bread and meat objectives: lights, sewers, streets, schools, zoning, opposing loan sharks, etc.

(2) Roles of public officials: sheriff, county commissioner, judge, mayor, city council, legislators, etc.

2:00PM b. Canvassing
a. Role playing skit or film: "Knock on Every Door," etc.
b. Evaluation

2:30PM c. Public Relations
(1) Communication Media - Newspapers, radio, television, public service time, etc.

(2) Youth crusade
(3) Block Parties
(4) Church and school participation

2:45PM d. Citizenship Education

3:00 6. Recess

a. Adult - Coffee Break
b. Youth - "Pep Session," with Cokes

3:15 7. Joint Re-Assembly - Statewide Registration Committee

a. Minutes of last meeting
b. Reports from Committees
c. Election of officers
d. Other business
e. Adjournment

3:45 8. Meeting of the District - Georgia Voters League

a. Minutes of last meeting
b. Reports from Committees
c. Election of officers
d. Other Business
e. Adjournment

III Follow up contacts with counties

A. Coordinators, District Directors and Senatorial Leaders

1. Organization - County Precinct and block levels

2. Registration Campaigns

3. Reports

B. Citizenship Training

1. Three persons from each district each month to Dorchester Academy, Georgia or Penn Center, S. C.

2. Establishment of citizenship schools in every possible county.

WB

April 1, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: ATTENDANCE AT SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT MEETING
GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE - DUBLIN, GEORGIA

On Wednesday evening, February 19, 1964, I attended the above mentioned meeting at Saint Paul A.M.E. Church, Dublin. A program is attached.

Prior to attending the meeting, I did some preliminary research on the counties comprising the Sixth District. The results are included here for informational purposes.

COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	TOTAL VAP	N VAP	%N VAP	TOTAL REG	NEGRO REG	%N REG
Baldwin	Milledgeville	25,344	9,235	36.4	6,830	1,477	16.0
Bibb	Macon	87,241	26,812	30.7	46,720	NA	NA
Bleckley	Cochran	5,908	1,380	23.3	3,928	45	3.2
Crawford	Knoxville	3,207	1,611	50.2	1,580	280	17.4
Glascock	Gibson	1,632	351	21.5	1,284	1	0.03
Hancock	Sparta	5,303	3,576	67.4	2,262	853	23.8
Jasper	Monticello	3,630	1,705	47.0	2,697	653	38.3
Jefferson	Louisville	9,717	4,780	49.2	4,807	283	5.9
Johnson	Wrightsville	4,716	1,261	26.7	3,470	236	18.7
Jones	Gray	4,840	2,185	45.1	3,493	923	42.2
Laurens	Dublin	19,462	6,284	32.3	12,031	2,441	38.8
Monroe	Forsyth	6,259	2,652	42.4	3,938	738	27.8
Putnam	Eatonton	4,501	2,204	45.3	2,866	563	25.5
Twiggs	Jeffersonville	4,224	2,255	53.4	1,944	246	10.9
Washington	Sandersville	10,824	5,451	50.4	8,131	1,134	32.7
Wilkes	Irwinton	5,414	2,279	42.1	3,406	468	20.5
TOTAL		202,222	64,021	31.6	109,387	10,941	10.0

These counties are all located in the Black Belt in central Georgia. For the most part, the primary industry is agriculture, although in recent years, a number of light industrial sites have appeared. Macon (Bibb County), is the only city in the district, while there are a number of urban places. VEP has supported a registration drive in Bibb County.

There were over 200 people in attendance at this meeting. This seemed surprisingly good for a Wednesday evening affair, considering many of the attendees had to travel over 200 miles round trip. Representation came from Bibb, Jasper, Johnson, Jones, Laurens, Putnam, Twiggs, Washington, and Wilkes counties.

The highlight of the evening was a stirring address by Rev. Floyd Rose, who was a last minute substitute for the announced speaker. Rev. Rose is the youthful (about 25) pastor of the Elizabeth Avenue Church of Christ, Macon. He gave a forceful presentation of the plight of the Negro in achieving "his place in the sun" beginning with the arrival of the first slaves in the Seventeenth Century. He closed his emotion-packed remarks with an account of an act of intimidation by the Tax Collector (also Voter Registrar) in Jones County. According to Rev. Rose, a young man took his wife to register at the courthouse in Bray (county seat of Jones County). When he stated his mission, he was told that she would have to register in the adjoining county as her vote was "not wanted" in Jones County. When he reiterated his mission, indicating he was registered in Jones County, the Tax Collector shoved him and his wife toward the door. When they resisted, the husband was knocked to the floor and the wife was slapped forcibly, causing her to lose her balance also. At this point, the couple left. The recounting of this experience had a telling effect on the audience. As one watched their faces, it appeared that many of them were actually reliving this or similar experiences. This speech seemed to establish a tone for the meeting that was not lost throughout the evening.

The group then moved to a report from the represented counties on registration activities during the calendar year. Here again there was a sense of people really trying, at varying degrees of efficiency, to get a job done. One by one, the story repeated itself. There was pride in the job being done, with some expressing the feeling that their efforts were not really "paying off." I thought as I listened that it was tragic that there people had no one to really offer them any assistance. Here was a role that VEP could play, with adequate field staff. I do not maintain that staggering gains could be made quickly, because even in this group, there was an obvious need for political education. But this group had the will! If only there was some way, they could be provided with the knowledge of how to get the job done!

In closing, a local Laurens County citizen, H. H. Dudley, made a lengthy, but effective, exhortation, urging those interested and dedicated to voter registration to return to their respective communities and do more. I felt, as the meeting closed, that much of the fire of the meeting would

be drowned by the variety of obstacles these workers would encounter. Again, the idea occurred to me that professional assistance from someone who had an understanding of the problems to be solved would be of untold value to this group.

B. I. W.

Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Attachment: Agenda

SIXTH U. S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT MEETING OF THE GEORGIA VOTERS LEAGUE
DUBLIN, GEORGIA - FEBRUARY 19, 1964 - SUGGESTED AGENDA

1. 6:00 P. M. - Registration
2. 6:15 P. M. - Devotions - Memorial to the late Grand Master
   John Wesley Dobbs
   Freedom Song
   Scripture
   Prayer
   Freedom Song
   Remarks on the Life of John Wesley Dobbs
3. 6:30 P. M. - Remarks - Rev. J. L. Key, District Director, Presiding
   Wm. P. Randall, Coordinator - Purpose of Meeting
   Explanation of Constitutional Changes, including duties of officers and committees, J. H. Calhoun Co-Chairman, Georgia Voters League

4. 6:45 P. M. - Adoption of Agenda
   Report on attendance from counties
   Appointment of Committees
   Resolutions and Issues
   Time and Place (For next meeting)
   Nominating
   (Others)
   Address - (Rev.) V. J. Malone, Pastor, 1st Baptist Church, Macon, Georgia
7. 7:30 P. M. - Completion of Questionaires on Organization and Registration
8. 7:40 P. M. - Adult Assembly
   Reports from Counties
   Discussion of Voter Registration
   Youth Assembly
   "Pep Session"
   Discussion - Youth Political Action
   Naming of District Youth Officers

9. 8:30 P. M. - Recess
10. 9:00 P. M. - Joint Reassembly - Youth and Adults
   Discussion of 10-point Civil Rights Program
   Recommendations on Civil Rights

11. 9:30 P. M. - Youth Report
   Reports of Committees - Time and Place
   Resolutions
   Nominating
   (Others, if any)

Election of Officers and Committee Members from District:

Co-Directors _____ _____
Co-Asst. Directors _____ _____
Secretary _____ Asst. Secy _____
Treasurer _____ Chaplain _____
Sgt. at Arms _____ Parliamentarian _____
Youth Advisors _____ _____
Co-Senatorial Dis-)(_____)(_____
trict Leaders)(_____)(_____

Committees - Two Persons for each Committee

Church Work _____ _____
Business and Industry _____ _____
Organizations _____ _____
District Organizing _____ _____
Program _____ _____
Interview _____ _____
Political Guidance _____ _____
Legislative _____ _____
Entertainment _____ _____
Publicity _____ _____
Patronage _____ _____
Education _____ _____
Voter-Registration _____ _____
Finance _____ _____

14. Announcements
15. Other Business
16. Adjournment - "We Shall Overcome" - Benediction

Registration Get-Out-Vote Meets Slated

Atl. World
2-15-64

Statewide activities for the 1964 General Election year are taking definite form as the Statewide Registration Committee, sponsored by S. C. L. C., the Georgia Voters League and the Voter Education Project, as well as, countless local regional and county organizations begin first voter-registration and later get-out-the vote campaigns. Beginning Wednesday, February 19 at 6 p. m. in the St. Paul A. M. E. Church, Dublin, Georgia, with the 6th District Meeting of the Georgia Voters League, each weekend will be taken up with political action in various parts of the state by those organizations mentioned and other groups.

Among them is a coordinated meeting of the executive committee of the Statewide Registration Committee and the Georgia Voters League at the Americana Motel, 160 Spring St., Atlanta, Saturday, Feb. 22 at 1:00 p. m. Staff and field workers of S. C. L. C. and V. E. P. will be observers at these sessions, presided over by J. H. Calhoun, Atlanta, chairman of the Statewide Registration Committee, S. C. L. C. Voter-Registration Georgia Director and co-chairman of the Georgia Voters League, together with William P. Randall, the other co-chairman of the League. Rev. Andrew Young, S. C. L. C.'s voter-registration and citizenship school director, will participate in the meeting to outline the proposed activities.

Coordinated district citizenship training clinics are proposed as follows: Saturday, February 29, 3rd District, Columbus; March 7, 1st District, Savannah; March 14, 9th

(Continued On Page 8, Col. 2)

Registration

(Continued from Page One)

and 10th District, Greensboro; March 21, 8th District, Waycross; March 28, 2nd District, Albany; April 4, 4th District, Griffin, April 11, 7th District, Cedartown; April 18, 5th District, Atlanta and April 25, 6th District, Macon. The last named meeting is now planned for the usual statewide semi-annual meetings of the Statewide Registration Committee and Georgia Voters League.

Hosea Williams, chairman of the Chatham County and Southeast Crusades for Voters, Slater King, president of the Albany Movement, Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Atlanta, S. C. L. C. Field Secretary, Messrs Randall and Calhoun are coordinators of the series of meetings, with local district chairmen as directors.

April 29, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Weldon J. Rougeau

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: PROPOSED FIELD TRIP TO NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte, North Carolina:

Phase I of voter registration campaign (9/63-11/63), yielded 5236 new registrants. Dr. Reginal Hawkins, a local dentist, is chairman of the Non-Partisan Voter Registration Coordinating Committee. (Refer to article in VEP Newsletter.) The office is located at 1218 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte, telephone, ED 2-7737.

There was a purge of registrants in January because individuals moved about the county without notifying the Board of Elections. Hawkins filed a complaint re this with the Justice Department. Whether as a direct result of this or not, 5,186 registrants were restored to the rolls between 2/1/64 and 3/6/64.

Phase II of the campaign got started in March. The reporting follows:

3/9-3/25	398
3/25-4/11	625
4/11-4/18	546
4/18-4/27	1468

Night registration was started on April 6 to run for three weeks. About the same time (according to a press release), provision was made for all prospective registrants to show that they can write as well as read sections from the North Carolina constitution. Dr. Hawkins, in a letter on 4/13, interpreted this as "another stratagem of administrative obstacles."

As you can see, the total number of new registrants as released by the Elections Board varies from the reports from Dr. Hawkins. Including those restored after the purge, he indicates 8,223 registrants have been added since 2/1. You might check with the registrar to determine the exact number of new registrants, by race, since January 1. Apparently, Dr. Hawkins has major responsibility for the conduct of the registration campaign. Miss Thera Garvin is the

office secretary. I am enclosing the names of the members of the Steering Committee of the organization:

Dr. R. P. Perry	Mr. Walter Alexander
Mrs. Sadie Griggs	Rev. Ezra Moore
Mr. James Maxwell	Mrs. Evelyn McMullen
Atty. T. H. Wyche	Mrs. Emmanuel Ross
Mr. James Polk	Rev. P. O. Davis
Mr. Eugene Potts	Mrs. Berrell Jordan
Mr. Raymond Mason	Mr. Keely Alexander*
Mr. Charlton Marrow	Mr. John Helton
Mrs. Naomi Drennan	Mrs. Calvene Ross
Dr. R. A. Hawkins	Dr. Roy Wynn

*State President

Incidentally, Rev. James A. Wertz is a candidate for the School Board, and Rev. Paul E. Davis, for County Commissioner. There was a possibility that someone would file for the State House of Representatives prior to April 17.

Durham, North Carolina:

The Durham Committee on Negro Affairs (DCNA) received one of the first VEP grants in 1962. When their campaign ended the entire amount of the grant was not spent. Recently, we received a letter from John Edwards (NAACP person assigned to voter registration in North Carolina), that he was working cooperatively with DCNA. Enclosed is a letter from Mr. Boulware re this coordinated activity. Although I have requested regular reports, we have received nothing since this letter. The address we have for Mr. Boulware is:

405 Lawson Street
Durham, North Carolina

and for Mr. Edwards:

203½ East Chapel Street
c/o Atty. C. O. Pearson
Durham, North Carolina

Halifax Voter Project:

New grant for program already in progress and scheduled to run through May 30. Mr. A. Reed Johnson is director of the Halifax Voter Movement. The address is P. O. Box 626, Enfield, North Carolina. A. C. Cofield, an active participant in the Halifax Movement from Weldon, North Carolina, is an announced write-in candidate for the U. S. Congress from the Second Congressional District. This is traditionally NAACP territory, but Mr. Johnson in a letter to WAB on March 27, indicated the group was becoming "increasingly disillusioned with the state NAACP" and decided to develop as an independent organization. John Salter and Ella Baker of SCEF have been active in the area and are supposedly managing Mrs Cofield's campaign.

Enfield has been the scene of bitter demonstrations and police brutality.

Warren County Voter Education Project:

Mrs. Eva M. Clayton, Chairman, P. O. Box 612, Warrenton, North Carolina.

New grant for month of May. Warren County is northwest of Halifax County. Mrs. Clayton's husband, Atty. T. T. Clayton, is running for the state House of Representatives.

SCLC coordinated activity in eleven (11) eastern North Carolina counties (as nearly as we can determine, Northampton, Bates, Hertford, Bertie, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Washington, Tyrrell, Beaufort, Chowan, and Martin.) Golden Frinks, SCLC Field Secretary, 122 W. Peterson, Edenton, North Carolina.

Registration books are open for ten (10) days prior to each election. The next registration period begins on May 2 and ends May 16. These counties are all in the Black Belt east of the Warren and Halifax counties.

Barbara I. Whitaker

BIW:js

File with field reports

WB
RTB
JD
JS

May 28, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: Attendance at Citizenship Commission, American Teachers Assn., Hilton Inn, New Orleans, Louisiana - May 9, 1964

The American Teachers Association recently convened the initial meeting of its Citizenship Commission. This was the last in the establishment of various commissions, the others being Teacher Competency, Programmed Learning, and Textbook Representation. Consultants were: Edward Brice, U. S. Department of Education, Washington; Dr. Walter Murray, Director of Student Teaching, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. Lawrence Davis, President, AM & N College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Edward Bashqin, Dean, New Orleans Division, Southern University; Daniel Byrd, Legal Defense Fund, NAACP, New Orleans; Augustus A. Adair, Assistant Director, Institute for Political Education, Morgan State College, Baltimore; Barbara Whitaker, VEP.

J. Rupert Picott, Richmond, Virginia, President of ATA, presided. He set the tone for the meeting by indicating that ATA was concerned about the role of teachers in promoting citizenship education and in being good citizens themselves. Some twenty-five representatives from Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas were invited to discuss means of involving teachers in the struggle for first-class citizenship. Norman Dixon, Assistant Professor, Southern University, was appointed chairman. The conference addressed itself principally to the development of materials to be used in citizenship education. The preliminary remarks of each of the consultants were taped to be edited and distributed to teachers as they request information. Of particular interest were the remarks of Dr. Brice, who spoke of the funds available through the Department of Education for financing adult education programs. Very few requests for grants have been made, and he encouraged the ATA to structure programs requesting grants. Perhaps the highlight of the meeting was the discussion by its Assistant Director, Augustus Adair, of the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College. This is a Ford Foundation financed project in "practical politics." Its aims are to develop among students, an awareness and knowledge of practical politics, ability to analyze public issues, and willingness to undertake citizen-leadership in public affairs. The Institute's program is described in detail in the documents attached. The course outlines attached might be worthy of our consideration for possible projects in voter education. The Institute has produced a film entitled Politics is Our Business which

might be deserving of screening. (This is the film which Rev. Young mentioned on 5/22) when the SCLC film, Right Now, was reviewed).

Dan Byrd, Southern Director, Educational and Legal Defense Fund, New Orleans, was also a consultant at this meeting. He raised some questions with me about the activities of CORE field workers in Louisiana. He knew of the grant which CORE had received recently and indicated that he felt they were doing as much in the area of stimulating voter registration as they were in planning for direct action during the summer. He was critical of some of CORE's techniques, i.e., going into a community, getting people involved in direct action, and then having to call upon local people to "bail them out" of difficulty. He indicated that he felt the most desirable method was to consult with "established leadership" pryor to conducting any kind of campaign, whether voter registration or direct action.

I was assigned to the small working group on preparation of a pamphlet tentatively entitled "Guide to Full Citizenship Participation." A tentative outline of the contents was prepared, which, like all the other proposals, will be presented to the ATA membership for approval at the annual meeting here in Atlanta, July 26-28, 1964. Such topics as:

1. Difference Between Freedom and Democracy
2. Responsibilities of Citizenship - Economic, Social, and Political
3. The Teacher as a Citizen
4. Understanding the Elective Process
5. The Legislature at Work
6. Duties and Responsibilities of Public Officials
7. Meanings of Citizenship Education
8. Voter Registration
9. Positive Results of Citizen Participation

were suggested, not necessarily in the order listed here.

This appeared to be an interested group of persons who were genuinely concerned about asserting themselves in an area of great need. There is a plan for a second meeting of this original group, including the consultants, to be held during the annual meeting in July.

Attachments:

Institute for Political Education:
Brochure
Program Report
1st and 2nd Semester Schedules
News Releases re meeting of Citizenship Commission

BIW:js

Barbara I. Whitaker
B.I.W.

INSTITUTE for POLITICAL EDUCATION

- What It Is
- Its Objectives
- Its Program

MORGAN STATE COLL
BALTIMORE 12, MA

AWAI

Institute for Political Education: What It Is

The Institute for Political Education is a project in political education conducted at Morgan State College since 1959. The project is extra-curricular and is dedicated to developing in the student community an awareness and a knowledge of politics as it is practiced, the ability to analyze public issues, and a willingness to undertake citizen-leadership in public affairs.

This is all pointed to the expectation that, as "citizen-politicians," Morgan State graduates will use politics and government for the public good—for the betterment of their home communities, their state and the nation. This has long been an objective of the College.

Multi-Faceted Program

The political education program is multi-faceted. Its on-campus core is a weekly, two-hour workshop-seminar devoted to pre-announced lectures and discussions, to demonstrations and films, to examination of current political issues, and to making plans for the several special projects and field activities. In addition to the weekly session, all students enrolled must take two credit courses in American government, including "Political Parties."

Outreach to Campus

Each school year fifteen "Political Education Scholars" are named by the Institute to serve as student assistants—to involve themselves in the total program and become its ambassadors to the larger student body. They are chosen for their interest in public affairs, their general scholarship, their reputation for diligence and reliability, and their promise—regardless of their majors.

The campus-wide programs have included, at appropriate periods, a Mock Presidential Nominating Convention, a Mock State Legislature, and field trips to national and state legislatures and to party headquarters. Practising politicians—those in office, those seeking office, and those who are only relentless party workers—are frequently presented, both to small discussion groups and to the student body at large.

Special Projects

Special projects are also arranged to remind students of their responsibilities as citizens when they reach their 21st birthday; to serve the needs of alumni and other non-campus groups which can profit from the program of the Institute, and to train campaign managers for student elections.

The Institute has also had produced *Politics is Our Business*, a film portraying citizen politics in urban America and intended to fill certain gaps in previously produced films. *Politics is Our Business* is non-sectional and non-partisan. It may be interesting to note that three prints of the film have been purchased by the U. S. Information

Agency for circulation overseas.* Among the other educational aids of the Institute are a voting machine, political maps, tape recorders, television and radio—all used for creating political awareness, political intelligence and expertness in real political situations.

In addition to the on-campus program, the Institute is currently also able to offer certain opportunities to faculty members and students from other colleges.

Partly Supported by Foundation

The present emphasis on political education has been made possible, since 1959, by substantial grants from the Ford Foundation—$103,000 for the first four years, and $175,000 for the years 1963-67. Gifts of needed scholarships and some equipment have been made by alumni of the College and other citizens. The College contributes some $12,000 per year, largely in supplies and services.

The Ford Foundation, as is its practice, is not responsible for the operation of the program, and the College is completely free to follow its own best light. This freedom also means that the program is not the servant of any political party or candidate, but is ready to work with any party or candidate in a position to provide a useful learning experience to students.

*Politics is Our Business (16 mm, color, 26 minutes) may be ordered from Samuel L. Schulman Productions, Inc., 23 Livingston Street, Trenton, New Jersey. Price: $150 per print.

The Ford Foundation provides only partial support for the interneships (see 2 and 3 following). This means that the Institute for Political Education must raise matching funds to make these kinds of unusual experience possible. For each summer interneship, $150 must be raised outside of Foundation funds. Individuals, the Morgan State College Alumni Association, Greek-letter fraternities and sororities, corporations and service organizations are invited to become contributors of scholarships. Each such scholarship will be identified by the name of the donor.

Roster of Programs

A roster of the several current programs at Morgan State College is as follows:

1. *The Weekly Seminar-workshop* for Political Education Scholars, described earlier.

2. *The Summer Interneships* annually send five or more students to spend their summer in Washington, in the offices of Congressmen or of officials in the executive branch.

3. *The Parttime Interneships* permit five students, during the school year, to work in the offices of government officials and of such pressure group organizations as the League of Women Voters and the Committee on Political Education (AFL-CIO).

4. *The Visiting Undergraduate Scholarships* are available to five sophomores or juniors from other colleges each school year. These visitors become part of the Institute's program while con-

tinuing their regular studies at Morgan. Each visiting student is committed to return to his parent college.

5. *The Politician-in-Residence* brings to the college each year, for about three days, an outstanding local or national figure in politics. Such a person affords our students the benefit of his experiences through a series of formal and informal meetings and conferences, and by his just being available to answer students' questions.

6. *One-Day and Six-Week Workshops* are arranged for alumni, civic, labor and professional groups several times during a school year. The One-Day method is to use 3-part units of film-lecture-discussion, in an effort to answer some specific needs of a group or to approximate a much longer session. The *Six-Week* workshops are similarly structured but provide wider and deeper treatment. During the Morgan College summer school, a weekly film-discussion is conducted, entitled "Politics and Iced Tea."

7. *The Evening College Scholarships* permit twenty adults interested in politics to attend a semester course (tuition-free) in "Political Parties", with emphasis on the behavior of politicians and political organizations. This course is open to anyone who may profit from enrolling, on a non-credit basis; it may also be taken for credit.

8. *The Faculty Colloquium* invites ten teachers of political science, and related subjects, from other institutions, to spend an expense-free week at Morgan, together with experts—academic and practical—in the several fields of politics and government.

9. *The Conference for High School Teachers of Civics* provides for an annual conference of high school teachers of civics, jointly sponsored by the Morgan Department of Education and the Institute. This conference, patterned largely after the one-day workshop, is planned to attract wider personal participation by the attending teachers.

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EVALUATION

A continuous evaluation was made of the first four years of the political education project, in order to ascertain the extent to which this program has made an impact on the student body—how the students have become more, or less, aware of political processes, political issues, and political personalities.

This evaluation has been conducted by Dr. Mae P. Claytor, professor of psychology. The findings of this evaluation may, in the future, very well influence the status of political education projects and citizenship education as part of a college program.

Dr. Claytor has operated independently of the director of the Institute for Political Education, for the most part, in order to allow her the fullest freedom in making her findings.

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ADVISORY COMMITTEES

The Institute is privileged to have the services of a Citizens Advisory Committee and a Faculty Advisory Committee. (See next page).

1M 2-15-64

CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

[illegible]

Hon. E. Everett Bane

Mrs. W. Newton Long, Jr.

Mr. Louis F. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Arthur J. [illegible]

[illegible] Sondheim, Jr.

[illegible] Martin D. Jenkins

[illegible] G. Johnson — *Convenor*

FACULTY AD[illegible] COMMITTEE

Arthur I. [illegible]
Director, Audio-Visual Laboratory

Robert B. Colliga[illegible]
[illegible]istant Professor of Science Education

[illegible]ssie Colson
[illegible]tant Professor of Business Education

[illegible]ard I. McKinney
Head, Department of Philosophy

Dr. Benjamin A. Quarles
Head, Department of History and Political Science

W. E. [illegible]
[illegible]istant Professor of Philosophy

Dr. W[illegible]
Prof[illegible], English

Alphonso C. Warrington
[illegible]ociate Professor of Biology

[illegible]ger K. Williams
Head, Department of Psychology

[illegible] DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE

Dr. G. James Fleming
Professor of Political Science

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE

Augustus A. Adair
Assistant Professor of Political Science

Atl. Dail., 5-15-64

PRINCIPALS IN CITIZENSHIP WORKSHOP SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSN., AND HELD IN NEW ORLEANS—L to R (Seated:—C. J. Duckworth, principal of Nichols High School, Biloxi, Mississippi, ATA President-Elect; Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, Research Director, Voter Education Project, Atlanta; Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Virginia Teachers Association Executive Secretary and ATA President, Richmond; Dr. J. T. Brooks, ATA Executive Secretary, Atlanta.

1st Row, Standing: Daniel Byrd, Southern Area Director, Educational and Legal Defense Fund, New Orleans; Dr. Augustus A. Adair, Assistant Director, Institute for Political Educcation, Morgan State College, Baltimore; Dr. E. W. Bashful, Dean, New Orleans Division of Southern University; Dr. Lawrence Davis, President, Arkansas AM&N State College, Pine Bluff.

2nd Row Standing: Dr. Walter I. Murray, Professor, Brooklyn (N.Y.) College; Dr. Norman R. Dixon, Assistant Professor, Southern University and Conference Chairman; Dr. Edward W. Price, Director, Adult Education Division, U. S. Department of Education. Washington.

American Teachers Association To Launch Citizenship Project

Ala. Sly. 5-17-64

A group of thirty teachers and school administrators agreed that there is a great lack of understanding of the basic principles of constitutional government and of citizenship in a democracy among both adult citizens and the younger generation who will be responsible for the future of the country.

This was the finding of a one-day conference sponsored by the American Teachers Association headed by Dr. J. Rupert Picott, of Richmond, Virginia and held in the Hilton Inn at New Orleans, with Dr. Norman R. Dixon, of

(Continued on Page Two)

American Teachers

(Continued from Page One)

Southern University, as chairman.

Out of the formal presentations and the group discussions came a proposal for the American Teachers Association to develop a project, possibly with a federal assistance, whose major objectives would include efforts (1) to stimulate among Americans an understanding of the processes and problems of government in a free society; (2) to inspire more active interest and participation in government; and (3) to advance the science of government and citizenship to meet more effedtively the problems confronting the United States and Western Civilization.

TO PRINT BOOK

More immediate goals set as a result of the workshop include the printing of a booklet or compendium which would deal with several aspects of the problem and which might include some such topics as "The Teacher's Role as a Citizen", 'Negroes Currently Holding Public Office", and "Citizenship in Action"; the organizing of regional workshops or conferences on citizenship; an issue of the ATA Bulletin devoted to the subject; and the development of other materials for wide-spread use by teachers and the lay public.

Participating as consultants were Dr. Augustus A. Adair, asistant director of the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College, Baltimore; Dr. E. W. Bashful, dean of the New Orleans Branch of Southern University; Dr. Edward W. Brice, adult education specialist, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.; Daniel Byrd, southern area director; Dr. Lawrence Davis, president, Arkansas AM and N. College, Pine Bluff; Dr. J. K. Haynes, executive secretary, Louisiana Education Association; Dr. Walter Murray, professor, Brooklyn College; and Mrs. Barbara Whittaker, research director, Voter Education, Atlanta.

Others in attendance included L. S. Alexander, Jackson, Mississippi; C. O. Bradley, Victoria, Texas; Dr. J. T. Brooks, ATA Executive Secretary; Mrs. Thelma Y. Brown, Houston, Texas; Harold E. Cade, Victoria, Texas; Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt Catchings, Jackson, Mississippi; C. J. Duckworth, ATA president - Elect, Biloxi, Mississippi; Cleveland Farlough, Reserve, Louisiana; H. L. Gaines, Austin, Texas; Mrs. Celestine Curtis Graves, ATA state director for Louisiana, New Orleans; Theodore R. Greene, Denham Springs, Texas; Mrs. Anna B. Henry, New Orleans; Henry Holding, Jackson, Mississippi; Alphonse Jackson, Jr., Shreveport, Louisiana; Miss Clymathes King, ATA executive board member, Jackson, Mississippi; M. E. Lyons, Lufkin, Texas; LeRoy Raife, Vo-

cational College, Itta Bena, Miss.

JS ✓
BW
WB ✓
RTB ✓
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JUN 2 - 1964

June 1, 1964

Mr. W. A. Branton, Project Director
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This letter is to give you the monthly report of the registration days during the month of May.

In the month of May, the registration office was opened only two days, May 11 and May 12. During these two days, we were able to register 29 persons. On Monday, May 11, we registered 11 persons; and on Tuesday, May 12 we registered 18 persons.

At the present time, we are preparing for the big June registration period. It is our plan to register at least 200 people during the registration periods in June. We have held meetings in which we have appointed block workers to work in certain areas. These bleck workers will be responsible for registering a certain number or as many persons as he or she can in their appointed area. We have also made sample applications for registration.

We sincerely hope that June will be a big month for the Voter Project.

Yours Very truly

MADISON COUNTY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

R. C. Adams

R. C. Adams, Coordinator

RCA:JW

VEP 4-21

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

January 25, 1962

Mr. George Barrett
Attorney at Law
216 Third Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear George:

It was very good to have a chance to visit with you at some length over some of the problems we face on federal registration in the South. I certainly feel you have a sensible grasp of a complicated situation.

I hope to have a long chat with Roy when he returns from his Eastern trip about it and I just want to alert you to the fact that this date in April looks pretty good for the Nashville meeting which would be Monday the 23rd, although, as you say, maybe we probably do need some sort of preliminary understanding and meeting in Atlanta earlier.

I trust you will keep me posted and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Dodds

Bill Dodds, Assistant Director
Citizenship Department

bd:sbw
oeiu-42

February 8, 1962

Mr. Bill Dodds, Assistant Director
Citizenship Department
Solidarity House
800 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Bill:

In regards to our phone conversation of today, I am enclosing the press release.

If you have any questions, please call or write me. I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

The office of the voters educational project is Room 206, No. 5, Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE E. BARRETT

GEB:fs

TOUR STAR
UNION SMIN
CONTINUATE COLLEGE
SAVE COTTON FOR

Ark. Gaz
2-4-65

Rights Hearing Set at Jackson

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Civil Rights Commission said Wednesday that starting Feburary 16 it will devote a full week to public hearings in Jackson, Miss., into allegations that Negroes have been denied voting rights and have been discrimintted against in administration fo justice.

The hearings will follow several days of executive sessions by the Commission at which persons who may be defamed or degraded by testimony to be given at the later public sessions may appear.

These sessions, starting February 10, will be closed to the press and public. They are to be held in the federal Courthouse in Jackson.

The public hearings will be in the auditorium at the Veterans Administration Center.

Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman of the Commission, will preside at the hearings at which all members of the Commission are expected.

The Commission will devote two days to the question of voting rights for Negroes and two days to hearing allegations that Negroes have been denied equal protection of the law in the administration of justice.

The session on February 20 is to be devoted to panels on civil rights problems and progress in Mississippi.

A Commission spokesman said numerous persons had asked to be heard.

U.S. Comm. on Civ. Rts.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

February 12, 1965

Mr. William Taylor
General Counsel
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
c/o Admiral Benbow Inn
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are six copies of the report which was prepared by us for the Commission for your current hearings.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js
encls.

DESCRIPTION OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI BETWEEN APRIL 1, 1962 AND NOVEMBER 1, 1963 AS PREPARED FOR THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

To the Chairman and Members of the United States Commission on Civil Rights

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council was organized April 1, 1962, as a research effort designed to develop additional programs which would be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register in the southern states. One activity of the project has been to financially support other agencies in their respective non-partisan voter registration programs. Mississippi was included in the original eleven southern state area under study by the Voter Education Project.

In May, 1962, preliminary grants were made to the Congress of Racial Equality in support of voter registration activities in the city of Jackson, Mississippi; to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for work in the city of Jackson, Marshall County, Hattiesburg, and the third and fourth congressional districts of Mississippi; and to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for work in Jackson, Mississippi. These programs were conducted on a 90-day crash program basis during a period when similar programs were being conducted in other southern states by the same agencies and others. The Mississippi programs were confronted with serious opposition from the very beginning, as many registration workers were subjected to arrest and intimidation by local police officers,

county sheriffs, and state troopers, and suffered intimidation from local white residents who were known to be active in the White Citizens Council. The quantitative results of the work in Mississippi, as reflected by actual registration, were lower during this period than in any other state, and this condition of low results remained for as long as the Voter Education Project was conducting programs in Mississippi.

The rather large number of arrests of voter registration workers brought pleas for assistance to the Director of the Voter Education Project, who happened also to be a lawyer. The Director went to Mississippi in August, 1962, and spent several days in an effort to obtain the release of voter registration workers who were then confined in jail in several Mississippi towns, and also represented many of them in court.

Following the meeting of registration workers in Clarksdale, Mississippi, in August, 1962, a car carrying six registration workers was stopped by local police, and all of the passengers were taken to the city jail and locked up without any charges being filed, and without being permitted to make bond until the next day, when each of them was charged with loitering, even though they were in a moving automobile, and en route out of the city on their return home. Charges of "vagrancy," "loitering," and "disturbing the peace" became commonplace where registration workers were concerned. Several registration workers were arrested on a charge of "distributing

without a permit," when they were found handing out leaflets advertising registration meetings.

One municipal judge in a Mississippi delta town warned a young registration worker, brought before him on a charge of "distributing literature without a permit," that if caught doing registration work again in that town, he would be sent to the county juvenile farm. This court, a week or so later, was to try companions of the youngster on the same charge. One of the defendents, director of voter registration work in the area, showed up at the appointed hour, but felt that the white mob which had gathered for the trial made it unsafe for him to appear to receive his modicum of justice. The other defendants arrived with their lawyer, but when he saw the mob which had assembled, the lawyer judged it expedient to plead his clients guilty. This occurred in Indianola.

These incidents are typical of the reaction of the dominant whites to Negro registration efforts in many areas of hard-core states. Statutes and local ordinances, innocuous on their face, are regularly and systematically used to impose what amounts to political criminality on Negroes seeking to exercise the franchise.

The technically simple process of making bail for registration workers charged with violations of local ordinances becomes a study in the delaying tactics by which constitutional guarantees can be scorned. State statutes governing voter registration, especially

literacy tests, are specifically designed to make registration difficult, and are in many cases administered in flagrantly discriminatory fashion. Daily newspapers in these areas have leveled charges of "communist conspiracy" against the Voter Education Project's programs. In one industrial city, organized labor will have nothing to do with voter registration programs because of fear of the "red" tag. Negroes have lost their jobs because whites suspected that they were working in voter registration. Negro churches have been deprived of tax exemption because they were used for voter registration meetings. Rural Negro churches have burned to the ground after having been used on several occasions for registration meetings, and arsonists have unsuccessfully attacked others.

The Greenwood project was in many ways considered to be one of the most successful of the Voter Education Project supported programs. This project was conducted by the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, which is composed of individuals affiliated with NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and local civic organizations.

As interest in registration began to increase, the distribution of surplus commodities was suspended by Leflore County Welfare officials. COFO workers found a connection between the registration efforts and suspension of food. They sought and secured the cooperation of various persons and groups throughout the country in raising

money, food, clothing, and medicine, particularly for the people of Leflore, but for those of the other counties as well. A number of persons were deprived of their customary source of income because of registration activity, and when they found that the COFO workers were in a position to relieve the worst of their distress through distribution of food, clothing, etc., the bonds between the COFO workers and the local citizens were firmly cemented. The importance of COFO being able to supply, in part, the necessities of life to the people who had been recruited into the registration activity, can hardly be over-emphasized. The aid being given through COFO was worked into the registration framework very effectively and actually became an integral part of the whole program.

By late February, 1963, it became apparent to the Voter Education Project staff that all of our delta registration efforts should be concentrated in one county at a time, and Leflore County presented a real challenge for such an effort. This idea was presented to Bob Moses and the other COFO workers. On February 28, Voter Education Project field director Randolph Blackwell went to Mississippi on a routine field trip and visited Greenville and Greenwood while accompanied by Bob Moses and James Travis, the latter being a young SNCC worker. As the three left Greenwood late at night, they headed west on U. S. Highway No. 82 bound for Greenville with Travis at the wheel of the car. A few miles out from town, a car occupied by three

pulled alongside; there was a burst of what seemed like machinegun fire from the other vehicle, and young Travis was hit in the neck and shoulder by .45 caliber bullets. The three white men were later apprehended and two were bound over to the Leflore County Grand Jury on a charge of "felonious assault"; the third man being turned over to the Juvenile Court as a "minor." The Grand Jury subsequently returned an indictment against the two men charging them with "assault and battery," obviously a much lesser crime than the facts seemed to warrant. The case had never come to trial by 1964, and the charges were then dismissed by the new prosecuting attorney, who happened to be the resident agent of the FBI at the time of the attack on the registration workers. Travis apparently made a good recovery.

The news of this attempted assassination was a matter of national concern in a matter of hours. Within the next twelve hours of the shooting, Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project, had consulted by phone with all of the major participating agencies and suggested a highly concentrated registration campaign in Leflore County. All of the agencies pledged their cooperation, and the Voter Education Project made a public announcement of the stepped-up campaign. Telegrams were sent to Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Governor Ross Barnett advising them of the registration effort and seeking protection for those active in such a campaign. Some twenty-odd SNCC field workers participating in the COFO project were

immediately concentrated in Greenwood, NAACP sent in Amzie Moore and hired five special workers from the Greenwood NAACP Youth Chapter, CORE sent in David Dennis, and SCLC sent in James Bevel and Annell Ponder. All of the agencies awaited instructions from the Voter Education Project on when to send in additional workers or other help; however, an unexpected swell of local volunteers eliminated any necessity for outside workers to be sent in.

By mid-March, Negro applicants were forming long lines at the registrar's office trying to register. But as interest in registration increased, so also did the acts of violence and intimidation against those active in registration. The COFO office was burned by unknown parties, other fires of mysterious origin hit the Negro community, homes were fired into and voter registration workers were shot at. When a large group of concerned people, led by James Forman, Executive Director of SNCC, and Bob Moses went to City Hall to ask the mayor and police officials about protection from such violence, they were turned back with the aid of a "police dog" and the officials refused to talk with them. The leaders of the group informed police that they would proceed to the nearby courthouse to register some of the group. Two of the registration workers were taken into custody then the police arrested eight others after the gropp had returned to the church where they had been meeting. With all of the leaders of the registration movement in jail, the local Negro citizens felt that they should walk to the courthouse to

register and in protest of the action of Greenwood officials. Special deputies and police from nearby towns wese called in, the local civil defense units (all white) were put on "active duty" and the town took on the air of a major disaster area. As fast as groups of more than four or five Negroes would form, regardless of their purpose, police would order them to disperse and arsested them when they failed to do so. At the same time, whites were permitted to roam the streets in large numbers at will. A decision was made to stop the walking effort and to send applicants down in cars. The registrar's office closes down for lunch around 11:30 a. m., and does not re-open until after 1 p. m. When the office closed for lunch one day, there were far more Negroes waiting to be registered than they had cars to take them all back to their church during the lunch period. The older ones were placed in the few available cars, and the remainder of the group started walking in pairs, led by the Rev. Donald L. Tucker, a young paster of an African Methodist Episcopal Church. A police carepulled up suddenly, four officers jumped out with a police dog, and without further warning, the dog was permitted to attack and bite the young minister. This act aroused all of the Negro community, and awakened the local Negro ministry to their responsibilities. Where previously it had been difficult to get a church to hold a mass meeting, most of the Negro churches opened their doors for nightly mass meetings which brought packed houses. Several prominent people went to Greenwood and made speeches, and every day saw more and more Negroes going to the court-

house to register.

Record keeping suffered greatly during those tension filled days and it is next to impossible to get information from the local registrar. However, we have actual names of 513 persons who applied for registration in Greenwood between February 26 and April 30, and the actual number would seem even higher. We have no way of determining at this date just how many of these applications were approved. Under Mississippi law, every voter applicant must have his name and address run in the local paper for two weeks before he can complete his application. Considering the known risks of economic and physical intimidation which one must encounter for attempting to register, the Voter Education Project regards the Greenwood project as a major break-through against fear.

The people of Greenwood have high admiration for most of the registration workers, the majority of whom are members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee field staff. This project testifies more profoundly than any other to what can be accomplished when registration workers have the abilities, and take the time that is necessary to build strong personal relationships, undergirded with the development of basic political understandings.

This state presents more resistance to would-be Negro voters than any other state, and offers more intimidation and violence to Negroes than all the others combined. The Voter Education Project has only been able to add 3,871 voters to the rolls in Mississippi during the past two years, a figure lower than the results from a

single small city like Brunswick or Decatur, Georgia, or Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The total Negro registration in the state is approximately 28,000, representing only 6.6% of the Negroes 21 years of age or older. But here, as in southwestern Georgia and Dallas and Wilcox counties in Alabama, the success of the Voter Education Project program cannot be measured solely in terms of new registrants.

Mississippi has a long history of intimidation and violence against Negroes who seek to register, and with the rather large number of cases of injury and death to their persons and destruction of their property, it is little wonder that Negroes developed a fear of attempting to do anything which the white people of that state were opposed to. Despite the massive jailing of citizens, shooting of registration workers, burning of property, and other acts of violence and intimidation of Negroes in Leflore County, more than 2,000 Negroes have gone to the courthouse in Greenwood to attempt to register. Many were never permitted inside, and the majority of those who made it inside were rejected by the registrar. This same story has been repeated in Hattiesburg and other cities.

The Voter Education Project suspended all operations in Mississippi in November, 1963, with the exception of a continuing NAACP project in the city of Jackson. The Voter Education Project had made an effort to allocate funds among the various states in some equitable manner, and the expenditures in Mississippi were heavily out of proportion, while the registration results were extremely low.

No meaningful registration can be expected in the state until the Justice Department is able to win an effective decree enjoining the use of present state registration laws which are designed to keep down Negro registration, and it seemed best th the Voter Education Project staff to expend our resources in other states.

The attached statistics show some interesting figures regarding Negro voter registration in the South, and Column 2 shows the increase in Negro registration between April 1, 1962, and November 1, 1964, in each of the eleven southern states. While this total increase cannot be credited entirely to the efforts of the Voter Education Project program, it is known that most of the registration activity during this period was carried on by the Voter Education Project and its cooperating agencies. Information in our files would indicate that more supplementary funds were provided by other agencies to assist voter registration in Mississippi than in any other state, and the following table, showing the increase in registration and the Voter Education Project expenditures, would not reflect the additional funds spent in each state:

(See following page)

STATE	REGISTRATION INCREASE	VEP EXPENDITURES
ALABAMA	42,700	$ 59,309.33
ARKANSAS	26,000	14,303.71
FLORIDA	117,500	41,787.50
GEORGIA	94,500	96,893.12
LOUISIANA	13,000	62,937.00
MISSISSIPPI	4,500	54,595.00
NORTH CAROLINA	47,500	44,389.15
SOUTH CAROLINA	53,100	94,439.83
TENNESSEE	67,100	39,079.46
TEXAS	133,000	50,780.00
VIRGINIA	89,900	51,001.83
TOTAL	688,800	$ 609,515.93

Respectfully submitted,

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project

WAB:js

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Governor Says Critics Should Switch Sides

2/16/65 Commonwealth

By JAMES SAGGUS
Associated Press Writer

JACKSON, Miss. — Mississippi Gov. Paul Johnson told the U. S. Civil Rights Commission today the state's critics should "get off our backs and get on our side."

He said this state needs good will and encouragement, understanding and assistance in attempting to solve its racial troubles.

Johnson appeared before the six-member commission as it opened a public hearing into Mississippi's racial situation.

The commission recieved a report from its bi - racial state advisory committee charging police brutality, economic pressures and night riders were used to force Mississippi Negroes to accept second class status.

The governor told the commission that the 1964 Civil Rights Act has been accepted by Mississippians.

"Resistance will be confined to . . . accepted legal processes," he said. "Violence will not be tolerated. Criminal acts will be punished and all law violators punished equally."

Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson welcomed the commission to this state capital city. He told the members that Jackson has increased its public schools from 18 to 55 in 16 years.

Thompson said the schools were constructed with local and state money and that he opposes federal aid to education.

Thompson told the commission the civil rights law would be enforced. But he predicted its advocates soon would seek to broaden and enlarge the law.

The mayor said the invasion by civil rights workers last summer was misunderstood nationally and did no good. He said most white and Negro Mississippians ignored the movement.

Thompson said many Mississippians worried about threatened boycotts of the state's products. But he said he feels most

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Commonwealth 2/16/65

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Thompson said many Mississippians worried about threatened boycotts of the state's products. But he said he feels most Americans realize such a boycott would be un-American.

He expressed fears that Jackson Negroes would be hurt by 'the threats and intimidations of a few so-called leaders of pressure groups."

The State Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission released its report at the start of the hearing.

The report, presented by Dr. A. B. Britton Jr., a Jackson Negro physician and committee chairman, noted what it termed progress in recent months.

This included free registration of Negroes as voters in some counties, desegregation of many public accommodations, testimony from officials of Greenville and Gulfport before the committee and statements from various business and civic groups urging compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

Most of the 19-page report reviewed complaints and testimony received by the 10-member committee over the past year.

The group — which includes three Negroes—reported many were reluctant to testify for fear of reprisal.

In one instance, the report said, the home of a former McComb policeman was bombed hours after he testified.

The report said committee members themselves had been victims of both economic and social pressures, and, in at least one instance, a member had been forced to leave the state.

The committee reported "law enforcement officials," as well as private citizens, have actively thwarted efforts of individuals and groups to register to vote in a number of counties.

"Witnesses from several southwest Mississippi counties

(Continued On Page Ten)

Governor Says – 2/10/65

(Continued From Page One)
reported that crosses had been burned in their yards."

The committee reported witness testimony of a kidnaping and beating, a store bombing, and a shooting at a home.

"Under color of law, voter registration workers have been stopped on roads and highways and subjected to cursings, insults and physical beatings," the report said.

The report said at Canton, "witnesses reported that police continually harassed persons attending voter registration rallies" and that officers in the area had beaten and arrested some participants.

"Several witnesses reported that in some sections of Mississippi there appeared to be a pattern of collusion between local law-enforcement officers and hoodlum elements," the report said.

It mentioned associations between officers and leaders of the Ku Klux Klan and beatings shortly after civil rights workers were stopped by officers.

The committee said "the idea of the dignity and worth of every individual is . . . systematically violated and an injustice done to us all when 42.3 per cent of the citizens of this state must either accept an inferior station in life and an attitude of servility or endanger themselves and their families. Terror hangs over the Negro in Mississippi and is an expectancy for those who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority."

The committee criticized the state government on grounds of not seeking actively to protect the rights of all citizens and it criticized the state press for "failing to meet its obligations to alert people."

The report mentioned few place names and people.

In addition to Dr. Britton, members of the committee include:

Dr. A. B. Beittel of Jackson, retired president of Tougaloo College in Jackson; Rabbi David Z .Ben-Ami of Hattiesburg; the Rev. Blaton Doggett of Tupelo; Martin L. Harvey, Negro, of Jackson, co-owner of a funeral home;

Also the Rev. Charles C. Hunter of Yazoo City; The Rev. Charlemagne Payne Sr., Negro, of Jackson; Mrs. H. J. Price of Magnolia, housewife; Dr. George E. Powers of Gulfport, dentist; Hazel Brannon Smith of Lexington, a newspaper publisher and Pulitzer Prize winner.

In an appearance before the commission Monday, two state officials declined to produce records subpoenaed by the commission.

The refusals came from Col. T. B. Birdsong, head of the state Highway Patrol, and Walter Dell Davis, state insurance commissioner, who said state law prohibited disclosure of records under such circumstances.

The commission took both matters under advisement and said it would contact both officials on its decision. Both were ordered to report back Friday afternoon.

The Civil Rights Commission asked Davis for records of the state fire marshal's investigation of blazes which burned Negro churches in the state last summer.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Rubel Griffin, representing Davis, asked the request be quashed because state law prohibits disclosure of such records unless the district attorney of the county involved consents or unless a court directs the record be disclosed.

Davis said, "I regret it is not possible to take you and show you our files. We will cheerfully submit to any court order for them."

He said his office investigated all church fires and there was evidence of arson in each of them. He said his office worked with the FBI and all cases were still under active investigation.

He said he did not feel it proper for his office to recommend to district attorneys they permit disclosure of such records.

Birdsong, represented by Asst. Atty. Gen. Garland Lyell, declined to produce records in the cases of Richard Joe Butler, shot April 5, 1964, at Kingston in Adams County, and Clifton Walker, whose body was found on Poor House Road in Wilkinson County Feb. 28, 1964.

Through his lawyer, Birdsong said that he felt records should be kept confidental as they included opinions, information which might damage the innocent, and similar unsubstantiated matter.

When Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, asked if Lyell would permit perusal of such records for the information of the commission on a confidential basis, Lyell replied such a request would be considered.

The commission also sought records in the beating of Bruce Payne and George Green, two civil rights workers, in late 1963 near Port Gibson. The investigations, however, were handled by the FBI.

Six other persons brought records specified in subpoenaes. They included Sheriff Jack Purvis and Circuit Clerk G. H. Hood of Humphreys County; Police Chief Dan Thompson of Canton; Sheriff Jack Cauthen of Madison County; Sheriff Odeall Anders of Adams County and Police Chief J. T. Robinson of Natchez.

Details of the records were not disclosed.

Five days of public hearings were scheduled to complete the commission's civil rights investigation of the state. The commission met two days in closed sessions last week to hear those who might be mentioned in public testimony this week. A commission member said after hearing a person who might be impugned, the commission would decide whether to bring out such testimony in a public session.

U.S. Com

W.P. 2/16/65

Advisory Committee Says Negro in Miss. Subject to Terror

B.P. State Times

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — The state advisory committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission said today hat police brutality, economic pressures and night riders have forced Mississippi negroes to accept an inferior station or live in terror.

The biracial committee's charges were presented in a report to the commission, which began public hearings today on the racial situation in Mississippi.

The report, presented by Dr. A. B. Britton Jr., a Jackson Negro physician and committee chairman, noted what it termed progress in recent months.

This included free registration of Negroes as voters in some counties, desegregation of many public accommodations, testimony from officials of Greenville and Gulfport before the committee and statements from various business and civic groups urging compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

Most of the 19-page report reviewed complaints and testimony received by the 10-member committee over the past year.

Reluctant to Testify

The group — which includes three Negroes and is made up of clergymen, professional men, a former college president, a housewife and a newspaper publisher — reported many were reluctant to testify for fear of reprisal.

In one instance, the report said, the home of a former McComb policeman was bombed hours after he testified.

The report said committee members themselves had been victims of both economic and social pressures, and, in at least one instance, a member had been forced to leave the state.

The committee reported "law enforcement officials," as well as private citizens, have actively thwarted efforts of individuals and groups to register to vote in a number of counties.

"Witnesses from several southwest Mississippi counties reported that crosses had been burned in their yards."

The committee reported witness testimony of a kidnaping and beating, a store bombing, and a shooting at a home.

"Under color of law voter registration workers have been stopped on roads and highways and subjected to cursings, insults and physical beatings," the report said.

"A carload of voter registration workers was stopped by a highway patrolman, verbally assaulted and arrested."

Collusion Charged

The report said at Canton "witnesses reported that police continually harassed persons attending voter registration rallies" and that officers in the area had beaten and arrested some participants.

"Several witnesses reported that in some sections of Mississippi there appeared to be a pattern of collusion between local law enforcement officers and hoodlum elements," the report said.

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Press
U.S. Com.

VOLUME 49—NUMBER 143 GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY, MISS., WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 17, 1965

Henry Requests New Federal Laws On Voting

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — A Mississippi Negro leader asked today that the government insure Negro voting rights in the South with new federal laws backed by federal arms.

Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, listed three proposals to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The Clarksdale druggist said federal voter registrars should be set up in an area where Negroes are blocked from casting ballots.

In addition, he said, literacy tests are misused and should be outlawed as a prerequisite to registering, and the city, county and state should be made liable for damage suits from citizens denied registration or harrassed for seeking to vote.

During a recess, commission chairman Dr. John Hannah, president of Michigan State, said he went to the governor's office to seek assurance of protection for Negroes who testify.

Jesse James Brewer, a farmer in Tallahatchie County, said when he returned home after World War II "my freedom of speech went out."

Brewer was one of three Tallahatchie County Negroes to testify at commission public hearings on Mississippi repression of Negro efforts to vote.

The sessions drew a capacity crowd to the Veterans Administration Hospital auditorium, located some distance out of town.

Brewer said he feared for his safety after registering to vote last Aug. 5, particularly since one of his brothers had been beaten with an axe handle for failing to 'sir' a storekeeper.

Another brother, he added, went to try to rescue the one being beaten and was slugged so hard the impact of the club knocked an eye out of its socket.

William Taylor, commission chief counsel, said the Brewer cases would be taken up again later in private session.

James Henry Rayburn, 63, also a farmer, testified he registered in 1963 but was turned away from the polling place by two white men when he tried to cast a ballot.

Did he report the matter to officers? "That would have just made bad matters worse," he replied.

Edwina Hamlet a retired school teacher, said she registered in 1962 and shortly afterward found an effigy of a hanged woman dangling from her mailbox.

Inquiries about Tallahatchie and Washington counties in north Mississippi and Jefferson County in the south half of the state went on today's agenda to round out the commission probe of voter registration. The commission hoped to complete this phase and begin checking on law enforcement and civil rights during the afternoon.

The witness list included:

Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, a Negro druggist and state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Charles Evers of Jackson, state NAACP field secretary since the ambush slaying of his brother Medgar two years ago.

Burke Marshall, former head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, whose testimony was prepared for presentation by a department representative because of his illness.

Dr. James Prothro, a University of North Carolina faculty member who studied the qualifications of Negro teachers to register.

Testimony Tuesday came from Issaquena, Humphreys, Tate and Carroll Counties, all in north Mississippi. Several Negroes testified they felt conditions had changed in recent months.

Gov. Paul Johnson appeared briefly to open commission proceedings. He renewed his promise of a year ago that violence will not be tolerated and all law violators will be dealt with equally.

Humphreys County furnished most of the surprises and conflicts.

Commission member Erwin Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School, handed Circuit Clerk G. H. Hood of Belzoni a copy of Section 182 of the state constitution—dealing with taxing powers—and asked him to interpret it.

State law requires a registrant to interpret to the satisfaction of the clerk one section of the constitution to meet requirements. The clerk picks the section and Hood said he gave them in sequence, beginning with the first.

Hood studied the section designated by Griswold and began reading it. Griswold interrupted and insisted on an interpretation. Hood studied further, then after whispering from his lawyer declined to attempt it.

The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, a commission member and president of Notre Dame University, commented: "I don't think the dean of a law school could pass it (the voter test)."

Hood said he treated all applicants alike and applied the same grading standards to all "to the best of my ability."

Hood contradicted testimony by two Negro witnesses, Mary Welch and Daisy Griffin, that he threatened to cut off welfare aid to them if they registered.

"No, sir, I did not," he said.

T. V. Johnson, a Belzoni Negro undertaker, testified efforts a decade ago to encourage Negro registration died out after one leader was killed and another wounded. He said Negroes feared bodily harm and economic pressure.

Mary Thomas, a Belzoni Negro grocery operator, said she was jailed on charges of selling beer without a license although she had federal, state and city licenses. She said she was never advised about a county license.

Alene Hunter, another Belzoni Negro, testified she was jailed because she could not pay $5.15 owed to a merchant.

Both women said their arrest came shortly after registration attempts.

However, Sheriff Jack Purvis testified the charge involved a bad check for $5.15 and not the debt itself. He said the Thomas woman was advised she should have a county license and she did not respond.

Adell Davis and Edgar Burton, both Negro residents of

(Continued on Page Six)

U.S. Com.

ticipation in politics. He recounted the incidents he had heard from his father and said Negroes still talked about them.

"It's softening up a little now," Eskridge said. "Several teachers have paid their poll taxes. They are protecting Negroes now since the last sheriff came."

He said he felt white people had feared letting Negroes register because Negroes outnumbered them.

He said traditionally when a Negro was killed, nothing was done about it, while a white man could hit a Negro with impunity.

Jake Cain, 78-year-old Negro farmer, said he was guided through registration tests by a county official after a federal court threw out a murder conviction of a Negro on grounds Negroes had been excluded from the trial jury.

Only registered males may serve on Mississippi juries. The Negro defendant, Robert Goldsby, was later tried in another

pass the test.

Charles Humpstone, a commission staff attorney, testified a study of voter registration records in Issaquena indicated that all white applicants were passed by the circuit clerk, who handles registration, but only nine Negroes were registered.

He said whites were given stiffer sections of the state constitution to interpret since Negroes had begun registration efforts, while about half the Negroes got comparable sections and the rest harder sections.

Humpsone said whites seemed to have gotten aid in answering difficult questions, judging from the similarity of answers.

Asked if testing were fair in Issaquena County, he replied, "My opinion is that they are not."

He said whites were registered more frequently with some answers incorrect or with the signature in the wrong place, grounds used for failing some Negroes.

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2/17/65

COMMONWEALTH GREENWOOD, MISS. WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON,

Henry Requests New Laws –

(Continued From Page One)

Tate County, said they had no trouble registering after conferring with local white leaders.

Davis said the sheriff attended a local Negro meeting, "encouraged all Negroes who wanted to vote" to seek registration, and offered protection.

The commission said a year ago there were no Negroes among the 4,300 of voting age in Tate County who had registered, while 70 per cent of the 4,500 whites of voting age could vote.

Father Hesburgh commented he did not think Negroes should have to clear their registration with white leaders. The Negroes said they had sought to avoid any trouble.

William Eskridge, a Negro farmer in Carroll County, said he registered in 1931 and voted during the next two years, but stopped when his salary as a teacher was cut from about $40 per month to $25.50.

He said racial troubles 80 years ago—involving the deaths of Negroes and whites — had made Negroes fearful of participation in politics. He recounted the incidents he had heard from his father and said Negroes still talked about them.

"It's softening up a little now," Eskridge said. "Several teachers have paid their poll taxes. They are protecting Negroes now since the last sheriff came."

He said he felt white people had feared letting Negroes register because Negroes outnumbered them.

He said traditionally when a Negro was killed, nothing was done about it, while a white man could hit a Negro with impunity.

Jake Cain, 78-year-old Negro farmer, said he was guided through registration tests by a county official after a federal court threw out a murder conviction of a Negro on grounds Negroes had been excluded from the trial jury.

Only registered males may serve on Mississippi juries. The Negro defendant, Robert Goldsby, was later tried in another county, convicted and executed.

"Things are quieting down," Cain said. "Deputies don't use clubs or kick them (Negroes). I don't think there is a white man in Carroll County who would club me."

Witnesses from Issaquena County, a sparsely populated area without an incorporated town, testified about registration attempts following a voter drive last year.

Jeremiah Blackwell, a Negro who said she had joined the staff of the Council of Federated Organizations, said Negroes in the county feared their welfare checks would be stopped or they would be put off farms if they registered. She said about 150 had made the effort.

She also said she twice failed the test but was registered on the third attempt by the circuit clerk—"I guess she was tired of looking at me."

Percy Brinson, a Negro who said he grossed $9,000 yearly from his 96-acre farm, said the sheriff had urged him to try and register, but that he did not pass the test.

Charles Humpstone, a commission staff attorney, testified a study of voter registration records in Issaquena indicated that all white applicants were passed by the circuit clerk, who handles registration, but only nine Negroes were registered.

He said whites were given stiffer sections of the state constitution to interpret since Negroes had begun registration efforts, while about half the Negroes got comparable sections and the rest harder sections.

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Aged Negro Testifies For Right to Vote

2/17/65

B.R. State Times

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — "Until we can get to the polls, I don't think we can be considered citizens," a 78-year-old Negro farmer, who says he paid poll taxes for more than 40 years before being allowed to register as a voter, told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Although he was permitted to register, Jake Cain of Carroll County said, he has been afraid to vote.

Cain was one of 15 Negro witnesses who appeared before the commission Tuesday. Some said "things are getting better."

The commission hopes to wind up its look into voting registration today and consider other matters.

"We were raised in an atmosphere that kept us under fear that we should not go in and vote," said Cain, who owns his own 185-acre farm.

Cain was one of those who said the situation was improving.

"The deputies don't use clubs and kick the Negroes every time they take them in like they used to do," he said.

The Negro said he was registered to vote six years ago when the Carroll County sheriff wanted to get Negroes on the voter rolls after a federal court tossed out a murder conviction because no Negroes could qualify for jury service.

A year later, Cain continued, he asked if he could vote but was told there would be opposition.

"I've paid my taxes since I was 21 and I have been a loyal citizen all these years," Cain said. "Next time, I will attempt to vote."

Percy Brinson, a Negro who owns a 96-acre farm in Issaquena County which he said had an income of more than $9,000 annually, said that for years "I didn't try to register because I knew it was not wanted. I knew of people who tried and were turned down and I wanted to keep it peaceable."

He said the sheriff asked him a year ago to register but he was turned down after taking the voter qualification test.

The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, a commission member and president of Notre Dame University, asked Brinson:

"Do you think if you can manage the business of a farm with a $9,000 income and pay taxes you ought to have the right to vote?"

Brinson said he felt "if I could vote it would give me a little power to benefit us, not only the Negro, but the poor people."

Judge Refuses

Circuit Clerk G. H. Hood of Humphreys County was asked by commission member Erwin Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School, to interpret a section of the Mississippi constitution which he gives as a test to voter applicants.

Hood hesitated and then began to read the section.

"I didn't ask you to read it," said Griswold. "I asked you to give a reasonable interpretation."

Hood consulted his attorney and then declined to do it.

"On grounds your answer might incriminate yourself?" Griswold asked.

"Yes, sir," was Hood's reply.

"I find his refusal to interpret it rather surprising when citizens of Mississippi are asked to do the same thing in order to register," Griswold commented.

John D. Purvis, the Humphreys County sheriff, admitted taking pictures of Negroes who had gone to his courthouse to register.

"Did you consider what effect taking their pictures might have on Negroes attempting to register?" Purvis was asked by commission member Robert S. Rankin of Duke University.

"It never occurred to me that it would," replied the sheriff, adding he couldn't understand the Negroes "being afraid of me."

Purvis, under questioning, said he believed "qualified Negro citizens are entitled to the same right to vote as white people."

Press

Hearing

U.S. Com.

Ark. Gazette 2-18-65 WB

U. S. Urged to Use Force, If Needed, in Mississippi

From Gazette Press Services

JACKSON, Miss. — An integration leader told the United States Civil Rights Commission Wednesday that President Johnson should make clear he will use federal force if necessary to back up Negroes' voting rights in Mississippi.

"Soft talk" on the issue is getting nowhere, Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale druggist and state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said.

Henry and Charles Evers, another NAACP official, testified after a Negro farmer told the Commission that two of his brothers were beaten with ax handles because they failed to say "sir" when talking to a white man.

The farmer, Jesse James Brewer, said the incident made him determined to become a voter. He said he tried unsuccessfully to have charges filed against his brothers' assailants.

The Commission is holding a five-day public hearing, its first such session in Mississippi, to get a first hand report on the state's racial situation.

Other racial developments:

★ Police in Moultrie, Ga., arrested 124 Negro demonstrators who gathered at the city jail to protest the arrest of 230 Negro students Tuesday. The students were protesting alleged "deplorable" conditions at the Negro school.

★ Two young Negroes standing in an ice cream parlor in a racially mixed area of Mobile, Ala., were seriously wounded by a shotgun blast fired from a car reportedly containing two white men.

In their appearance before the Civil Rights Commission Henry and Evers estimated only 24,000 of 400,000 eligible Negroes, about 6 per cent, were registered to vote in Mississippi.

"Of all the problems that exist in Mississippi, it is my feeling that all of these can be resolved once the right to vote is gained," Henry said.

"This is not a fight of white against black, but right against wrong," Evers said. "There are many decent whites who feel like we do but can't speak up."

Evers, state NAACP field secretary, testified that it took a lot of courage for Negroes to seek voting rights in "an atmosphere of fear and intimidation."

"Negroes who tried to change the pattern," he added, could look forward to possible "physical violence, economic reprisals * * * losing jobs or not getting jobs."

"For many people, an attempt to vote would result in not having any money to buy milk for the baby, food for the family and to pay the rent," he said.

Evers—who took over the field secretary job after his brother, Medgar Evers, was murdered by a sniper—said the civil rights drive had resulted in church burnings, beatings, shootings, bombings, murders, cross burnings and other forms of intimidation.

"Some law enforcement officials in Mississippi conscientiously serve the law," Evers said. "They are not numerous."

Corrective measures which the two NAACP leaders recommended included the appointment of federal registrar in counties where Negroes are not permitted to vote; outlawing the state's literacy test; adoption of a new law making the state, counties and cities liable for damages when violence or intimidation is directed against a Negro applicant.

Branton Mentions Military Governor

Wiley Branton of Atlanta, director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, told the commission that a "climate of fear" existed in Mississippi. He said his workers had more difficulty in Mississippi than in 10 other states in collecting information for a study on voting in the South.

Branton, a former Pine Bluff, Ark., attorney, suggested President Johnson take a personal hand in the situation. "Even if it took the appointment of a military governor in Mississippi, I'd do that," he said.

Governor Paul B. Johnson Jr. was asked Wednesday to "take particular interest" in the future safety of Negroes who testify before the Civil Rights Commission.

The request was made by the Commission president, Dr. John Hannah, who made a quick trip to Johnson's office during a recess.

Dr. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, made the move after hearing testimony from three Tallahatchie County Negroes about beatings and alleged intimidation.

"I have asked the governor to take particular interest that when these witnesses return to their homes they will be fully protected," said Hannah. "I am particularly concerned about the witnesses from Tallahatchie County."

Hannah said he was heartened by Governor Johnson's statement to the Commission Tuesday that law and order will be maintained and that no racial violence will be tolerated.

At Moultrie, the 124 Negro demonstrators were arrested in front of City Hall on orders of Assistant Police Chief J. Q. Davis.

Davis warned the demonstrators they were violating the city code. He counted off three minutes on his watch and then ordered them arrested on charges of disorderly conduct.

The arrests accompanied demonstrations after almost all of the 700 Negro students enrolled at William Bryant High school quit in protest of segregation and what they called deplorable conditions at the school.

Efforts by school authorities and parents to end the boycott were fruitless.

Boys arrested in the demonstrations are being held in the county work farm, while the girls were taken to the city jail—which was filled—and to the Mitchell County jail at Camilla, about 35 miles away.

Attendance at the high school has fallen below 100 since the walkout February 3.

Two Wounded Seriously In Shooting at Mobile

At Mobile, police said Negroes Billy Kinnard, 18, and James Lee Doss, 16, were in serious condition at a hospital with buckshot wounds.

Negro witnesses said Kinnard and Doss were shot while standing outside an ice cream parlor in a racially-mixed neighborhood. They said the blasts were fired from a car containing two white men who were wearing business suits.

Kinnard was struck in the stomach and Doss in the leg by the buckshot.

There had been no previous racial trouble in the area, officers said.

Dr. Felix C. Robb, president of George Peabody College in Nashville Tenn., has been selected as chairman of the newly formed Southeastern Section of the Regional Manpower Advisory Committee, Senator Ross Bass, (Dem., Tenn.), said Wednesday.—Washington (AP).

U.S. Com.

W-B. 2/18/65

TERROR DEPICTED AT RIGHTS INQUIRY

Mississippi Negroes Testify on Attempts at Voting

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 17 — Negro farmers and housewives told the United States Civil Rights Commission today that they had been subjected to day-to-day terrorism for asserting their political rights in Mississippi.

A threat to kill, an effigy hanged from a mailbox and unlighted automobiles cruising past a house at midnight were among the methods the witnesses said had been used to try to keep them from voting in one Mississippi county in the last two years.

From another county came a report that the Ku Klux Klan had adopted a modern sales technique. A Negro woman said that, after she and her husband tried to register to vote, a Klan delegation visited their house and left a printed calling card bearing a warning.

An automobile mechanic told the commission of being jailed in McComb after a bomb was exploded in his yard one midnight last summer. He said his wife had tried to register to vote.

Teachers Fear for Jobs

A college professor reported a survey showing that Negro teachers in some parts of Mississippi were afraid of losing their jobs if they tried to vote or even talked about it.

"The walls have ears," one teacher told the interviewers.

Some witnesses testified that they had seen signs of improvement, partly because of the Mississippi Negro's newfound courage and his increased determination to assert himself.

James Henry Rayburn, a Tallahatchie farmer, said he had been frightened away with a threat of death when he attempted to vote in 1963. He declared that he was now determined to exercise his franchise and was no longer afraid.

"The time's done run out for that," he said.

Several witnesses attributed the stiffened Negro attitude to the Council of Federated Organizations and the hundreds of Negro and white youths it brought to Mississippi last summer.

The witnesses said that most Negroes in their communities had not believed they had a chance of voting until council workers persuaded them otherwise and accompanied them to the registrars' offices.

In spite of signs of progress, only 6.7 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote in Mississippi. More civil rights leaders added their voices today to a plea for more Federal help.

Aaron E. Henry president of the Mississippi branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, proposed Federal legislation similar to that presented last week in Washington by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Henry suggested laws establishing Federal voting registrars, outlawing literacy tests and making local and state governments liable for damages to persons trying to register.

Mr. Henry and Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, said they believed the President should send Federal troops to Mississippi if other methods failed to guarantee Negro voting rights.

Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman of the commission, telephoned the office of Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. today to ask the Governor to protect witnesses testifying before the commission. He said an aide to Mr. Johnson had indicated the Governor's office would cooperate.

Dr. Hannah called upon the aide to ask the sheriffs of several counties, especially the sheriff of Tallahatchie County, to protect witnesses. The witnesses from Tallahatchie County reported that Negroes were particularly fearful of white reprisals when they tried to vote there.

Today was the second of five days of open hearings by the commission into charges of racial discrimination in voting and law-enforcement in Mississippi.

Associated Press Wirephoto

TESTIFYING BEFORE COMMISSION: Aaron Henry, left, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi, with Charles Evers, the state's N.A.A.C.P. field director, before the United States Commission of Civil Rights. The commission was holding hearings in Jackson yesterday.

U.S. Com

GREENSBURG, PA.
TRIBUNE-REVIEW
D. 18,100

FEB 18 1965

ASK INTERVENTION BY JOHNSON—

Commission Hears Rights Leaders

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI)—An integration leader told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission Wednesday that President Johnson should make clear he will use federal force if necessary to back up Negroes' voting rights in Mississippi.

Wylie Branton, director of the Southern Regional Council's voter education project, told the commission a "climate of fear" existed in Mississippi.

Branton, of Atlanta, Ga., suggested President Johnson take a personal hand in the situation. "Even if it took the appointment of a military governor in Mississippi, I'd do that," he said.

Evers

Branton

Henry

'Soft Talk'

"Soft talk" on the issue is getting nowhere, said Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Henry and Charles Evers, another NAACP official, testified shortly after a Negro farmer told the commission that two of his brothers were beaten with ax handles because they failed to say "sir" when talking to a white man.

The farmer, Jesse James Brewer, said the incident made him determined to become a voter. He said he tried unsuccessfully to have charges filed against his brothers' assailants.

The commission is holding a five-day public hearing, its first such session in Mississippi, to get a first hand report on the state's racial situation.

Developments

—Police in Moultrie, Ga., arrested 124 Negro demonstrators who gathered at the city jail to protest the arrest of 230 Negro students Tuesday. The students were protesting alleged "deplorable" conditions at the Negro school.

—Sheriff Jim Clark turned up at his office in Selma, Ala. with a splint on the third finger of his left hand. He suffered the injury Wednesday in an altercation with a Negro leader. Clark said at the time he wasn't certain whether or not he struck the Negro.

—The headquarters for an integrationist organization in Laurel, Miss., was damaged by fire. A worker claimed that some equipment had been trampled and typewriters and a tape recorder stolen.

—Two young Negroes standing in an ice cream parlor in a racially mixed area of Mobile, Ala., were seriously wounded by a shotgun blast fired from a car reportedly containing two white men.

In their appearance before the civil rights commission Henry and Evers estimated only 24,000 of 400,000 eligible Negroes, about six per cent, were registered to vote in Mississippi.

"Of all the problems that exist in Mississippi, it is my feeling that all of these can be resolved once the right to vote is gained," Henry said.

"This is not a fight of white against black, but right against wrong," said Evers. "There are many decent whites who feel like we do but can't speak up."

McComb Witnesses Testify That Tension Has Eased

Greenwood Commonwealth 2/18/65

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Witnesses agreed today that racial tension in McComb, Miss., scene of more than 15 bombings, has eased since white leaders took a stand against violence.

Jesse Lee Harris, a Negro field worker for the Student Nonviolent coordinating Committee, told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission that the change has not been great but "we used to couldn't even get a church to meet in."

Harris said civil rights workers were arrested whenver possible on the most trivial charges.

Though conceding, under questioning by Commission members, that things are better now he said statement of principle from white leaders "really don't solve problems."

Robert W. Brumfield, a white lawyer and former McComb city judge, said the change for the better was directly due to the statement of principle, backed by vigorous law enforcement.

Some 600 white businessmen in McComb signed the statement after the arrest of 11 white men, who drew suspended sentences in bombing cases.

The commission hearings, being held in the auditorium at the Veterans administration Hospital, drew a capacity crowd. The hearings wind up tomorrow.

Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State, asked the governor yesterday to "take particular interest" in seeing that Negro witnesses before the commission come to no harm.

"We have no indication anything will happen," Dr. Hannah told newsmen. "It could easily be that nothing will. It is an insurance move.

"It would be embarrassing to the commission and the state if anything did happen, however."

The matter of protection for witnesses arose Wednesday during the second day of the six-member commission's public hearings here into Mississippi's racial problems.

The commission concentrated its efforts today on charges by Negroes of discriminatory law enforcement. Most of the first two days were spent checking complaints of violations of voting rights.

Dr. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, telephoned the governor's office and spoke to an aide about protection for Negro witnesses.

"I was particularly concerned about the witnesses from Tallahatchie County," Dr. Hannah said.

Three Negroes from that county complained of harassments in connection with efforts to register to vote.

Dr. Hannah said he has no information of any threats against these particular witnesses. But "we have had problems in the past when witnesses have gone back home and been harassed," he said.

Johnson could not be reached for comment on the request. An aide assured Dr. Hannah, however, the state would do what it could.

Appearing before the commission Tuesday, Johnson said law and order would be upheld in Mississippi and violence would not be tolerated.

Pike County Sheriff R. R. Warren of McComb, scene of numerous bombings and church burnings in Negro neighborhoods last year, told the commission Wednesday that law enforcement agencies must have the backing of both whites and

(Continued on Page Sixteen)

Press

McComb –

(Continued from Page One)

Negroes to preserve the peace.

Much of Pike County's racial troubles last summer came from whites taking the law into their own hands and Negroes refusing to cooperate in investigations, he said.

Pike County's racial tempers cooled noticeably in recent months, the sheriff added, after white business and civic leaders issued a call for law and order.

James W. Prothro, a University of North Carolina professor, told the commission he made a study of voting habits of Negro teachers in four undisclosed counties. He said many of the teachers did not vote because they feared loss of their job.

Aaron Henry, Clarksdale druggist and NAACP state president, questioned the sincerity of the governor's call for law and order.

"I'm not at all convinced the change of heart by Governor Johnson is sincere," Henry told the commission. "Wait until the civil rights commission goes back to Washington."

FOR RIGHTS WORKERS

Greenwood Commonwealth

Marshall Not In Favor Of Protection

3/19/65

By JAMES SAGGUS
Associated Press Writer

JACKSON, Miss. — A former chief of the Jus- forces headed by a Roman Catholic officer re- day against creation of a federal police force to protect civil rights workers in the South.

Burke Marshall's views were contained in a statement submitted to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, which is investigating racial problems in Mississippi.

The Rev. Martin Luther King and other Southern integration leaders repeatedly have called for federal protection of civil rights workers, charging that local officers do nothing to stop violence.

"The truth of this matter is that there is no acctptable federal solution to this law enforcement problem," sad Marshall, who resigned recently as assistant attorney general.

"We have no federal police force," his statement said, "... . . and I do not believe that the situation, deplorable as it may be in many parts, warrants the departure from this historic pattern of limited federal power."

Marshall conceded court orders in cases involving 'excesses by local law enforcement officers' were slow and "not a very useful instrument.'

The six-member Civil Rights Commission expects to conclude public hearings Saturday into the Mississippi situation. The hearings, which began Tuesday, have been aimed primarily at Negro voter registration and alleged discrimination by police against Negroes and civil rights workers.

The Rev. James McCree, a Negro Methodist minister in Madison County, testified after a Justice Department lawyer read Marshall's statement to the commission.

The minister told of threats, church bombings, and beatings that he said followed attempts by Negroes to register to vote in his county. Negroes make up 70 per cent of the population in Madison County.

As a result of such harassments, he said, 'I never have seen the fear in people—even in the invasion of France—like the fear in the people of Madison County."

He said Negroes were even "afraid to go to church" and estimated at least 100 Negros have lost their jobs as part of the harassment.

In his statement Marshall said there has been progress in erasing voter discrimination in Mississippi. He said the civil rights laws passed in recent years have helped.

Marshall submitted figures to show that the percentage of Negro voters in many counties increased perceptably between 1962 and 1964.

The commission will study the testimony received at the hearings this week and make recommendations to the President and Congress on its findings.

Claude Ramsay of Pascagoula, state labor council president, told the commission yesterday that extremist elements have taken over "a number of local unions—not too many' in Mississippi.

U.S. Com

Rights Commission Told Of Mississippi Terror

at World 2/20/65

JACKSON, Miss. — (UPI) — Negroes and whites Thursday told the U. S. Civil Rights Commission grim stories of terrorism, beatings, bombings and alleged racial injustice in Mississippi law enforcement.

Two Natchez Negroes testified they were stripped and flogged by hooded whites with whips and guns. A white labor leader told how he was beaten on a lonely road after he criticized the Ku Klux Klan.

Most of the testimony centered around the Natchez and McComb areas of southwest Mississippi, hottest of all the state's racial hotspots during the violent summer of 1964.

Sheriff Odell Anders of Natchez and city Police Chief J. T. Robinson told the commission they were sure they knew the persons behind the Natchez violence, but didn't have enough evidence for arrests.

Anders said he had "stayed up night after night" trying to crack the cases and felt that "only 10 or 12 persons" were involved.

Otis Matthews, 41, a white official of a Laurel, Miss., woodworkers local, told the commission that he once criticized the Klan for trying to interfere with integration at the plan where he worked.

After that, he said, he was forced from his car at gunpoint, blindfolded and beaten with a leather strap.

After his beating, his local issued a statement that further assaults on a union member would be met with gunfire.

U.S. Com

Greenwood Commonwealth

CR Commission Hearing May Have Big Impact On State

By JAMES SAGGUS
Associated Press Writer

2/22/65

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings in Jackson this week may have a far greater impact on Mississippi than generally expected.

Although no one doubts that Congress and the President will consider seriously any recommendations for law changes the commission may make, the hearings may bring about subtle changes in attitudes that could have an equally marked effect.

Little startling information came out at the hearing. But it seemed by the cumulative effect of so much testimony to dramatize both the Negro's status and his aspirations — and point up the lag between the two.

The commission staff assembled voluminous reports on racial incidents in the counties hardest hit in the past year. The lists themselves were impressive.

And the fact that Negroes from such touchy areas would speak so strongly against their local situations impressed many.

The hearings were an experience for most people who followed them carefully. Although they resembled courtroom proceedings in some respects, there were contrasts.

Commission attorneys and members led witnesses through their stories, frequently putting words in the mouths of the witnesses.

Such questionins would have come to a quick halt in any court.

And it was equally obvious commission members were not assuming the roles of impartial judges.

Lines of questioning and comments throughout the hearings made it clear the commission approached its task with the presupposition that racial integration should be as desirable as a social or ethical goal as it was the aim of law.

Numerous efforts were made to get witnesses on record as saying they felt compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would benefit the state through economic and social avenues, and that the law might be a good thing after all.

And most observers felt the commission sought to show the summer civil rights project last year was a beneficial thing to the state.

Most commission members also seemed to show they favored universal suffrage — at least among those over 21 — rather than uniform application of voter registration tests or culling any unqualified white voters from the rolls.

The commission obviously was well prepared to make the points in its report that it chooses to make. It had background on the cases which could prove most embarrassing to state leaders and seemed to know little about the state laws that would tend to explain some of the situations which appeared inequitable.

It was apparent also that the Negro community of the state is now approaching its civil rights goal with considerably more confidence than in the past. If it were not, it is doubtful that some of those who appeared to testify would have done so in public.

The similarity of certain phases in testimony by Negro witnesses showed that politics has been discussed thoroughly at meetings of civil rights groups. The phrase "power structure in a community" — meaning the white leadership in the political and business world — came from numerous witnesses.

The hearings left a good many prime questions unanswered, however.

Witnesses, for instance, cast many doubts about the sincerity of statements by Gov. Paul Johnson and business leaders calling for maintenance of law and order, and compliance with civil rights laws.

The commission as well as many Mississippians, white and Negro, will be watching now to see if those who made statements back them up with deeds.

Aanother unanswered question was whether the Negro community feels it is prepared to assume a major share of responsibility for the state's political and economic welfare.

Although most witnesses stressed they wanted only equality, their very tendency to accept the implications of the labels "whites" and "Negroes" makes it doubtful they can think in terms of the individual rather than the group.

This was apparently the reason Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, felt constrained to point out that equality meant equality of opportunity rather than of actual standing. He made clear that it is up to the individual to take advantage of his opportunities.

By implication, he seemed to emphasize that the raising of the cultural level of an entire group is a mammoth undertaking and overnight results are not to be expected.

But despite this, Negro witnesses seemed to equate the numbers holding good jobs or voter registration certificates with equality.

Whether the Negro would recognize equality until he had actually gained a state of superiority is a question often posed by psychologists. These who ask it frequently point to the plight of many African nations which were unprepared when handed the job of self-government.

Without comparing the status of the American Negro with the African, they contend that a sudden acquisition of powers for which one is unprepared will frequently lead to using such powers to cover up feelings of inferiority or resentments.

By contrast, they say, the performance of the Negro citizen in Greenville, for example, where his standing is higher and his preparation better, indicate that it is just these factors which will mean success or failure for him as he moves upward.

The commission may be considering such practical matters, but it has not discussed them in Mississippi.

U.S. Com.

February 23, 1965

STATEMENT PREPARED FOR MAGGIE LONG FOR NEW SOUTH.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT BY WILEY A. BRANTON
TO THE
CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Wiley Branton, in testifying before the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Jackson, Mississippi, on February 17, 1965, was asked by one of the Commission members, (Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman) what he thought should be done in Mississippi if Negroes continued to be denied the right to register, and if violence and harassment continued. His reply was substantially as follows:

"Mississippi has had such serious problems over so long a period of time as to require the attention of the White House immediately. Governor Paul Johnson has suggested that the government get off Mississippi's back and allow the state a change to comply with the laws of the land. As one who has lived in the South all my life, I am a great believer in accepting a man's word until he proves himself differently, no matter what his past conduct has been. I feel that President Johnson should say to the governor that the government will accept him at his word, and give the state a reasonable period of time to show positive evidence of change, but I do not feel that the state should be given a long period of time. If, at the end of that period of time, there has not been a substantial change in the denial of voting rights and the pattern of violence, then we should immediately take drastic action. Just as in the course of our American history, we have found it necessary to send Marines to Tripoli, Cuba, and Haiti to protect American lives and property, then God knows, it would be high time for us to send in some military forces to protect Mississippi lives and property, and I would do just that. If such action became necessary, then I feel that the President should appoint a military governor of Mississippi, and give that state another period of reconstruction which it seemed to have missed out on a hundred years ago."

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

MAR 3 1965

March 1, 1965

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

Burke's statement is enclosed.

Best regards,

John

JOHN DOAR
Acting Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Enclosure

February 23, 1965

The Honorable John Doar
Assistant Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Would you please send us a copy of the statement by Mr. Burke Marshall, which was submitted to the United States Civil Service Commission during the hearings last week in Jackson. Of particular interest to us would be the figures showing the increase in the percentage of Negro voters in certain Mississippi counties which I understand was part of the statement.

Yours very truly,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:js

WB

MAR 3 1965

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. BURKE MARSHALL SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, JACKSON MISSISSIPPI, FEBRUARY 18, 1965.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission. I am pleased to be here today, at your request, to discuss the experience of the Department of Justice in enforcing the federal voting statutes and dealing with certain other problems in the State of Mississippi. From February of 1961 until January of 1965, I was Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, United States Department of Justice. While I am now engaged in the private practice of law in Washington, D. C. and no longer associated with the Department of Justice, what I have to say will coincide, I think, with the present views of the Department.

I have a prepared statement to read, after which I will be happy to answer any questions.

Justice Dept.

The principal federal constitutional provision dealing with voting is the Fifteenth Amendmend. Adopted in 1870, it forbids the States or the United States to deny or abridge the right to vote in any election, state or federal, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Additional federal power to legislate in this field is derived from the Fourteenth Amendment. Articles I, Sections 2 and 4, as supplemented by the Seventeenth Amendment, also are a source of federal power to regulate federal elections.

Shortly after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress adopted legislation to permit private litigants to bring suit to protect the right to vote. During the same period criminal statutes punishing denials of the right to vote were enacted, but no civil enforcement power was given to the Department of Justice at that time.

It was no secret to anyone that these statutory remedies were hopelessly inadequate and that there were no attempts made to enforce those laws which were available. Negro disfranchisement was widespread. In

many states, Negroes were not permitted to register to vote and those already registered were purged from the rolls -- without significant protest from any quarter. This failure to make good on the promise of the Fifteenth Amendment cannot be laid on the doorstep of any one state or any one region. It was part of the larger historical pattern which saw our people at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century preoccupied with pursuits other than the meaningful grant of full citizenship to the former slaves. Thus, the practices which disfranchised Negroes flourished unchallenged for three generations.

A serious, sustained, and broad effort to deal with this problem began only about eight years ago. For it was not until 1957 that public acquiesence in the outrageous treatment of Negro citizens in their attempts to become participants in the electoral process was abated sufficiently to permit the enactment by the Congress of meaningful legislation to protect the rights of Negro citizens to vote.

In the Civil Rights Act of 1957, Congress empowered the Attorney General of the United States to institute suits to protect the right to vote

from deprivations because of race or color. 42 U.S.C. 1971 (a), (c). At the same time, the Act also prohibited threats and intimidations for the purpose of interfering with the right to vote in federal elections and it gave the Attorney General authority to bring suits to protect against such interference. 42 U.S.C. 1971 (b), (c).

A number of lawsuits were brought between 1957 and 1960 under the authority of the new Act, none of them in Mississippi. The experience with these lawsuits quickly pointed to the need for further voting legislation. It became apparent at once that voting discrimination suits could not adequately be prepared without full access to the relevant registration papers and documents and that, even where a suit was brought to a successful conclusion, the scope of the relief had to be wider than what was being afforded by the courts at that time. In 1960, Congress set out to remedy these defects. The Civil Rights Act of that year granted to the Attorney General full powers of inspection of documents in the custody of local voting registrars. It further provided that where a pattern or practice of discrimination was found a new and more comprehensive procedure for the registration of Negroes

was to be employed. This new procedure permits any Negro in the affected area whose application has been rejected by local officials to appy directly to the federal court or a federal voting referee for an order certifying him to vote. The orders of the court so obtained are binding upon state voting officials with respect to both state and federal elections.

The Department of Justice brought 40 discrimination suits between the date of enactment of the 1960 Act and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Of these 40 lawsuits, 16 were in Mississippi. In addition, 7 voting discrimination suits have been brought in Mississippi since the passage of the 1964 Act so that up to date we have a total of 23 such lawsuits brought since July 1961.

I should like to describe these Mississippi lawsuits in some detail, but before I do it might be helpful if I related briefly what Mississippi law requires in the way of registration for voting, and what the statistics show concerning registration for voting in this State.

In Mississippi registration is a prerequisite to voting in any election, state or federal. The registration laws are administered in each county by a registrar, who is the circuit court clerk, an elected official. Since the recent adoption of the federal Poll Tax Amendment (the 24th Amendment) the payment of poll taxes is a prerequisite to voting only in elections for state offices. Payment of the tax is not a prerequisite to registration. The County Sheriff, as tax collector, is responsible for collection of the poll tax.

The basic qualifications for registration in Mississippi are citizenship, residence in the State for two years and in the election district in the county for one year. The prospective voter must also be at least 21 years of age, not insane and he must not have been convicted of any disqualifying crime.

In addition to these basic qualifications, the Mississippi Constitution and laws impose the requirements that an applicant must be able to read and write any section of the State Constitution and give a "reasonable interpretation" thereof to the satisfaction of the registrar; he must demonstrate a

"reasonable understanding" of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

These requirements becmme effective in March 1955. All persons registered prior to January 1, 1954 were exempted by law from having their qualifications to vote determined under these added requirements.

In 1960, the requirement of "good moral character" as a prerequisite to voting was added to the Mississippi Constitution.

In 1962 several new statutes, including one implementing the good moral character requirement, were adopted. These laws (1) require that all blanks on the application form be completed "properly and responsively" by the applicant without assistance; (2) prevent a registrar from advising a rejected applicant of the reason for his rejection, because that would constitute assistance; (3) provide for publication of names of applicants for registration in the local newspaper and require applicants to wait for an extended period of time after publication before the applicant can determine (usually about a

month) whether he has been registered or denied registration; (4) permit any qualified elector to challenge the qualifications including moral character of any applicant whose name is published. Finally, a 1960 law permits registrars to destroy application forms.

What are the dimensions of the problem? The statistics provide some answers.

The most complete statistics for Negro registration are for January 1955 immediately prior to the adoption of the constitutional interpretation test as a prerequisite for voting. As of 1955, of 495,183 Negroes of voting age, 21,502 were registered. That represents 4.3% of the potential. The approximate figures for white registration as of that time are as follows: 710,639 white persons of voting age, at least 423,456 were registered, representing 59.6% of the potential.

As of June 1, 1962, we have accurate statistics on 34 of the 82 Mississippi counties. The statistics in these 34 counties show 295,648 persons of voting age and 231,666, or 78% registered. As of the same

date, of 230,770 Negroes of voting age, 10,445, or 4.5% were registered.

As of the approximate date January 1, 1964, we have compiled accurate figures for 29 of the 82 counties. These figures show of 282,580 white persons of voting age, 227,504, or 80.5%, were registered; of 201,849 Negroes of voting age, 12,975, or 6.4% were registered.

I have appended to this statement, as Appendix 1 and 2, the statistics of each of the 34 counties in June 1962, and the statistics in 29 counties as of January 1, 1964. Let me simply add on that point that while our figures are generally accurate, in some instances they represent educated estimates based upon counts from the registration and poll books and the voting figures at a particular election.

I now turn to the Department's voting litigation in Mississippi. The first suit was filed in July of 1961. Since that time, twenty-three discrimination actions have been filed under section 1971(a). Twenty-two of these cases name as defendants

individual state officials and they essentially question the improper administration of state laws by these officials. They do not directly attack the validity of the laws themselves.

In the case of United States v. Mississippi the Department has undertaken a different and more fundamental approach. The complaint, filed on August 28, 1962, named as defendants the State of Mississippi, the three members of its Board of Election Commissioners, and six county registrars. The complaint challenged as unconstitutional and in conflict with paramount federal law most of the bundle of Mississippi voting laws I have already described.

The gravamen of the complaint is that the Mississippi constitutional and statutory provisions are themselves "engines of discrimination," as the Solicitor General put it to the Supreme Court. We contended that these laws are designed to facilitate and abet racial discrimination, that this has been their effect, and that the history of their administration demonstrates conclusively that racial discrimination is the only true purpose they serve. We

also challenged the various tests on "freezing" grounds, and we urged their invalidity on the further ground that the State's educational system so discriminated against Negroes that, in fairness, complicated literacy tests could not be required.

The relief sought in United States v. Mississippi is nothing less than the substantial elimination of all the varied literacy requirements and an order requiring the registration of any Negro applicant who meets the age and residence requirements, is able to read, is sane, and has not been convicted of a disqualifying crime.

By a divided vote, the three-judge district court dismissed the complaint, holding that it failed to state a claim upon which relief could be granted. This decision, incidentally,appears to be in conflict with the judgment in a similar case brought against the State of Louisiana in which another three-judge court held invalid the Louisiana interpretation test and granted freezing relief in 21 parishes against the use of a new so-called "citizenship" test. Both cases have been appealed to the Supreme Court and that Court heard arguments on the appeals in January.

Let me turn now to the individual discrimination suits.

The Department has obtained effective final decrees against registrars in two counties, Panola and Tallahatchie, and the court of appeals recently directed the entry of an effective decree in Walthall County. A satisfactory order was also entered against the Sheriff of Tallahatchie County in another 1971(a) case, restraining him from discriminatory manipulation of the poll tax requirement.

Cases from three other counties -- Holmes, George, and Clarke -- are pending on appeal, Clarke for the second time, after refusal of relief in whole or in part by the district court.

In the Forrest County case, which is proceeding simultaneously in the district court and the court of appeals, interlocutory relief has been granted by the appellate court and the district court has entered a decree, granting partial relief, to take effect after disposition of the court of appeals proceedings.

In three counties, Madison, Sunflower, and Jefferson Davis,cases have been tried and are awaiting decision, and a trial is currently under way in a second Holmes County case.

In Marshall and Benton counties offers of judgment have been made and the supervisors have ordered a complete reregistration of all persons. Negotiations are proceeding with respect to the terms and conditions of the registration, particularly as concerns the rights of Negroes residing in the counties prior to 1954 who were never registered, and the problem of unequal educational opportunities.

In eight counties -- Marion, Issaquena, Chickasaw, Jasper, Oktibbeha, Lauderdale, Copiah, and Hinds -- the Department has filed nine lawsuits (two in Chickasaw), which have not yet come to trial, but preliminary relief adding Negroes to the registration rolls has been granted in Lauderdale and Hinds. Similar relief was also granted pending the decision on the merits in Sunflower and Madison Counties. No. 1971(a) case in Mississippi has been finally decided adversely to the Government.

A mere sterile recital of the number of lawsuits brought cannot provide an accurate measure of the work and effort that went into this litigation.

At the time when most of these lawsuits were brought the Department of Justice had less than two dozen lawyers exclusively engaged in the voting litigation. Yet, in the Hinds County case, for example, Departmental attorneys with clerical assistance had to analyze some 14,000 application forms and control cards based on these forms to prove that there was in fact discrimination in the selection of test questions and in their grading. This is just one of the steps necessary to prepare a 1971(a) case. Besides this, registration books must be counted, registered voters and rejected applicants identified by race, and most difficult of all, perhaps, assistance given to white applicants but not to Negro applicants must be proved. These problems require the Department attorneys to analyze large numbers of records and interview sometimes hundreds of witnesses to establish a case.

For example, in connection with the preparation of the Forrest County case, two attorneys were in Hattiesburg for almost three weeks sifting through newspapers, graduation yearbooks, city directories, and other documents, in order to identify and locate white persons who were placed on the rolls by the incumbent registrar.

Thereafter, other attorneys, again with the help of clerical employees, analyze application forms, control cards and other records during a 16-week period. The interviewing of prospective witnesses took four attorneys well over two weeks, and as many as five attorneys at a time were engaged for a period of over one month in preparing proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law.

In short, not even counting the trial, the preparation of voting discrimination cases is a time-consuming, complex task. It is due to the dedication of the personnel in the Civil Rights Division and their willingness to work countless hours of overtime that it was possible to make significant progress.

The experience with the discrimination cases revealed both the effectiveness of the legislation and its shortcomings. The effectiveness was shown most dramatically in the Panola County case. Panola is a rural county in the northern part of the State. Prior to our lawsuit there, 1 Negro was registered to vote. After the district court entered an effective decree -- following the instructions from the court of appeals --

approximately 1,000 Negroes registered to vote, or about 15% of all those eligible. It is my expectation that, as additional lawsuits are decided, similar results may be achieved in other counties.

What about the shortcomings? The major problems were those of delay, on the one hand, and the manipulation of literacy tests, and effective relief against such manipulation, on the other. Let me explain.

Litigation takes time. There is the time provided for in the rules; there is the time required to reach the head of the calendar; there is the time required for decision; there is the time needed for the appellate process. In part, delays are inherent in the litigation system. Beyond that, however, in the first two years of our litigation in Mississippi, the time consumed in the preliminary stages prior to trial was far too long.

The Department has compiled some approximate statistics on the length of time necessary to litigate voting suits. Please bear in mind that rough judgments had to be made in some instances as to how much time could fairly be counted with respect to some of the cases.

Prior to 1964, the average elapsed time from the filing of a complaint until the filing of the defendant's answer was about 6 and 3/8 months.

The average elapsed time from filing of an answer until the beginning of trial was nine months.

The average elapsed time from the end of trial until entry of judgment was 4.10 months.

Lumping these figures, the average elapsed time from filing of a complaint until beginning of trial was 16.33 months. The actual elapsed time exceeded the average in 9 of the 15 cases included in this calculation. And the average elapsed time from filing of a complaint until entry of judgment was 17.8 months.

The average time required to complete the appeal from an unsatisfactory judgment in 1971(a) cases has been about one year.

As for the manipulation of literacy tests, it has been the favored device of those who discriminate. Under the pressures of a lawsuit, Negroes are required to furnish precise answers to complex or vague questions and they are tested by a most exacting standard. Whites, on the other hand, are either not tested at all or are given assistance as needed. The result is the great imbalance in registration figures. Litigation also may prompt the registrar to apply the strict requirements of Mississippi law to all applicants, white and Negro, or to slow down the pace of registration. Since practically all whites in the county are already registered, such methods hurt only the Negroes.

These various problems were brought to the attention of the Congress and Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the result. That Act not only provides for the expedition of voting rights lawsuits, but it also specifically outlaws the permanent "freezing" of the results of previous discrimination, that is, the tightening of the registration standards (after a period when they were not or hardly at all applied to whites) so as to make them apply theoretically to all but as a practical matter only to the unregistered Negroes. The Act also provides for a presumption of literacy in the case of persons who have completed the sixth grade.

Partly as a result of the passage of the Act, and partly as a result of successful litigation apart from the Act, satisfying progress has been made with respect to the several problems I have outlined.

Since July 2, 1964, the Department has filed seven more 1971(a) suits. The figures for these new cases show that the average elapsed time from complaint to answer was less than one month. One case has already gone to trial and in two others offers of consent judgments were made by the defendants within three and four months, respectively, after filing of the complaint.

It is evident that the time required to litigate 1971(a) cases is being sharply reduced. As I indicated, this is the result not only of passage of the 1964 statute but also of resolution of a variety of procedural problems which must inevitably emerge in the initial phases of enforcement of a new regulatory statute. The expediting provisions of the 1964 Act promise to accelerate further the pace of litigation. Indeed,in one case, involving Holmes County, where the complaint was filed at the end of July, our discovery motion was granted within a month, the defendants answered, and a trial date was set for early November. The trial began on schedule, but was continued to this month, when it should be completed.

The Department also has been successful in securing in some of the cases an effective decree against the maniupulation of literacy tests and slow-downs in administering these tests. Such a decree is one that directs a registration speed-up if necessary; that invokes a freeze, so that Negroes of elementary literacy, who meet the basic qualification of state law (age, residence, lack of conviction of a disqualifying crime, insanity) may be registered at least for a period long enough to give all of the present adults in the county a fair opportunity to present themselves for registration; and that requires detailed monthly reporting by the registrar to the federal court and to the Department of Justice. This kind of relief has been granted in Panola, Tallahatchie and Walthall Counties. It may be expected in other cases as well, now that the court of appeals has laid down standards.

I should like to discuss now, more briefly, the problems of voting intimidation and racial violence. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 for the first time gave the Department of Justice authority to bring injunctive action against intimidation for the purpose of interfering

with the right to vote in federal elections. This statute is codified in Title 42, section 1971(b). Seven suits have been filed in Mississippi under the authority of that statute, with mixed success.

The first suit was brought in Walthall County, where, on appeal, a temporary injunction was obtained against a trumped-up prosecution of a voting registration worker. The case was ultimately settled after the State agreed to dismiss the criminal charges against the voting worker.

In Leflore County settlement was obtained in another suit to enjoin intimidation of voting registration workers by arrests and prosecutions. A second 1971(b) case, also involving intimidatory arrests and prosecutions, is still pending. The Department unsuccessfully sought interlocutory relief from the court of appeals in this action.

In Clarke County the Department obtained a decree prohibiting a state court perjury prosecution of Negro witnesses who had testified in federal court in a 1971(a) case.

In Holmes County the Department sought injunctive relief against criminal prosecutions brought and judgments obtained against voter registration workers. Relief was denied in the district court, but the case was appealed to the court of appeals which recently heard oral argument.

In Greene County the district court denied the Department's request to restore to her job a school teacher discharged because, it was alleged, she testified for the Government in a voting discrimination case. Similarly, in Rankin County, injunctive relief was refused against a sheriff who, with his deputy, assaulted Negroes who were filling out application forms in the registrar's office. In both cases the legal issue was whether the acts done were for the purpose of interfering with the right to vote, and in each instance the Department was unable to overcome on appeal lower court findings of fact that the acts in question had not been done for that purpose. Hence these two judgments denying relief were affirmed.

As this summary indicates, the principal problem under the intimidation statute is that, as presently interpreted, it requires the Government to prove an intimidation or a threat which is undertaken

for the purpose of interfering with the right to vote. This burden is a very difficult one to sustain. The problem might be resolved by a sufficiently broad judicial construction of the purpose requirement. Cases now pending may provide an opportunity to establish an interpretation of the law which would more effectively serve the end of guaranteeing that those who seek to vote need not fear retaliation.

Related to the problem of intimidation is that of racial violence. As I indicated earlier, the only relevant civil litigation authority of the Department of Justice lies in the field of voting. That does not mean, however, that nothing has been done. Activities aimed at neutralizing the violent efforts of the Ku Klux Klan are proceeding constantly. The staff of the FBI has been greatly augmented in Mississippi and a new field office has been opened in Jackson. Investigations have been and will continue to be conducted into reported cases of interference with federal rights.

The truth of the matter, however, is that there is no acceptable federal solution to this law enforcement problem. We have no federal police force empowered or

equipped to provide protection or to maintain law and order on a generalized basis. And I do not believe that the situation, deplorable as it may be in many parts, warrants the departure from the historic pattern of limited federal power that would be implied by the creation of a federal force having as its purpose the maintenance of internal law and order.

There are inherent difficulties, too, when the problem is what to do about excesses by local law enforcement officers. An injunction is simply not a very useful instrument for the control of the discretion necessarily vested in such officers. Courts are reluctant to issue orders binding the hands of local, elected, enforcement officials, and will do so only where no other effective means

dealing with the violation are available.

In sum, some strides have been made in eradicating voting discrimination in Mississippi. But Mississippi cannot ve viewed in isolation. The real, concentrated effort by federal authorities in this State was begun only relatively recently. Progress has been made and far greater progress may confidently be anticipated. In other states, where similar efforts were begun sooner, tangible results are already more visible.

The 1964 status report, which I am submitting to the Committee with my testimony, reports in detail what has been accomplished in the litigation in all of the states in which suits have been brought.

Let me make it clear that I do not represent that an effective decree is the absolute solution. There are certain problems litigation cannot cure. Among these inherent difficulties isthe inferior economic status of Mississippi Negroes and the level of literacy of many of them. The economic and social problems involved have very deep roots and will remain even after the voting problem is solved. They cannot be met by court action, and I have not attempted to

deal with them. As concerns low literacy levels as they affect voting and voting rights, "freezing" decrees will provide some correction, because they will permit the registration of Negroes of a level of literacy comparable to that of registered whites. But even this is obviously not a complete answer.

In short, the purposes of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964 were good. Some of their aims have been achieved and this progress has recently been accelerated. Yet delays and abuses of discretion continue to exist. Because time is of the essence, President Johnson and his Administration are devoting intensive attention to additional voting legislation. Participation in elections is, after all, basic to American democracy, and it is important, therefore, that the right to vote be guaranteed.

APPENDIX I

REGISTRATION STATISTICS BY COUNTY FOR JUNE 1, 1962 (34 of 82 counties)

County	Whites Over 21	Whites Registered	%	Negroes Over 21	Negroes Registered	%
1. Amite	4,449	3,532	80.0	3,560	1	.028
2. Benton*	2,514	1,867	74.2	1,419	30	.21
3. Claiborne	1,688	1,440	85.3	3,969	15	.37
4. Clarke	6,072	5,000	83	2,998	1	.03
5. Coahoma	8,708	6,380	73	14,004	1,061	7.6
6. Copiah	8,153	7,533	92.0	6,407	25	.39
7. Covington*	5,329	4,773	89.5	7,032	202	3.5
8. DeSoto*	5,338	3,877	72.6	6,246	11	.18
9. Forrest*	22,431	10,903	48.6	7,495	22	.3
10. Franklin	3,403	3,731	100.00	1,842	236	12.8
11. George*	5,276	3,752	71.1	580	10	1.7
12. Greene*	3,518	3,543	100	859	43	5
13. Grenada*	5,792	3,884	67	4,323	135	3.1
14. Hinds	67,836	56,363	80	36,138	4,756	13.2
15. Holmes*	4,773	3,731	77.9	8,757	8	.09
16. Jefferson Davis*	3,629	3,229	88.9	3,222	76	2.3

*White registration figures for these 13 asterisked counties were arrived at by taking the total vote cast in the 1963 primary in that county and subtracting the number of registered Negroes. The number of registered Negroes was arrived at by count from the registration or Poll Books. All the registration figures for the remaining 21 counties were arrived at by count either from the registration books or the Poll Books.

APPENDIX I (contd)

County	Whites Over 21	Whites Registered	%	Negroes Over 21	Negroes Registered	&
17. Kemper*	3,113	2,769	88.9	3,221	30	.9
18. Lamar*	6,489	5,042	91	1,071	0	0
19. Leake*	6,754	3,796	56.2	3,397	116	3.4
20. Leflore	10,274	7,168	70	13,657	268	2
21. Lowndes	16,460	8,312	50.5	8,362	95	1.1
22. Madison	5,622	5,458	97	10,366	121	1.1
23. Marion	8,997	9,540	100	3,630	363	10
24. Marshall	4,342	4,162	96	7,168	57	.8
25. Newton	8,014	5,700	71	3,018	104	2.8
26. Panola	7,639	5,309	69	7,250	2	.028
27. Quitman	4,176	2,991	71.6	5,673	436	6.6
28. Rankin	13,246	12,000	90	6,944	94	1.35
29. Tallahatchie*	5,099	4,208	82.5	6,483	5	.07
30. Tunica	2,011	1,436	71	5,822	42	.72
31. Walthall	4,736	4,219	89	2,490	2	.08
32. Washington	19,837	10,838	54.5	20,619	1,762	8.6
33. Wilkinson	2,340	2,438	100.0	4,120	60	1.5
34. Yazoo	7,598	7,130	93.0	8,719	256	2.9

APPENDIX 2
REGISTRATION STATISTICS
By County for January 1, 1964 1/
(29 of 82 counties)

County	White Persons Over 21	White Persons Registered	%	Negro Persons Over 21	Negro Persons Registered	%
1. Benton	2514	2226	92.0	1419	55	3.0
2. Chickasaw	6388	4548	72	3054	1	.003
3. Claiborne	1688	1528	90.5	3969	26	.65
4. Clarke	6072	4829	80	3998	64	2.2
5. Copiah	8153	7533	92.3	6407	25	.39
6. Forrest	22,431	13,253	59	7494	236	3.1
7. George	5276	4200	79	580	14	2.4
8. Hinds	67,836	62,410	92.1	36,138	5,616	15.5
9. Holmes	4,773	4,800	100	8,757	20	.23

1/ The date is approximated, median date for tabulations covering both 1963 and 1964. All registration figures for these 29 counties were arrived at by count of the registration or poll books. The figures for white registration are subject to some inflation due to the fact that not all registrars have systematically purged for deaths and transfers. The figures for Negro registration are as accurate as possible from counts and cross checks of the registration and poll books.

APPENDIX 2 (contd)

County	White Persons Over 21	White Persons Registered	%	Negro Persons Over 21	Negro Persons Registered	%
10. Humphreys	3,344	2,538	68.3	5,561	0	0
11. Issequena	640	640	100 ≠	1,081	5	.46
12. Jasper	5,327	4,500*	82.2	3,675	10	.23
13. Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,236	89	3,222	126	3.9
14. Lamar	6,489	5,752	88.6	1,071	0	0
15. Lauderdale	27,806	18,000*	64.7	11,924	1,700*	14.3
16. Leake	6,754	6,000*	88.8	3,397	220	6.4
17. Leflore	10,274	7,348	71.5	13,567	281	1.6
18. Lowndes	16,460	8,687	52.7	8,362	99	1.1
19. Madison	5,622	6,256	100 ≠	10,366	218	2.
20. Marion	8,997	10,123	100 ≠	3,630	383	11.
21. Marshall	4,342	4,229	97.3	7,168	177	2.5
22. Oktibbeha	8,423	4,413	52.3	4,952	128	2.5
23. Panola	7,639	5,922	77.	7,250	878	12.
24. Scott	7,742	5,400*	69.7	3,752	16	.42
25. Sunflower	8,785	7,082	80.1	13,524	185	1.4
26. Tallahatchie	5,099	4,464	87.5	6,483	17 ?	26.
27. Tunica	2,011	1,407	69.9	1,407	38	.6
28. Walthal	4,536	4,536	100 ≠	2,499	4	.124
29. Warren	13,530	11,654	86.1	10,726	2,433	22.6

*Estimate

JS

VEP

POLICY AND PROCEDURE

MANUAL

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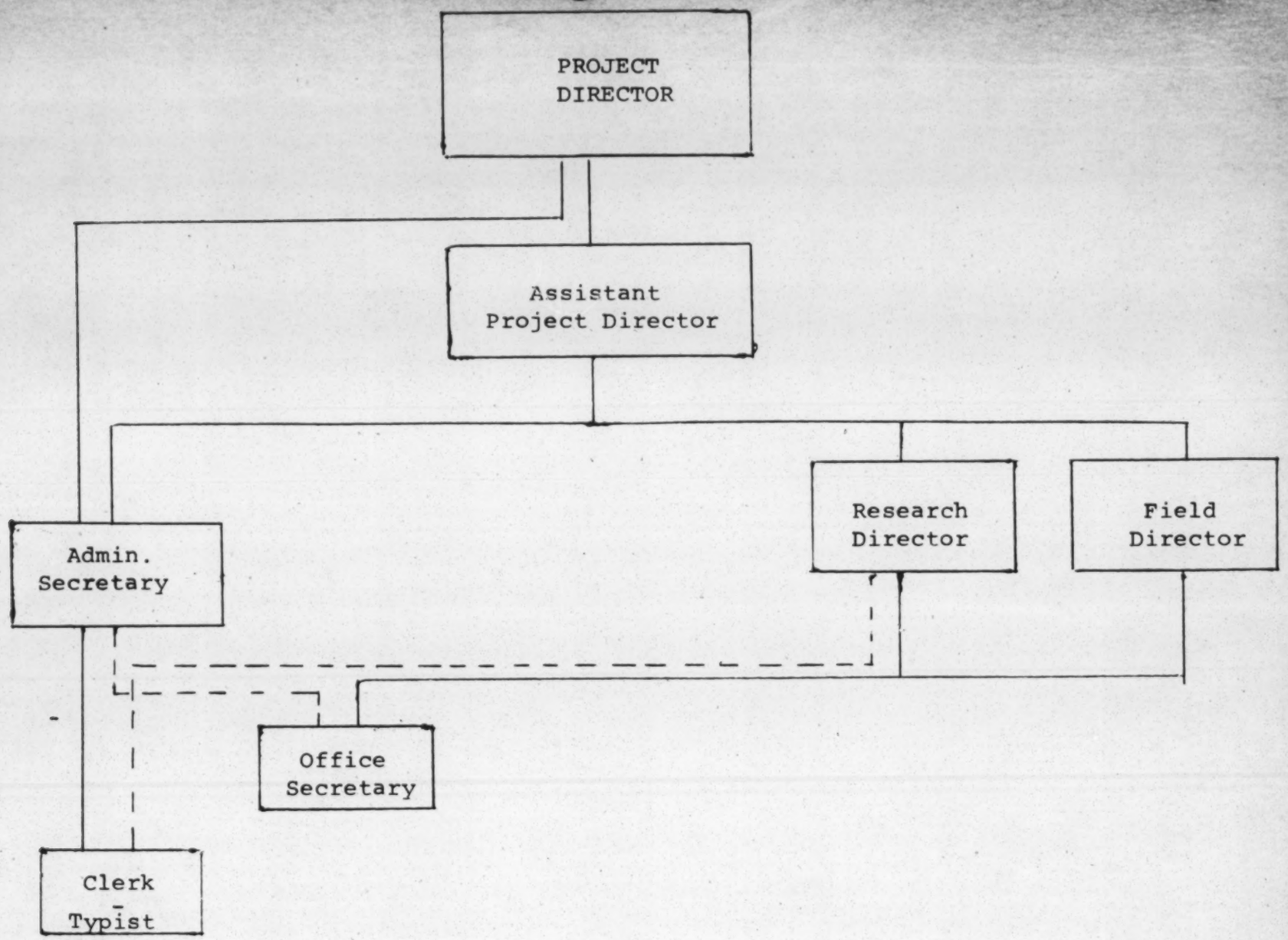
THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project is a special program of the Southern Regional Council to study the causes of low voter registration in the South, and to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate. Over the life of the project, observation and analysis of voter registration programs will be made and funds will be granted by the Project to make possible programs which will advance this study.

The Project works cooperatively with other responsible groups carrying on voter registration programs.



VEP ORGANIZATION CHART

DIRECTOR OF THE PROJECT

The Director has the undivided responsibility and authority for the general operation of the Project. This responsibility and authority includes but is not limited to:

1) The allocation of funds in the field.

2) The termination of funds and services in the field.

3) The general supervision of the administration of the Project office (which includes Research).

4) The termination of employment.

He may delegate responsibility and authority, but his decision must be the final one on any Administrative, Research or Field problem.

ASSISTANT PROJECT DIRECTOR

The Assistant Project Director will perform those functions delegated to him by the Director which will best assist the Director in the performance of all functions of the Project.

In the absence of the Director, the Assistant Project Director is in full charge of all phases of the Project (with the exception of the initiation of new grants) and the authority for decisions made in the Director's absence has been delegated to the Assistant Project Director.

FIELD DIRECTOR

The Field Director will consult with and advise cooperating organizations in the formulation or revision of programs. He will assist in the instruction of voter registration staffs and will advise organizations when problems arise as to how they should be met in accordance with the terms of the approved programs. He will assist in the observation and analysis of the activities, methods, and results of the various programs.

He has the responsibility to maintain close contact with all VEP supported programs by regular and frequent visits to these projects.

His responsibilities also include full reporting to the Director not only of actual performance data, but of the underlying attitudes, morale, and other like factors which might affect field workers' performance and their relationships to the Project, and which might not come to the attention of the Project in the ordinary course of progress reporting.

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

The person in this position performs three functions:

1. She serves as secretary to the Project Director.
2. She serves as Office Manager of the Project.
3. She assists the Assistant Director wherever and whenever possible

Duties:

In connection with #1 above her duties are secretarial and these include maintenance of the Project Director's files and correspondence.

In connection with #2 above her duties include:

Opening and time-stamping of all office mail, and proper distribution of it. (See Mail Procedure - Page 12.)

Maintaining inventory of office supplies and ordering of these supplies. All requests for office supplies should be made through the Administrative Secretary. (See Supply Procedure - Page 12.)

Maintaining petty cash

Maintaining all financial records (both VEP Administration - except those maintained by SRC Treasurer - and Grant Accounting.) This includes the filing of appropriate reports with the Director of the Project.

Maintaining map of voter registration projects supported by VEP.

Responsibilities:

This person has all responsibilities implicit in #1 above, and has the primary responsibility for the proper functioning of office routine. She is responsible for proper distribution of work load in office and in this connection, as in all areas where she acts in a supervisory capacity, serves as an agent for the Project Director.

Requests for services of non-professional staff, except as outlined in their job descriptions, should be cleared through the Administrative Secretary.

OFFICE SECRETARY

The person in this position serves as secretary to the Research Director and to the Field Director.

Duties:

General secretarial duties, which include dictation and transcription for her immediate supervisors, placing of phone calls for them, maintaining appointment calendars and, when necessary, making travel reservations

Maintaining trip report files for Field Director.

Maintaining files of progress reports for Research Director. (See Filing Procedure - Page 14)

Maintaining follow-up procedures on progress reporting and reporting delinquencies to Research Director

Categorizing of all materials to be filed (See Filing Procedure - Page 14.) Actual filing is done by Clerk-Typist.

CLERK-TYPIST

The person in this position functions as a "utility" person. Generally, this position includes typing and filing, and general office work.

Duties:

Recording of incoming progress reports.

Maintaining mailing lists.

Posting of all office mail (See Mailing Procedure - Page 12.)

Purchasing of all post office supplies.

Performing general office errands.

Answering of VEP telephone. (See Telephone Procedure - Page 13.)

ANNUAL AND SICK LEAVE

Leave for all VEP personnel is in accordance with the policy of SRC and is as follows:

> Annual Leave is accumulated at the rate of 1⅓ days per month, or 18 days per year. It may not be accumulated beyond the maximum of 24 days.
>
> Sick Leave is accumulated at the rate of 1⅓ days per month, or 18 days per year.

Leave slips must be ~~signed~~ submitted for all leave taken.

The official VEP holidays are also in accordance with the policy of SRC and are as follows:

> New Year's Day
> Memorial Day
> Independence Day
> Labor Day
> Thanksgiving and the day following
> Christmas Eve
> Christmas Day

The Project Director desires to maintain as relaxed an atmosphere in the VEP office as possible, but certain minimum regulations must be imposed to maintain efficiency. Therefore, the non-professional staff should, as far as possible, anticipate leave requests and clear such requests through the Administrative Secretary in advance.

Leaving the office during working hours for personal business should be kept to an absolute minimum. If it develops that a person needs to be away from the office on personal business for any extended period of time, leave slips should be filled out and submitted to the Administrative Secretary, and, as far as possible, requests for such time should be made in advance.

The non-professional staff should maintain their lunch hour schedules in such a way that the office is covered at all times during the working day.

GENERAL OFFICE PROCEDURES

Correspondence:

For style on all correspondence and manuscripts refer to SRC Style Manual.

The following copies shall be made on all official VEP correspondence:

1. Office File Copy (White)
2. Office Reading File Copy (Pink)
3. SRC Director's Reading File Copy (Green)
4. Other copies designated by dictator when appropriate.

All VEP reports and manuscripts must be proofread with another person before being sent out of the VEP office.

Travel Expense Vouchers:

When staff members travel into the field and require expense advance money requests for the amount needed are to be given to the Administrative Secretary.

Vouchers to support expenditures from expense advances are to be filled out in duplicate, and receipts and invoices supporting claims on these vouchers are to be attached to original copy. Both copies are to be given to the Administrative Secretary after the original copy is signed by the person submitting them.

Housekeeping:

All office equipment (machines) ~~is~~ to be covered at night. All files are to be locked at night.

MAILING PROCEDURE

All incoming VEP mail will be opened by the Administrative Secretary who will time-stamp it and distribute it to the proper persons. Any personal mail coming to the staff should be so marked if it is possible for them to arrange this.

In the absence of the Administrative Secretary the mail - with the exception of the Director's - will be opened, stamped and distributed by the Office Secretary. The Director's mail will either be held for the return of the Administrative Secretary (where her absence is only a matter of an hour or so) or given to the Director.

All outgoing VEP mail will be given to the Clerk-Typist for stamping, sealing and mailing.

SUPPLIES

Each member of the non-professional staff is requested to inform the Administrative Secretary when there is a need for new office supplies, or when office supplies are obviously low.

Office supplies are ordered on a routine semi-weekly basis when possible.

TELEPHONE PROCEDURE

All incoming calls to VEP will be answered by the Clerk-Typist when possible. She will identify this office by the phrase "Voter Education Project."

The Project Director's calls will be referred directly and immediately to the Administrative Secretary for handling or transferring to him. This is the procedure to be followed by anyone answering the VEP telephone.

The Research and Field Directors' calls will be referred directly to them.

Outgoing calls for the professional staff will either be placed by them or by their secretaries.

A record shall be kept on the proper log form of all long distance calls placed.

When long distance calls are placed and not completed the Clerk-Typist should be advised of this fact so that she will know to whom the call belongs when it is returned. (This would be true also of local calls placed and not completed.)

Personal telephone calls (either incoming or outgoing) shall be kept to a minimum.

Requests for the identify of a caller shall be made by either of the two following questions:

"May I tell him who is calling?"
"May I ask who is calling?"
(NOT: Who is Calling?")

FILING PROCEDURE

There are two steps in the filing procedure:

1. Categorizing
2. Actual filing.

The Office Secretary shall be responsible for the first step, and the Clerk-Typist for the second.

The VEP files are color-coded and are divided into the following sections:

VEP ADMINISTRATION (Blue)

This section includes all correspondence, reports, etc., having to do with the actual functioning of the VEP office; personnel records, and like administrative matters.

GRANTS (Yellow)

This section is divided into two drawers (Open) and (Closed) of Grant files. The Open section contains all correspondence, reports, etc., having to do with actual current projects - with the exception of progress reports and other such research data which are kept in the office of the Research Director. Also the accounting records of all grants are kept in a file maintained by the Administrative Secretary. The Closed section is that containing files of completed projects.

REGIONAL DATA (Pink)

This section contains miscellaneous information concerning the eleven states of the Project's concern and the drawer is divided into sections for each of these states. Such information as registration data, resistance to voter registration in various localities, and in some cases information on projects which are not supported by grants from VEP, is kept in this section.

AGENCIES (White)

This section contains all correspondence, bulletins, reports, news releases, etc., that do not refer to actual Open Projects. There are file folders for various inter-group agencies, as well as general folders for each of the major participating agencies.

FILING PROCEDURE (Cont'd)

General and Miscellaneous

This section is just what its name implies but its use should be kept to a minimum. Finding files is much easier and faster when the miscellaneous files are not misused.

The professional staff should feel free to remove any files necessary for their work (provided they do not remove them from the office) but they are requested not to return such files to the drawers. If they will stack such files on top of the cabinets they will be re-filed by the Clerk-Typist.

PROCEDURE FOR SETTING UP GRANTS

NEW GRANTS:

Administrative Secretary

1. Assign grant number.

2. Type voucher in triplicate for grant check and submit signed original to SRC Secretary-Treasurer. Give one carbon to Office Secretary. File one carbon in Grant Expense folder.

3. Type grant letter to agency and send financial reporting instructions and forms. Enclose check in letter.

4. Set up account card.

5. Set up account sheets in ledger book.

6. Set up new project file folder.

7. Add grant data to list of current projects and add name and number of grant to chronological list.

8. Make BU* reminders for due dates on financial reporting.

9. Add map tack to wall map.

10. Follow up on financial reporting dates.

Office Secretary

When the Office Secretary receives the voucher carbon she should:

1. Add name and number to chronological list.

2. Make progress report card.

3. Make BU* reminders for due dates on progress reporting.

4. Set up new file folders to receive Research progress reports.

5. Give voucher carbon to the Clerk-Typist.

6. Follow up on progress reporting dates and report delinquencies to Research Director.

*Bring Up

(more)

PROCEDURE FOR SETTING UP GRANTS
(Cont'd)

NEW GRANTS: (Cont'd)

Clerk-Typist:

When the Clerk-Typist receives the voucher carbon she should:

1. Add name and number of grant to chronological list.

2. File voucher carbon in project file folder.

SUPPLEMENTS TO EXISTING GRANTS:

Administrative Secretary

1. Type voucher in triplicate and submit signed original to Secretary-Treasurer of SRC.

2. Add date and amount of supplement to:

   A. Account card
   B. Ledger sheets
   C. Current projects list

3. Write covering letter. Enclose check in letter.

4. File one carbon in project file folder and one carbon in Grant Expense folder.

TRAVEL REPORTING PROCEDURE

FIELD DIRECTOR

The Field Director shall prepare a travel itinerary for a full week's schedule which should be submitted to the Project Director by noon Monday for the week beginning the following Monday. This will afford the Director an opportunity to circulate the itinerary in the office for a week in advance of the actual schedule so that any of the staff might have the opportunity of bringing items to the attention of the Field Director which might affect his scheduled trip. This schedule should be prepared whether a trip out of town is planned or not and the schedule should indicate his plans to stay in Atlanta if this is a fact.

ALL TRAVELING STAFF MEMBERS (other than the Field Director)

All other staff members should prepare travel itineraries for a week's activities which should be submitted to the Project Director by noon Friday of the week preceding the itinerary schedule. No report need by prepared unless a trip out of town is scheduled during the following week.

ALL TRAVELING STAFF MEMBERS (including the Field Director)

1. On the Monday following the end of the week for which the report was prepared, each person should answer the information on the bottom of the form by answering the question, "Was the above itinerary substantially followed?" If the answer is "No" an explanation should be given regarding any changes from the itinerary.

2. Expense Statements. Expense statements should be prepared as promptly as possible following the return to Atlanta.

3. Travel Advances. Any person requiring a travel advance should request them through the Administrative Secretary no later than noon of the day prior to departure.

4. Field Reports. All staff members writing field reports should write a separate report for each locality visited and where a person visits more than one city on the same trip the report should be written in such a manner tha the chronology can be followed. Example, Durham Report: "I flew to Durham from Atlanta" (then describe the Durham situation). "I rented a car in Durham and drove to Raleigh." Raleigh Report: "I arrived in Raleigh from Durham" (then describe the Raleigh situation).

If a field report is actually written the stenographer typing the field report shall make an entry on the original field itinerary showing the day that the field report was written.

March, 1964

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director John H. Wheeler, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2121 Building, Room 101
Birmingham 3, Alabama
ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chmn.: Rev. Powers McLeod

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Assoc. Dir.: Ozell Sutton
Chmn.: Mrs. Joe R. Brewer

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida
255-5881 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Chmn.: Dr. H. Franklin Williams

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502
Atlanta 3, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Assoc. Dir.: Oliver Holmes
Chmn.: Dr. Lionel Newsome

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Sec.: Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Acting Chmn.: The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
Box 532, USL Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chmn.: Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
P. O. Box 266
Oxford, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Chmn.: T. Franklin Williams

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chmn.: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 - 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee
CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Katherine Jones
Chmn.: William R. Willis, Jr.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia
648-4445
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chmn.: Dr. Aubrey N. Brown

TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chmn.: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Local Councils with Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 207
Atlanta 3, Ga.
525-6469
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Chmn.: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas
JA. 6-1829
Exec. Dir.: Charles Kelly
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. Geo. Dumbauld
Chmn.: G. E. Dodd

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE
129 E. Forsyth St.
Jacksonville, Fla. 353-8081 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Ernest Lent

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B W
WB

Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee
419 Hillsboro Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

WB Contacting

February 24, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee read with considerable interest the Council's news release dated February 12, concerning the progress of your Voter Enrollment Project. The Committee feels that because of the similarity of goals between our respective enrollment projects, you would be interested in the following report.

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee was conceived in mid-December, 1963, out of a pressing need to make Chapel Hill's Negro citizens more active politically. With a small group of energetic, hard-working Negro and white volunteers, the Committee conducted a house-to-house survey and registration drive throughout the Negro communities in the township during the latest registration period. The results of both the canvass and the enrollment drive were, we feel, most gratifying. Of some 1,430 Negro adults contacted twenty-one and older, some 717 were found to be registered. The registration campaign added 122 more new names to the voting lists.

The frequency of such comments as "Idon't know what I'm voting for," or "What good is my vote anyway?" has prompted the Committee to organize itself into a permanent registration and education body. We have since divided the township into small units, each of which has a block captain. These block workers are now distributing regularly issued newsletters of objective abstracts of issues and platforms. We believe that these informative abstracts will induce previously inactive citizens to consider becoming a part of the electorate.

not for Voter Education

Since its inception, the Committee has grown to include over 80 people. Several faculty members from the University of North Carolina, some precinct registrars, ministers, and government and civic leaders have begun to contribute their talents in an effort to make the Committee as effective as possible in its work. Nevertheless, most of us involved in

Voter Education

this type of work are rather inexperienced. Consequently, the Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee would be most appreciative of any materials which the Southern Regional Council might have concerning voter registration and education.

The Committee itself is independent; its personnel and financial basis is local in nature. Accordingly, the Committee has, on occasion, found itself hard-pressed from the monetary standpoint. Although a recent and successful solicitation has temporarily brightened the financial outlook of the Committee, we should also like to inquire about the stipends mentioned in your February 12 newsstory.

The Chapel Hill Voter Registration Committee would be most grateful for any information from you.

Cordially yours,

W. E. Mason III

W. E. Mason III

Edwin Caldwell, Jr.

Edwin Caldwell, Jr.

Dodi Donnelly

Dodi Donnelly
(Mrs. Tom G. Donnelly),
Co-chairmen

STATE	TOTAL VOTING-AGE POPULATION	% OF SOUTH-WIDE TOTAL	# NON-WHITE V.A.P.	% OF SOUTH-WIDE TOTAL	# NEGROES REG.	% OF SOUTH WIDE TOTAL	# NEGRO VAP NOT REG.	% OF SOUTH-WIDE TOTAL	# WHITE V.A.P.	% OF SOUTH-WIDE TOTAL	# WHITE REG	% SOUTH-WIDE TOTAL	# WHITE V.A.P. NOT REG.	% SOUTH-WIDE TOTAL	% OF STATE N.V.A.P. REG.	% OF STATE W.V.A.P. REG.
ALABAMA	1,924,936	8.2	509,731	10.1	68317	5.1	441,414	11.9	1,415,205	8.1	883,732	8.3	531,473	7.6	13.4	62.4
ARKANSAS	1,089,358	4.0	203,593	4.0	68970	5.1	133,623	3.6	886,765	5.9	506,799	4.7	379,966	5.4	34.0	57.1
FLORIDA	3,207,238	14.7	495,420	9.8	182,456	13.5	312,964	8.4	2,711,818	15.3	1,819,342	17.2	892,476	12.7	36.8	67.0
GEORGIA	2,549,352	11.4	656,047	13.0	175,573	13.0	480,474	12.9	1,893,305	10.1	1,152,707	10.9	740,598	10.6	26.7	60.8
LOUISIANA	1,897,402	8.2	544,997	10.8	151,663	11.3	393,334	10.6	1,347,405	7.1	934,862	8.8	412,543	5.9	27.8	69.3
MISSISSIPPI	1,235,072	5.1	449,296	8.9	25,921	1.9	423,375	11.4	785,776	4.1	390,000 **	3.6	395,776	5.6	5.7	49.6
NORTH CAROLINA	2,700,778	11.9	586,219	11.6	210,450	15.6	375,769	10.1	2,114,559	12.0	1,861,330	17.6	253,229	3.6	35.8	88.0
SOUTH CAROLINA	1,344,466	5.9	396,848	7.8	90,901	6.7	305,947	8.2	947,618	5.4	480,793	4.5	466,825	6.6	22.9	50.7
TENNESSEE	2,193,799	9.7	329,630	6.5	150,869	11.2	178,761	4.8	1,864,169	10.6	930,198	8.8	933,971	13.3	45.7	49.8
TEXAS*	2,010,034	8.8	414,233	8.2	111014 **	8.2	303,219	8.1	1,595,801	9.0	658,293 **	6.2	937,508	13.4	26.7	41.2
VIRGINIA	2,437,328	10.7	460,081	9.1	110,747	8.2	349,334	9.4	1,977,247	11.2	939,309	8.8	1,037,938	14.8	24.0	47.5
	22,584,763		5,045,095		1,346,881		3,698,214		17,539,668		10,564,365		6,982,303			

* ALL TEXAS FIGURES INCLUDE ONLY THOSE 65 COUNTIES IN EAST TEXAS WHICH HAVE MORE THAN 15% NON-WHITE POPULATION

** STATISTICAL ESTIMATE

DATA SOURCES:

ALL POPULATION FIGURES ARE TAKEN FROM U.S. CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1960, ~~GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS~~

VOTER REGISTRATION:

ALABAMA - BIRMINGHAM NEWS, June 10, 1962
ARKANSAS - REPORT OF JIMMIE "RED" JONES, AUDITOR OF STATE, 1962
FLORIDA - REPORT OF SECRETARY OF STATE, April 19, 1962.
GEORGIA - ATLANTA JOURNAL, APRIL 16, 1962
LOUISIANA - NEW ORLEANS TIMES PICAYUNE, May 5, 1962
MISSISSIPPI - MISSISSIPPI ADVISORY COMMITTEE
NORTH CAROLINA - NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE, 1960
SOUTH CAROLINA - NEGRO: REPORT OF SOUTH CAROLINA PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS, April, 1962; white: WASHINGTON POST, July, 1961

file U-R General

4118
26874
34324

TENNESSEE: TENNESSE ADVISORY COMMITTEE - 63 OF 95 COUNTIES

TEXAS: STATISTICAL ESTIMATE

VIRGINIA - SECRETARY, STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS, MAY, 1962